Great Books of Islamic Civilization

The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life OF THE Prophet Muḥammad

VOLUME IV

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

The Life
OF THE
Prophet Muḥammad

VOLUME IV

CENTER FOR MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION

The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, a non-government, non-profit making cultural organization, strives to lead Muslims and non-Muslims alike to a better understanding of the Muslim contribution to civilization and to a better knowledge of Islam.

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The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

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CONTENTS

Foreword xiii
About this Series xv
Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization: Board of Trustees xvii
Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization: Board xviii
Introduction by Muneer Fareed xix
Translator's Preface xxviii

Volume IV

The Year 9 AH. 1
An Account of the Expedition to Tabūk in Rajab of 9 AH. 1
    Those who wept and also those who made excuses to remain behind. 4

An Account of how, on his way to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the dwellings of Thamūd and their fortifications at al-Ḥijr. 12

An Account of the address the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave at Tabūk at a palm tree there. 15

An Account of the prayer spoken for Muʿāwiya b. Abū Muʿāwiya – if indeed authentic. 17
    The Arrival of the Messenger from Caesar to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Tabūk. 18
    The Peace Pact the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made with the Governor of Ayla and the people of Jarbāʾ and Adhruḥ while he was encamped at Tabūk, before his return. 20
    The Dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Khālid b. al-Walīd to Ukaydir Dūma. 21

An Account of the al-Ḍirār Mosque. 26
    The Ḥadīth of Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him, as quoted by al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him. 29
    Reference to disobedient persons other than those who had remained behind. 34

An Account of the events after the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Tabūk to Medina. 35
    The Arrival of a Delegation from Thaqīf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Ramaḍān of 9 AH. 37

An Account of the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, may God find him repulsive! 45
    The Dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Abū Bakr, 'The Trusting', in command of the Pilgrimage in the year 9 AH and the revelation of Sūrat Barāʾa (i.e. al-Tawba; IX). 48

Events that occurred in that year, 9 AH during Rajab of which the expedition to Tabūk took place. 52

THE BOOK OF DELEGATIONS THAT CAME TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) 53

Chapter: On the excellence of Banū Tamīm. 61
The Delegation from Banū ʿAbd al-Qays. 62
The Story of Thumāma and the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa, among whom was Musaylima, 'The Impostor', may God damn him! 65
The Delegation from the people of Najrān. 71
The Delegation of Banū ʿĀmir and the story of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays, may God damn them both! 76
The Arrival of Ḍimām b. Thaʿlaba to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on behalf of his tribe of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr. 81
The Delegation of Ṭāʾī with 'Zayd of the Horses' may God be pleased with him. 85
The Story of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī. 86
The Delegation of Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī, one of his people's leaders, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 95
The Arrival of ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib with persons from (Banū) Zabīd. 96
The Arrival of al-Ashʿath b. Qays in a Delegation from Kinda. 98
The Arrival of Aʿshā b. Māzin to the Prophet (ṢAAS). 99
The Arrival of Ṣurad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī among some men of his tribe, and then after them the delegation of the people of Jurash. 100
The Arrival of a Messenger from the Kings of Ḥimyar to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 101
The Arrival of Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī and his acceptance of Islam. 105
The Arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of Wāʾil b. Ḥujr b. Rabīʿa b. Wāʾil b. Yaʿmur al-Ḥaḍramī b. Hunayda, one of the Kings of Yemen. 108
The Arrival of Laqīṭ b. ʿĀmir al-Muntafiq b. Abū Razīn al-ʿAqīlī to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 109
The Arrival of Ziyād b. al-Hārith al-Ṣudāʾī, may God be pleased with him. 112
The Arrival of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān Al-Bakrī to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 115
The Arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿUqayl, with his people. 116
The Arrival of Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd Allāh and his companions. 116
The Arrival of the Delegate from Farwa b. ʿAmr al-Judhāmī, the Ruler of the Lands of Muʿān, bringing news of his acceptance of Islam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 118
The Arrival of Tamīm al-Dārī to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his informing him about al-Jassāsa and about what he heard from al-Dajjāl, 'The Imposter,' concerning the mission of the Prophet and the faith of those believing in him. 119
The Delegation from Banū Asad. 120
The Delegation from Banū ʿAbs. 120
The Delegation from Banū Fazāra. 121

The Delegation from Banū Murra. 121
The Delegation from Banū Thaʿlaba. 121
The Delegation from Banū Muḥārib. 122
The Delegation from Banū Kilāb. 122
The Delegation from Banū Ruʾās b. Kilāb. 122
The Delegation from Banū ʿAqīl b. Kaʿb. 123
The Delegation from Banū Qushayr b. Kaʿb. 123
The Delegation from Banū al-Bakkāʾ. 124
The Delegation from Kināna. 124
The Delegation from Ahsjaʿ. 125
The Delegation from Bāhila. 125
The Delegation from Banū Sulaym. 125
The Delegation from Banū Hilāl b, ʿĀmir. 126
The Delegation of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil. 126
The Delegation from Taghlib. 127
Delegations from the people of Yemen. 127
The Delegation from Khawlān. 127
The Delegation from Juʿfī. 127
SECTION: ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE DELEGATION BANŪ AZD TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS). 128
The Delegation from Kinda. 129
The Delegation of Al-Ṣadif. 129
The Delegation from Kushayn. 129
The Delegation of Al-Sibāʿ. 130
The Year 10 AH. 133
Chapter: On the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Khālid b. al-Walīd. 133
The dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of the commanders to the people of Yemen, inviting them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, came prior to the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ. 135
Chapter on the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Khālid b. al-Walīd to Yemen, before ḥijjat al-wadāʿ, 'The Farewell Pilgrimage'. 142

BOOK ON THE ḤIJJAT AL-WADĀʿ, 'THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE', IN 10 AH. 149

Chapter: Information on the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS), made only one full pilgrimage from Medina, having previously departed for three ʿumra, 'lesser', pilgrimages. 150
Chapter: On the date of the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS), from Medina on the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ. 152
Chapter: A description of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Medina to Mecca for the pilgrimage. 154
Chapter: the place from which the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the talbīyya; the differing views on this expressed by the sources. And the likely truth regarding this. 162

Reference to those who state that the Prophet (ṢAAS) adopted the Iḥrām from the Mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa after the Prayer. 162
Chapter: On a discussion and examination of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage, whether as the ḥajj al-ifrād, the al-tamattuʿ, or the al-qirān. 167

ACCOUNTS INDICATING THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) PERFORMED THE ḤAJJ AL-IFRĀD. 167

ACCOUNT OF JĀBIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH SUPPORTING HIS HAVING PERFORMED THE ḤAJJ AL-IFRĀD. 170

THE ACCOUNT OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUMAR REGARDING THE ḤAJJ AL-IFRĀD. 171

THE ACCOUNT OF IBN ʿABBĀS FOR THE ḤAJJ AL-IFRĀD. 171
Reference to those who state that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-Tamattuʿ. 172

ACCOUNTS OF THE PILGRIMAGE AS NARRATED BY THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THAT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) PERFORMED THE ḤAJJ AL-QIRĀN, ALONG WITH THE RELEVANT AḤĀDĪTH. 179

THE ACCOUNT OF THE COMMANDER OF THE BELIEVERS, ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM. 179

AN ACCOUNT RELATING TO THE TWO COMMANDERS OF THE BELIEVERS, ʿUTHMĀN AND ʿALĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH THEM BOTH. 181

THE ACCOUNT OF ANAS B. MĀLIK, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM. 182
Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī. 183
Thābit al-Bunānī. 183
Ḥumayd b. Tīruwayh al-Ṭawīl. 183
Ḥumayd b. Hilāl al-ʿAdawī al-Baṣrī. 184
From Zayd b. Aslam. 184
From Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd al-Ghaṭ Afānī al-Kūfī. 185
From Sulaymān b. Tarkhān al-Taymī. 186
From Suwayd b. Ḥujayr. 186
From ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd Abū Qilāba al-Jarmī. 186
From ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb. 187
From ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān. 187
From Qatāda b. Daʿāma al-Sadūsī. 187
From Muṣʿab b. Sulaym al-Zubayrī, their freed-man. 187
From Yaḥyā b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī. 187
From Abū Asmāʾ al-Ṣayqal. 188
From Abū Qudāma al-Ḥanafī; his name is also given as Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd. 188
The Ḥadīth of al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib on the ḥajj al-Qirān. 189

The Account of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him. 189
A different line of transmission from Jābir. 190

The Account of Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, may God be pleased with him. 190

The Account of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum. 191

The Account of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that he performed the ḥajj with the ʿumra, this constituting the ḥajj al-qirān. 191

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā. 192

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās on this subject. 192

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both. 193

The Account of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, may God be pleased with him. 194

The Account of al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhilī. 194

The Account of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar, 'The Mother of the Believers', may God be pleased with her. 195

The Account of ʿĀʾisha, 'The Mother of the Believers', may God be pleased with her. 196

Accounts substantiating those stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the state of iḥrām and did not initially specify a ḥajj or an ʿumra, and then thereafter rendered it specific. 201

An Account of the recitation of the talbiyya made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 203
The Ḥadīth of Jābir B. ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him, on the ḥijja of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 207

An Account of those places in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed while travelling from Medina to Mecca on his ʿumra and his ḥajj. 213
Chapter: The entry of the Prophet (ṢAAS) into Mecca, may God the Almighty and Glorious, honour it well. 215
Descriptions of the Circumambulations made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 217

AN ACCOUNT OF HOW THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) JOGGED AND MOVED AT A FAST PACE ON HIS CIRCUMAMBULATION AND THE IḌṬIBĀʿ, 'TUCKING UP ONE'S GOWN UNDER THE RIGHT ARM'. 223

ACCOUNTS OF THE CIRCUMAMBULATION OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) BETWEEN AL-ṢAFĀ AND AL-MARWA. 228
Chapter: Those parts of the prayer delivered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he stood upon Mt. ʿArafāt that are recorded. 250

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUBLIME REVELATION AT THAT HONOURED STATION. 254

ACCOUNTS OF THE PASSAGE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), FROM ʿARAFĀT TO THE MASHʿAR AL-ḤARĀM. 254

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECITATION BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), OF THE TALBĪYYA AT AL-MUZDALIFA. 262
Chapter: On the wuqūf (station) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the mashʿar al-ḥarām, his dafʿ (departure) from al-Muzdalifa before sunrise and his iyḍāʿ (passage forth) into Wādī Muḥassir. 263

ACCOUNTS OF THE CASTING BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) OF STONES ONLY AT THE PILLAR AT AL-ʿAQABA ON THE DAY OF THE SACRIFICE. HOW HE CAST THEM AND WHEN. AND FROM WHAT POSITION HE CAST THEM, AND HOW MANY THEY WERE. ALSO, HIS CESSATION OF RECITATION OF THE TALBĪYYA WHEN HE CAST THEM. 266
  Descriptions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) shaving his head. 271

ACCOUNTS OF THE VISIT OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO THE ANCIENT KAʿBA. 274
Chapter: Aḥādīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the second, the middle that is, day of the ayyām al-tashrīq. 289
  References to a ḥadīth in which it is stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the Kaʿba every night of those at Minā. 292
  The Year 11 AH. 309
  The Dispatch of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to Dūmat al-Jandal. 316
  The verses in the Qurʾān and aḥādīth forewarning of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how the illness from which he died commenced. 320
  The aḥādīth making reference to that. 328

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORDER BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), TO ABŪ BAKR, 'THE TRUSTING', TO LEAD THE PRAYER WITH ALL THE COMPANIONS, IN THE PRESENCE OF THEM ALL. AND HOW THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) CAME OUT AND PRAYED BEHIND HIM, EMULATING HIM IN SOME OF THE PRAYERS, AS WE SHALL RELATE, AND HOW THE LATTER ACTED AS IMĀM FOR THE FORMER AND FOR THOSE OF THE COMPANIONS AFTER HIM. 332

The manner of his dying, and his actual death. 340

SECTION: AN ACCOUNT OF IMPORTANT EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AFTER THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND BEFORE HIS BURIAL. 349

The Story of the hall of Banū Sāʿida. 350

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECOGNITION BY SAʿD B. ʿUBĀDA OF THE TRUTH OF WHAT ABŪ BAKR STATED THAT DAY IN THE HALL. 354

SECTION: ACCOUNTS OF THE TIME AT WHICH THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) DIED, HIS AGE AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH, HOW HE WAS WASHED, PLACED IN A SHROUD AND BURIED, AND THE SITE OF HIS GRAVE. 364

Descriptions of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) was washed (prior to his burial). 371

Description of the shroud of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 375

The manner in which prayers were offered over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 378

Descriptions of the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and where he was buried. Reference to the differences over whether he was buried by night or by day. 380

ACCOUNTS OF WHO WAS THE LAST PERSON TO BE WITH THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS). 385

When the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took place. 387

SECTION: ON THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE GRAVE OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS). 388

ACCOUNTS OF THE GREAT AFFLICTIONS THAT BEFELL THE MUSLIMS UPON THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS). 390

Reference to the expressions of consolation made regarding the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 394

SECTION: NARRATIVES TELLING OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF 'THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK' (THE CHRISTIANS AND THE JEWS) OF THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS). 396

Chapter: Information showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not leave a dīnār, a dirham, a slave, a slave-girl, a sheep, a camel, nor anything to be inherited from him – except for land, all of which he left as a charitable offering to God, the Almighty and Glorious. 402

Chapter: Evidence to the Prophet (ṢAAS) having said, 'We will not leave (property for) inheritance'. 405

Discussion of the narration from various authorities concerning the statement made by Abū Bakr and their agreement upon this. 409

Chapter: An Account of the wives and children, may God be pleased with them all, of the Prophet (ṢAAS). 415

Women to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged but did not ultimately marry. 427

ACCOUNTS OF THOSE PERSONS AWARDED TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AS TRIBUTE. 430

Information concerning his children, may prayers and peace be for them all. 435

Chapter: Material concerning the slaves, male and female, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his servants, scribes and clerks. 442

The Women servants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 460

Chapter: On those of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who acted as his servants, but who were not freed-men. 469
Chapter: Those, may God be pleased with them, who wrote down the revelations and other matters in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 480
Chapter: Information relating to the clothing, weapons, mounts and personal effects that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used during his life. 504
  The sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 508
  Concerning the sandals worn by the Prophet (ṢAAS). 510
  Descriptions of the drinking cup used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). 511

ACCOUNTS OF THE ANTIMONY CASE USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS). 511
  The Cloak (Al-Burda). 512
  Reference to the horses and other mounts used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). 513

Glossary 517
Index 523

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilisations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilisation as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilisation in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

ABOUT THIS SERIES

THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

Readers will therefore see that this series includes a variety of works in the purely Islamic sciences, such as Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, theology, prophetic traditions (*sunna*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Also represented will be books by Muslim scientists on medicine, astronomy, geography, physics, chemistry, horticulture, and other fields.

The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

---

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

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Following are the names of the late prominent Muslim figures who (may Allāh have mercy upon them) passed away after they had taken vital roles in the preliminary discussions of the Center's goals, work plan and activities. They are:

1. Dr Kamal Naji, former General Supervisor, Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, Qatar (7 October 1997).
2. Sheikh Jad al-Haq Ali Jad al-Haq, Sheikh al-Azhar, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt.
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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,[1] and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.[2] He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya.[3]

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[1] According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and ʾUmar Riḍā Kahhāla's *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (1: 28).

[2] According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzāli's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sīra*; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, "followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akhbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. "These two lines", he explains, "reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life."[4] According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, "a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries."[5] A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

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[3] Curtis, 23.

[4] Professor Duri's article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls "the tribal type of history." See in this regard "The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

[5] M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nuʿaym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī. But, as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Kaʿab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānat Suʿād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *saḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."[6] Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".[7] And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."[8]

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.[9]

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."[10]

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[6] See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

[7] This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

[8] For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of *Prophet Muhammad, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

[9] See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".[11] Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."[12] As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."[13] Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

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[10] F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

[11] See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

[12] Ibid., 300.

[13] Ibid., 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.[14] Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."[15] The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet.* For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."[16]

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critiical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."[17]

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act in pertinent ways."[18] Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."[19] From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."[20]

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[14] Ibid., 291.

[15] Ibid., 311.

[16] P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

[17] K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."[21]

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.[22] He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah.*[23]

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[18] See Goldziher's chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[19] J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

[20] Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

[21] W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford Univesity Press, 1953), xiii.

[22] M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʾīfah wa al-Mawdūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

[23] Ibid., 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

> "In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr's books. ʿUrwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."[24]

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."[25] "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."[26]

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."[27] For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."[28]

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[24] Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

[25] See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[26] Ibid., 13.

[27] See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

[28] Ibid., 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,[29] "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."[30]

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

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[29] H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

[30] This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000

VOLUME IV

THE YEAR 9 AH.

An Account of the Expedition to Tabūk in Rajab of 9 AH.

God Almighty stated, "O you who believe, the polytheists are nothing but unclean; and so they shall not come near the Sacred Mosque after this year. If you should fear poverty, (then remember that) God will enrich you from His bounty, if He so wishes. God is Omniscient, Wise. Battle against those who do not believe in God or in the Last Day, who do not prohibit what God and His Messenger prohibited and who do not follow the religion of the truth. (Battle against) those to whom the (Holy) Book was brought until they pay the *jizya* tax *ʿan yadin*,[1] 'being in a state of submission'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*, (or *al-Barāʾa*); IX, v.28–29).

It is related from Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid, ʿIkrima, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, al-Ḍaḥḥāk and others that when God Almighty decreed that the polytheists should be prevented from approaching the Sacred Mosque, whether in the pilgrimage or at other times, that Quraysh said they would be deprived of the commercial activity that took place during the pilgrimage, and that they would therefore suffer financial loss. And so God compensated them for that by ordering them to battle the people of the scriptures so that they either accepted Islam or paid the *jizya* tax *ʿan yadin*, "being in a state of submission".

I comment that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore decided to battle the Byzantines. This was because they were the people nearest to him and those most appropriate to invite to the truth because of their proximity to Islam and to those who believed in it. God Almighty had stated, "O you who believe, fight those unbelievers who are near you. Let them see severity in you; and know that God is with those who are pious" (*sūrat al-Tawba* (or *al-Barāʾa*); IX, v.123).

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) determined to send an expedition against the Byzantines – this being the time of the battle of Tabūk – it was at a period of extreme heat and discomfort. He explained the expedition to people and invited the bedouin tribes around him to go forth with him and a large force of, as we shall see, some 30,000 men did join him. Others, however, held back, and God criticized those who were hypocritical and neglectful. He expressed His extreme displeasure and censure to them and brought them great disgrace, giving revelation of verses for recitation about them. It was in *sūrat al-Tawba*

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[1] *ʿan yadin*, lit. "from a hand", has been variously interpreted as "in acknowledgement of Your power", or "obediently", or "with ready money".

IX (or *al-Barā'a*) that He made clear reference to them; we explained this at length in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). He ordered the Muslims to go forth no matter how, saying, "Proceed forth, whether light or heavy, and put your possessions and your persons vigorously to work in God's cause. That is best for you, if you but know it. Had it been an objective close by and a short journey, they would have followed you. But the long journey was too far for them. (Yet) they will swear by God, 'Had we been able, we would have departed with you!' They destroy themselves; God knows that they are liars!" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.41, 2) and other verses follow these.

The Almighty went on to state, "It was not for the believers to proceed forth all together. Why then should not a group from every party among them go forth to seek expertise in the faith and to warn their people when they return to them, so that they may be on their guard?" (*sūrat al-Tawba*: IX, v.122). It is said by some that this verse abrogates the former; others say not. God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina between the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja and Rajab – of year 9 AH that is – and then ordered the men to prepare for an expedition against the Byzantines.

"Al-Zuhrī, Yazīd b. Rūmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and others of our scholars relate as follows of what was told them concerning the expedition to Tabūk; some give information not presented by others.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to make an expedition against the Byzantines. This was at a time when there was considerable suffering from poverty, extreme heat and drought. The fruit was now ripe and people wanted to enjoy it in the shade; they hated the idea of leaving right away at that season.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rarely went forth on an expedition without disguising its purpose. The expedition to Tabūk, however, he explained fully because of the great distance, the severity of the season and the large size of the enemy force he intended to battle; he gave this explanation so that his men could make proper preparations. He ordered them to ready their equipment, telling them he was going to attack the Byzantines.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while readying his own equipment, asked Jadd b. Qays, a man of Banū Salama, 'Jadd, would you like now to attack the *banū aṣfar*, the "yellow skins"?[2] He replied, 'Messenger of God, do excuse me and not tempt me; I swear by God, my people well know there's not a man more attracted to women than myself. I fear that if I saw the *banū aṣfar* women, I'd not be able to restrain myself!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned away from him, saying, 'I excuse you then'.

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[2] An epithet referring to the light skin coloration of the Byzantines.

"It was about Jadd that God revealed the verse, 'Among them are those who will say, "Do not tempt me!". But they have already fallen to temptation. Hell encompasses those who disbelieve' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.29).

"The hypocrites told one another, 'Don't go forth in the heat'. They did this to avoid the warfare and doubting the truth and discrediting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so God revealed about them, 'They say, "Don't go forth in the heat!" Say: "The heat of the fires of hell is more severe!" If only they understood! Let them laugh a little and weep a lot for the punishment they have earned'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.81).

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source quoted someone as quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥāritha, from his father, who quoted his father as saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that some hypocrites were meeting in the home of Suwaylim the Jew – his dwelling being at Jāsūm – and that they were dissuading people from accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his expedition to Tabūk. The latter then dispatched Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and some men with orders to burn down Suwaylim's house about them. Ṭalḥa did this. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa jumped down from the roof of the house, breaking his leg. His companions leaped down too, but escaped. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk spoke the following verses about this:

"By God's house, Muḥammad's fire almost burned
al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Ibn Ubayriq!
Having climbed atop Suwaylim's house, I crawled away on
a broken leg and an elbow.
Greetings to you! I'll not do the same again. I am
afraid; he whom fire encompasses is burned."'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made energetic preparations for his trip, ordering the men to get ready quickly. He urged the wealthy to provide funds and mounts for God's cause. Some of them did so and thus stored away (later reward) for themselves. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān made a greater outlay than anyone had done."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Someone I trust related to me that ʿUthmān paid out 1,000 dīnārs for the army going on the *al-ʿusra* expedition to Tabūk. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'O God be pleased with ʿUthmān, for I am pleased with him.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hārūn b. Maʿrūf related to him, quoting Ḍamra b. Shawdhab, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Qāsim, from Kaththa, the freed-men of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samra, who said, "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān took 1,000 dīnārs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his clothing when the latter was preparing the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition. He poured out the money into the lap of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who began turning the coins over in his hand, saying, "ʿAffān's son can do no wrong, after what he has done today!'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, from al-Ḥasan b. Wāqiʿ, from Ḍamra. He categorized it as *ḥasan gharīb*, "good but unilateral".

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated, in his father's *ḥadīth* collection, "Abū Mūsā al-ʿAnazī related to me, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting Sakin b. al-Mughīra, quoting al-Walīd b. Abū Hishām, from Farqad Abū Ṭalḥa, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulamī, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address urging support for the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said, "I take responsibility for providing 100 baggage camels with their saddle blankets and pack-saddles." He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then came down one step on the *minbar*, the pulpit, and again urged support. At this ʿUthmān said, "I take responsibility for another 100 baggage camels complete with their blankets and pack-saddles."'"

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulamī went on, "I then saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) use his hand to speak with, moving it thus." And Abū Mūsā al-ʿAnazī stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad put out his hand and moved it as though in delight (and saying), "For what he has done, ʿUthmān has no more responsibility hereafter."

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Muḥammad b. Bashshār, from Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, from Sakan b. al-Mughīra Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of ʿUthmān's family. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadith* as *gharīb min hādhā al-wajh*, "unique from this line".

Al-Bayhaqī related it through ʿAmd b. Marzūq, from Sakan b. al-Mughīra. He said it happened three times and that ʿUthmān took responsibility for providing 300 baggage camels with their blankets and saddles.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stated, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say while he was upon the *minbar*, 'ʿUthmān did no wrong after this'. Or he may have said, . . . 'after today'."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, "Abū ʿAwāna related to us, from Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAmr b. Jāwān, from al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who said, 'I heard ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān say to Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, ʿAlī, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa, "I adjure you by God to say whether you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Whoever equipped the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition has been forgiven by God', and that I equipped them so that they did not lack so much as a halter or a headband?" They responded, "Yes, indeed, by God!"'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥuṣayn.

THOSE WHO WEPT AND ALSO THOSE WHO MADE EXCUSES TO REMAIN BEHIND.

God Almighty stated, "And when a chapter (of the Qurʾān) is revealed saying, 'Believe in God and strive along with His Messenger', those among them of ample means seek your permission (to remain) saying, 'Leave us behind with those who remain.' They are pleased to be with those who stay back; their hearts have been sealed over, and they do not comprehend. However, the Messenger and those who believe with him dedicate fully their property and themselves. These persons shall have the benefits, and it is they who shall succeed. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall rest therein for eternity. That is the great success. Then the excuse-makers from among the bedouin came seeking permission (to stay behind) and those who denied the veracity of God and His Messenger also stayed. Those of them who disbelieved shall suffer painful punishment. There shall be no blame for the weak and the sick or those without the means to expend, provided that they are sincere with God and His Messenger; there is no cause to blame those who do good. And God is Forgiving and Beneficent. Nor is there blame upon those who, coming to you for mounts, have you tell them, 'I have nothing on which to transport you', with the result that they turn away, their eyes welling tears of regret that they do not have the means to expend. Cause for blame rests with those who seek your permission to stay back even though they are wealthy, preferring to be with those who remain behind. God has placed a seal over their hearts, and they do not know" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX,v. 86–93).

We have provided sufficient interpretation of this in our *Tafsir* (*Exegesis*); and to God is due all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is those who wept when they came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to provide them transportation to accompany him on this expedition of his but found him without mounts for them. They then retired weeping, sad at their inability to participate in, or contribute to, the fighting for God's cause.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "These totalled seven persons, consisting of *anṣār* and others. Of Banū ῾Amr b. ῾Awf there were: Sālim b. ῾Umayr; ῾Ulba b. Zayd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha; Abū Laylā ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka῾b, brother of Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār; ῾Amr b. al-Ḥumām b. al-Jumūḥ, brother of Banū Salama; ῾Abd Allāh b. al-Mughaffal al-Muzanī. Some maintain that this last-mentioned was ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Amr al-Muzanī. (They also include) Haramī b. ῾Abd Allāh, brother of Banū Wāqif and ῾Irbāḍ b. Sāriya al-Fazzārī.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "I have been told that Ibn Yāmīn b. ῾Umayr b. Ka῾b al-Naḍrī met Abū Laylā and ῾Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal who were both weeping. Ibn Yāmīn asked them, 'What is making you weep?' They replied, 'We have been to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to provide us mounts but he had none to carry us. And we lack the means to proceed out with him.' So he (Ibn Yāmīn) gave them a water-transport camel he owned and they saddled it. He also provided them with some dates and so they proceeded forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Yūnus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Isḥāq, "῾Ulba b. Zayd went outside at night, spending that part of it in prayer that God wished. He then wept and said, 'O God, You have ordered to battle and inspired enthusiasm for it, but then not provided me with the means for it, not given to Your Messenger a mount to transport me. I wish to donate to all Muslims (the compensation I received for) whatever wrongs may have befallen me, whether in money, in bodily harm or in honour.'

"Next morning he arose with the rest and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where is he who spent the night making donation?' No one got up. He next said, 'Let the man who made the donation get up now.' He (ʿUlba) then went over to him and told him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Rejoice! By Him in whose hand is my soul, you have been inscribed among those having made a *zakāt* donation that is found acceptable (by God)!'"

At this point the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, stating, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-ḥāfiẓ* related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Māzinī, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'My companions sent me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to ask him for mounts for them to accompany him with the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition to Tabūk. I said, "Prophet of God, my companions have sent me to you to provide them mounts." He replied, "By God, I won't mount you on anything." I had happened to go to him, without realizing it, when he was in an angry mood.

"'So I left, sad that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had rejected me and fearful that he bore me some ill-will. When I returned to my friends, I told them what he had said. Very soon after that, I heard Bilāl calling out, "Where is ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays?" When I responded, he said, "Make answer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who is calling for you." When I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "Take these two camels tied together, and these two and these two." He was referring to six baggage camels he had just bought from Saʿd. Then he said, "Take these to your companions and say, 'God' (or 'the Messenger of God') 'will mount you upon these'."

"'So (I went to them and) I said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounts you upon these. But, I swear by God, I'll not allow you this until some of you accompany me to someone who heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when I asked him on your behalf and how he at first refused, then later gave them to me. I don't want you to think I reported to you something he did not say." They replied, "By God, we consider you entirely credible; but we'll do whatever you wish."'

"Abū Mūsā then left with a group of them and they went to those who had heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said – how he had at first refused and then had given to them. They confirmed to them exactly what Abū Mūsā had said."

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.

In one account of theirs they both quote Abū Mūsā as saying, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with a group of Ashʿarīs to provide us mounts and he replied, 'I swear by God, I'll not give you mounts; I have none on which to transport you.'"

He went on, "Some camels taken as booty were then brought to him, and he ordered that we be given six young ones. We took them, but then we said, 'We caused the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to break his oath, and God will not bless us.' So we went back to him and told him this. He replied, 'It is not I who gave you mounts; it is God who did so.' He then said, 'I swear by God, if God wills it, I will never swear an oath then find that its opposite is better without then nullifying that first oath.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "There were a number of Muslims whom absence delayed and so they lagged behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but not because of any doubt or indecision on their part.

"Among these were Kaᶜb b. Mālik b. Abū Kaᶜb, a brother of Banū Salama; Marāra b. Rabīᶜ, brother of Banū ᶜAmr b. ᶜAwf; Hilāl b. Umayya, brother of Banū Wāqif, and Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Sālim b. ᶜAwf. These were men of high honour against whose adherence to Islam no one could make any charge."

I note that the story of the first three of these men will be related at length shortly hereafter, if God Almighty wills it. It is these men about whom God gave the following revelation: "As for the three who were left behind so that the earth became constricted for them, though it was spacious. And their spirits also felt constrained, and they thought there to be no refuge from God, except in Him" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118).

Abū Khaythama changed his mind and determined to catch up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as will be shown.

DIVISION

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Having made his arrangements, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) decided to set off. When, on a Thursday, he departed, he made camp at Thaniyyat al-Wadāᶜ; with him there were more than 30,000 men. That enemy of God ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ubayy pitched his camp lower down, his being, so they say, no smaller in number. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth again, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ubayy remained behind, along with a group of the hypocrites and doubt-mongers."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Muḥammad b. Maslama, the *anṣārī*, in command of Medina. Al-Darāwardī related that it was Sibāᶜ b. ᶜUrfuṭa whom he left in command at the time of the expedition to Tabūk."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left ᶜAlī b. Abū Ṭālib behind to care for his family, ordering him to stay with them. The hypocrites spread lies about ᶜAlī, maintaining that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found his presence onerous and wished to alleviate this.

"When they said this, ʿAlī took up his weapons and proceeded forth, catching up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while the latter was making a halt at al-Jurf. ʿAlī told him what people were saying and he responded, 'They lie; I left you there to care for those I have left behind. Go back and act on my behalf with my family as well as your own. Are you not content, ʿAlī, to have the same status with me as Aaron had with Moses? There will, however, be no prophet after myself.'

"ʿAlī did return and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed on his journey."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna related to me, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, from his father Saʿd, (who said) that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make this comment to ʿAlī."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related this through Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, from his father.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *ḥadīth* compendium, "Shuʿba related to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Muṣʿab b. Saʿd, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib behind from the expedition to Tabūk. ʿAlī then asked him, "Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?" He replied, "Are you not content to have with me the status Aaron had with Moses? Although there will be no prophet after myself."'"

Both authorities gave this on lines of transmission from Shuʿba in similar form. Al-Bukhārī also gave it on a line from Abū Dā'ūd, from Shuʿba.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Bukayr b. Mismār, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows. ʿAlī, having been left behind by him at one of his expeditions asked, "Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?" He replied, "ʿAlī, are you not content that you have the same status with me that Aaron had with Moses? However, there will be no prophet after myself."

Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related this from Qutayba. Muslim and Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād both added to this, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as being *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *gharīb*, good and authentic, and unique from this line.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Abū Khaythama returned on a hot day to his family several days after the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found two wives he had each in a bower in his garden; each one had sprinkled and cooled her bower with cold water and had prepared him food.

"When he entered, Abū Khaythama stood at the door of a bower, gazed at his two wives and at what they had done, and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is out there in the sun, wind and heat, while Abū Khaythama is in the cool shade with food prepared for him with beautiful women and on his own property! This is not fair. By God, I swear I'll not enter the bower of either one of you before joining up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Prepare provisions for me!' And they both did so.

"He then brought up his camel, saddled it, and left to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reached him after he had encamped at Tabūk. ʿUmayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī, himself heading for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had overtaken Abū Khaythama on the way and they had travelled on together until they neared Tabūk. Abū Khaythama then said to ʿUmayr b. Wahb, 'I am at fault. Best for you to stay back from me until I go on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he did so.

"When Abū Khaythama approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), people told the latter, 'There's a rider approaching along the road.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'That will be Abū Khaythama!' They commented, 'By God, Messenger of God, it is indeed Abū Khaythama!'

"When he arrived, he came up and greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who responded, 'Woe upon you, Abū Khaythama!' He then explained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what had happened and the latter blessed him."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this story about Abū Khaythama in a similar though more simple form than that of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. Their account states that the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS) took place in the autumn. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū Khaythama – his given name being Mālik b. Qays – spoke the following verses on this.

'Having seen how people were hypocritical in their
faith, I kept to what was more fine and noble.
I gave forth my hand in fealty to Muḥammad and did no
wrong nor committed any sin.
I left a woman wearing make-up inside the bower, amidst
the palms, along with a feast of ripened dates.
While the hypocrites were in doubt, my soul flowed
onwards to the faith, its path wheresoever that would
lead.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq quoted from Burayda, from Sufyān, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Tabūk, whenever anyone fell behind people would tell him, 'Messenger of God, so-and-so has stayed back.' He would then say, 'Oh leave him alone. If there is any good in him, then God will bring him up to join you. Otherwise, it is God who will have relieved you of him!'

"Eventually he was told, 'Messenger of God, Abū Dharr has fallen behind, his camel having slowed him down.' He replied, 'Leave him; if there is good in him, God will have him catch up with you. If otherwise, then God will have relieved you of him.'

"Abū Dharr gave his camel time to recover, but when it still moved only slowly, he took from it his equipment, placed it on his own back and walked on after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter made one of his halts and a Muslim on look-out said, 'Messenger of God, I can see this man walking along the road.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That will be Abū Dharr.' When they had observed him closely, people said, 'Messenger of God, it is Abū Dharr, by God!' At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!'

"And fate did strike its blow at him. Abū Dharr was (ultimately)[3] sent to al-Rabdha. When his death was near, he gave instructions to his wife and a slave, saying, 'When I die, wash me and wind me in my shroud at night, then lay me on the crest of the road and tell the first passer-by that this is Abū Dharr.'

"When he died, they did this. Riders came along and unwittingly trod him underfoot. When Ibn Masʿūd came past in a group of men of Kūfa, he asked 'What is this?' He was told it was the bier of Abū Dharr. Ibn Masʿūd began weeping upon hearing this and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the truth! He said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!"'

"He then dismounted and he himself buried him."

The line of authorities for this is good; but they (the authors of the canonical collections of the traditions) did not give it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl, who said with reference to the words of the Almighty, "who followed him at the time of *al-ʿusra*" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117). "These men went forth on the expedition to Tabūk; there were two and three to the single camel. They travelled at a time of severe heat and eventually began slaughtering their camels to split open their stomachs to drink the liquid inside them. That was a time of *ʿusra*, 'great difficulty', over water, over the expenses and over the transport."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb stated that he was informed by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl, from ʿUtba b. Abū ʿUtba, from Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, that someone asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell about the *sāʿat al-ʿusra*, "the time of great difficulty". ʿUmar replied, "We went out to Tabūk when the weather was extremely hot. At one stop we made, we suffered such severe thirst that we feared our necks would come off! Whenever one of us went out to locate his baggage, he'd come back fearing his neck would come off! Men would slaughter their camels and compress the contents of their stomachs to drink, then place the remainder over their livers. Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', asked, 'Messenger of God, God responds favourably to your prayers. Pray to God for us.' 'You would like that?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. The Messenger of God

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[3] The text of Ibn Isḥāq as translated by Guillaume, *op. cit.*, quotes sources saying that he was exiled there by ʿUthmān.

(ṢAAS) then raised up his hands towards heaven and did not bring them back down until it had prepared to give rain. A drizzle fell and then a torrent, and everyone filled everything available. We then went out and discovered that the rain had not fallen beyond our camp!"

The line of transmission for this is excellent. But the authorities did not give it from this line.

Ibn Isḥāq narrated from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from some men of his tribe, that this incident related to when they were at al-Ḥijr. They had then asked a man accompanying them who was a hypocrite, "Well, do you want still more (proof) after this?" He replied, "It was just a passing cloud!"

Ibn Isḥāq also narrated that the she-camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had strayed and men went off to search for it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm *al-anṣārī*, who was there with him, "A man said, 'This Muḥammad tells you he is a prophet and gives you news of heaven, but he doesn't even know the whereabouts of his camel!' I swear by God, all I do know is what God tells me. And God has directed me to her; she is in a gully where her halter has caught on a tree."

They then went off and retrieved her and ʿUmāra went back to his camp. He told them how someone had made a comment (about the Prophet (ṢAAS)), and one of the men present said, "It was Zayd b. al-Luṣayt who said this." This man had been there in ʿUmāra's camp before his return. He now went up to Zayd and poked him in the neck, saying, "There was a disaster right here in my camp without me knowing it! Clear off, you enemy of God! You'll not accompany me!" Some say that Zayd repented, but others say he persisted in his error until he died.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that a similar account about the camel had been related to him from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Masʿūd. He then narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, which Imām Aḥmad also narrated, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra – or from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, al-Aʿmash was not sure which – who said, "At the expedition to Tabūk, the men were greatly afflicted by hunger. They asked, 'Messenger of God, with your permission, we would like to slaughter our water-transport camels; we could eat them and gain some weight.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to do so.

"Then ʿUmar came and asked, 'Messenger of God, if you do this, we'll have a shortage of transport. Invite them instead to bring the remnants of their supplies, then pray to God to bless it for them; perhaps God will place His blessings in it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Yes, I will.' He then called for a leather coverlet, laid it out and called for the remnants of their food. One man would bring an ear of maize, another a handful of dates, a third a piece of bread. He made a small pile of this on the piece of leather and spoke a prayer blessing it. Then he told them, 'Put this into your containers.' They kept on doing this until there was not a single container in the camp that was not filled with it. They also ate from it until satisfied and still some remained. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called, out, 'I testify that there is no god but God and that I am the Messenger of God! No doubt-free worshipper who addresses God with this shall be kept from paradise.'"

Muslim narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash. Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Suhayl, from his father, from Abū Hurayra. He did not make reference to the expedition to Tabūk, but said that it related to an expedition on which he went.

An Account of how, on his way to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the dwellings of Thamūd and their fortifications at al-Ḥijr.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed al-Ḥijr, he made a halt there and the men took water from its well. When they left, he told them, 'Do not drink at all from its waters; do not use its water for your ablutions. Any dough you have made using it you should give to the camels without eating any of it yourselves.'"

This is how Ibn Isḥāq related it, without any chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿmur b. Bishr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh quoted to me his father as having said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, 'Do not enter the houses of those who harmed themselves unless you do so weeping, lest there befall you what did them.' And he masked himself with his cloak while he was on his mount."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and ʿAbd al-Razzāq, both of whom cited Maʿmar and gave a similar line of transmission.

Mālik stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, "Do not enter upon these persons who suffered punishment unless you are weeping; if you do not weep, then do not enter upon them, otherwise there will afflict you what afflicted them."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, and from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, both of whom quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār. Muslim related it from another line from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār in similar form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Ṣakhr – Ibn Juwayriyya, that is – from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "At the time of the expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men made a halt at al-Ḥijr, at the dwellings of Thamūd. The men drew water from the wells from which Thamūd used to drink, made dough and set up cooking pots with meat. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to empty out the pots and to feed the dough to the camels. He then left with them and proceeded on, making another halt at the well from which the camel[4] used to drink. He forbad them entering the dwellings of those who had been afflicted with punishment, saying, 'I fear that there will befall you what befell them; do not enter in upon them.'"

This *ḥadīth* with this line of transmission conforms with the criteria set in both canonical collections, but they did not include it. However, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim did give it from a *ḥadīth* of Anas b. ʿIyyāḍ, from Abū Ḍamra, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Usāma traced it from ʿUbayd Allāh."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿayb b. Isḥāq, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, 'Do not ask for signs. Ṣāliḥ's people asked for them and they would come from this cleft.[5] They disobeyed the order of their Lord and hamstrung it (the holy camel). It would one day drink their water and on another they would drink its milk; God destroyed every one of them beneath the surface of the sky, except for one man who was inside God's temple.'

"Someone asked, 'And who was he, Messenger of God?' 'That was Abū Righāl,"[6] he replied. 'And when he left the temple, he was struck down as his people had been.'"

The chain of authorities for this is *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic"; (but) they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) do not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting al-Masʿūdī, from Ismāʿīl b. Wāsiṭ, from Muḥammad b. Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī, who quoted his father as saying, "On the expedition to Tabūk, the men raced off to visit the people of al-Ḥijr, to enter their dwellings. This reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he had a call made for a general assembly for prayer.

"I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was there holding his camel, saying, 'What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?' One man called out, 'We're curious about them.' 'Do I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you? Be righteous, and see clearly; God cares nothing for your punishment. A people will come who will not be able to protect themselves at all.'"

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[4] A reference to the pregnant camel the Qur'ān tells us that the virtuous Thamūd leader Ṣāliḥ conjured up from the rock. Ṣāliḥ's ungodly opponents cut the tendons of the holy camel, thus causing God's retribution that was expressed in the destruction of all Thamūd.

[5] An alternate reading in a different manuscript substitutes *wajh*, 'direction', for *fajj*, "cleft", in its first use here.

[6] A different, and perhaps similarly mythical, Abū Righāl is mentioned elsewhere in this work.

The chain of authorities for this is good; they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) did not promulgate it.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazam related to me, from al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿidī – or from al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿd, I am not sure which – who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, where he made a halt, the men took its water. And when they left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Do not drink any of their water, nor use it for ablutions before the prayer. Feed the dough you have prepared to the camels, eating none of it yourselves. And let none of you go out this night unless accompanied by another.'

"They did as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered them, except for two men of Banū Sāʿida. One of them went out to relieve himself and the other went to look for a camel of his. The man who relieved himself was choked at the place where he had gone. The one searching for his camel was carried away by the wind and thrown up on Mt. Ṭayyiʾ. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told of this and commented, 'Didn't I tell them not to go out unless accompanied by another?'

"He then spoke a prayer for the man who had been afflicted at the place where he relieved himself, and the man was cured. The other man reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (on his return) from Tabūk."

In one account there is additional information given from Ibn Isḥāq to the effect that a man of Banū Ṭayyiʾ presented him (the second man) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl named these two men to him but in confidence and so he did not tell me who they were."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahīb b. Khālid, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿidī, from Abū Ḥumayd al-Sāʿidī, who said, "We left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabūk expedition and travelled to Wādī al-Qurā. There we came across a woman in a garden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, 'Guess!' The men made their guesses, as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he guessed that the produce from the garden would equal ten *awsaq*, ten camel loads. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the woman, 'Keep a total of the produce that comes from it until, if God wills it, I come back.'

"He then travelled on to Tabūk. There he told the men, 'Tonight there will be a severe gale. No one should get up during it. Those of you with camels should fasten down their halters.'

"Abū Ḥamīd said, 'We did and during the night a severe gale swept over us. One of our men did get up and it carried him away on to Mt. Ṭayyiʾ.

"'Then the Governor of Ayla came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and presented to him a white mule. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), presented him with a robe of honour and wrote a document for him giving them protection.

"'He then went on, as did we with him, and eventually we were back in Wādī al-Qurā. He asked the woman, "How much did your garden produce?" "Ten camel loads," she replied. He had guessed correctly.

"'He then announced, "I am in a hurry. Any of you who want to hurry too can do so." He then left, and we accompanied him. When he looked down upon Medina, he commented, "That is Ṭāba." When he sighted Mt. Uḥud, he commented, "That is Mt. Uḥud; it loves us and we love it. Shall I tell you which are the best houses of the *anṣār*?" "Please do, Messenger of God," we replied. "The best houses of the *anṣār* are those of Banū al-Najjār, then that of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, then that of Banū Sāʿida; and moreover, there is good in all the houses of the *anṣār*."'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from another line, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā in similar form.

Imām Mālik, may God have mercy on him, stated from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, that Muʿādh b. Jabal informed him that they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabūk expedition. (Muʿādh stated), "He would combine together the prayers of the *al-ẓuhr*, 'noon', and the *al-ʿaṣr*, 'late afternoon', and those of the *al-maghrib*, 'early evening', and the *al-ʿishā*, 'late evening'. One day he postponed the prayer and came out and prayed the *al-ẓuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* together. He then went back in and came out again and prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā* together. He then said, 'Tomorrow, if God wills it, you will arrive at the spring at Tabūk. You'll not reach it until forenoon. Those who reach there should not touch any of its water before I arrive.'

"When we arrived there, we had been preceded by two men. The well looked like *shirāk*,[7] 'sandal straps', just oozing a little water. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the two men, 'Did you touch any of the water?' 'Yes,' they replied. He berated them and said to them what God wished him to speak. They then little by little scooped out water from the spring and put it all in a water-skin. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) washed in it his face and hands then poured it back into the spring. Now the spring produced much water and the men drew from it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Muʿādh, if you live long enough, you'll see that what's here will be enough to fill several gardens!'"

Muslim did include this in a *ḥadīth* from Mālik.

An Account of the address the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave at Tabūk at a palm tree there.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Muʾaddib and Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad, all three quoting al-Layth

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[7] The image is unclear. The word is obscure, suggesting: "sandal straps", "a thin planting of palm saplings", or "light shadows".

b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave an address at Tabūk while leaning his back against a palm tree. He spoke as follows: 'Shall I tell you who is the best of men and who is the worst? Of the best of men is one who works in God's cause on the back of his horse and on the back of his mule and on his two feet until death comes to him. Of the worst of men is one who is profligate and insolent, a man who recites God's Book but pays no attention to any of it.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated this from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Concerning Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, he commented, "I do not know of him."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmrān, that Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from Manẓūr b. Jamīl b. Sinān, who quoted his father as saying to him, "I heard ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Juhanī relate as follows, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the expedition to Tabūk. (One night) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in bed without waking up until the sun had risen a spear's length high. He called, 'Bilāl, did I not tell you to announce dawn to us?' He replied, 'Messenger of God, He who bore you away in sleep bore me also!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved a little away from his tent and prayed. He travelled on the rest of that day and night and arrived next morning in Tabūk. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, 'People, the most truthful speech is that of God's Book. The firmest of bonds is the word "piety". The best of religions is that of Abraham. The best of ways of life is the *sunna*, the practice of Muḥammad. The most noble of speech is mention of God. The finest of narratives is this Qur'ān. The best of practices are those sanctioned by God; the worst of practices are those innovated. The best guidance is that of the prophets. The most noble of deaths is being killed as a martyr. The most blind thing of all is going astray after guidance. The best of deeds are those that are beneficial. The best guidance is that which is followed. The worst blindness is that of the heart. The upper hand is better than the lower hand. That which is little yet suffices is better than that which is much but wasteful. The worst apology is that when death is at hand. The worst repentance is that on Judgement Day. There are those people who only attend the *jumʿa*, the Friday prayers, at the end. There are those people who only mention God in vain. The worst of sins is a lying tongue. The best riches are those of the soul. The best of qualities is piety. The pinnacle of wisdom is fear of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The best quality within the heart is that of certainty. Doubting is from disbelief. Wailing in mourning is an act from the *jāhiliyya*. Fraud is of the soil spread in hell. Poetry comes from Satan. Wine is the aggregate of sin. Women are the snares of Satan. Youth is an offshoot of madness. The worst income is that from interest. The worst food is consuming the wealth of orphans. The happy man is he who is warned by (the actions of) others. The most naughty is he who misbehaves within his mother's womb. One of you has only to move four arm lengths away for the matter to lead on to the hereafter. The fundamental of an action is determined by its results. The worst of narratives are those of untruth. All that is to come is near at hand. To swear at a believer is an outrage. To fight a believer is disbelief. To eat his flesh is disobedience of God. The sanctity of his property is as the sanctity of his blood. Whoever takes an oath by God gives the lie to Him. Whoever seeks His forgiveness shall be forgiven. Whoever gives pardon, God will pardon. Whoever suppresses anger, God will reward. Whoever remains firm against calamity, God will compensate. He who desires fame, God will discredit. He who remains firm, God will doubly reward. He who disobeys God, God will punish. O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people!' He spoke this three times, then added, 'I seek God's forgiveness for myself and for you.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, unilateral, and it has some objectionable aspects; and there is some weakness in its line of transmission. God knows best what is right.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that both Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd al-Hamadānī and Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Mu᾽āwiya, from Sa‘īd b. Ghazwān, from his father (who said) that he passed the night at Tabūk while on his way to the pilgrimage. There he noticed a cripple. (Ghazwān's account goes on), "I asked him about himself and he replied, 'I will give you an account, but don't tell anyone of it for so long as I live. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was encamped at Tabūk near a palm tree. He said, "This is our *qibla*." He then performed the prayer towards it. I, a youth at the time, came running along and passed between him and the tree. He then said, "He has severed our connection! May God cut out his footprint!" And I've not stood up on it to this very day!'"

Abū Dā'ūd then related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tanūkhī, from a freed-man of Yazīd b. Nimrān, from Yazīd b. Nimrān, who said, "At Tabūk, I saw a cripple. He told me, 'While riding my donkey, I passed in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was praying. He said, "O God, cut off his footprint!" And I have not been able to walk on it ever since.'"

In another account, the words are, "He cut off our connection! May God cut out his footprint!"

An Account of the prayer spoken for Mu᾽āwiya b. Abū Mu᾽āwiya – if indeed authentic.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting al-‘Alā᾽ Abū Muḥammad al-Thaqafī, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as saying, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Tabūk. The sun came up with a brightness and with rays of light such as I had never seen before. Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, 'Gabriel, why do I see the sun today with a brightness and rays of light such as I never before saw it arise?' He replied, 'That is because Mu᾽āwiya b. Mu᾽āwiya al-Laythī died today in Medina. God sent to him 70,000 angels to pray over him.' 'And why was that?' he asked. 'It was due to the frequency of his reciting the words: "Say: He is God, One" (*sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; CXII, v.1). He did so by night and by day, when walking and upon rising or sitting down. Would you like me, Messenger of God, to take hold of the earth for you so you can pray for him?' 'Yes,' he replied. And he then prayed for him and returned."

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange and objectionable. People base it upon this al-ʿAlāʾ b. Zayd, but he is the object of controversy.

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Hishām b. ʿAlī, quoting ʿUthmān b. al-Haytham, quoting Maḥbūb b. Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Maymūna, from Anas, who said, 'Gabriel came and said, "Muḥammad, Muʾāwiya b. Abū Muʾāwiya al-Mazanī has died. Would you like to pray for him?" "Yes," he replied. Gabriel flapped his wings and every tree and mountain top bent over in submission. He then prayed while behind him there stretched two columns of angels in each of which there were 70,000 angels. 'I (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then asked, "Gabriel, how did he achieve this status with God?" He replied, "By his love for the words, 'Say: He is God, One.' He would recite it standing or sitting, going or coming, and at all times."'"

ʿUthmān went on, "I asked my father where the Prophet was at the time. He replied that he was on the expedition to Tabūk in Syria, that Muʾāwiya had died in Medina and that his bed had been raised up so he could see it and pray for him."

This too is objectionable from this line.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE MESSENGER FROM CAESAR TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AT TABŪK.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā, quoting Yaḥyā b. Salīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Abū Rāshid, who said, "In Ḥims I met al-Tanūkhī, the envoy of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was a neighbour of mine and a very old man who had reached 90 or so. I asked, 'Won't you tell me about the message of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of his message to Heraclius?' 'Certainly,' he replied.

"(He narrated) The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Tabūk and sent Diḥya al-Kalbī to Heraclius. When the message from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached him, Heraclius summoned the priests and patriarchs of Rome and locked himself and them inside a building. He told them, 'This man is encamped where you are aware, and he has sent me offering me three alternatives. He invites me to follow him in his religion, or that we give him what we have on this our land, this land remaining ours, or that we go to war with him. By God, you well know from what you read in the books that he will definitely take our land, so let us either follow him in his faith or give him what we have on our land.'

"They snorted in disgust as one man so hard as almost to burst from their hooded gowns, saying, 'You are inviting us to abandon Christianity or have us be slaves to a bedouin from Ḥijāz?'

"When he realized that when they left him they would turn the Byzantines against him, he made peace with them immediately, saying, 'I only said that to find out how dedicated you are.'

"He then summoned an Arab of Tajīb who had power over the Christian Arabs and said, 'Find me some man who can well remember speech and whose native tongue is Arabic whom I can send to this man with a reply to his message.'

"He brought me to him and Heraclius gave me a letter, saying, 'Take this letter of mine to this man. Commit to memory what he says and note three specifics: take note of any comment he makes about the letter he wrote me; observe whether he reads my letter and whether he makes mention of "night". and observe whether there is anything you find curious about his back.'

"So I set off with his letter and reached Tabūk where I found him seated among his men, his legs drawn up and wrapped in his garment, over near the spring. I asked, 'Where is your leader?' 'This is he,' I was told.

"I went over and sat down before him, handed him my letter which he placed on his lap. He then asked, 'From whom have you come?' 'I am a brother of Tanūkh,' I answered. He asked, 'Would you like to join Islam, the *ḥanafī* faith of your father Abraham?' I replied, 'I am the messenger of my people and belong to the faith of my people; I cannot turn from it before I return to them!' He laughed and said, 'You cannot lead aright whomever you wish; but God leads aright whomever He wishes; He knows best those who will be led aright' (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.56). Brother of Tanūkh, I wrote a message to Chosroe (and he tore it up) and God will tear him up and tear up his realm. I wrote a letter to the Negus and he burned it; and God will burn him up along with his realm. I wrote a letter to your leader and he kept it; the people will continue to experience courage from him so long as there remains goodness in life.'

"I told myself that this was one of the three things my master had advised me about. So I took an arrow from my quiver and used it to write on the side of my sword. He then took the letter and gave it to a man on his left. I asked, 'Who is the man with your letter who reads to you?' 'That is Mu᾽āwiya,' they replied. In my master's letter it said, 'You invite me to a paradise as big as the sky and the earth that is prepared for the pious; then where is hell-fire?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Glory be to God! And where is night when daytime comes?'

"I took an arrow from my quiver and noted this on the leather scabbard of my sword.

"When he had finished reading my letter, he said, 'You are right; you are indeed a messenger. If I had some reward, I would give it to you. We are travellers out of supplies.' One of the group of men then called out to him, 'I will give him a reward.' And he opened his pack and brought me a gold-threaded garment which he placed in my lap. I asked who was the donor of the reward, and I was told it was ʿUthmān.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Which of you will accommodate this man?' One of the young *anṣār* said, 'I will.' The *anṣār* got up and I arose with him. When I had left the group of men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to me, 'Come here, brother of Tanūkh!' I hurried over to where I had been sitting in front of him and he lifted off the shirt from his back and said, 'Over here; carry on and do as you were ordered.' I looked over at his back and saw a seal in the place of the fold of his shoulder blades, like a large mole."

This is a *ḥadīth* that is *gharīb*, unilateral; its line of authorities is not bad. Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving it.

THE PEACE PACT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) MADE WITH THE GOVERNOR OF AYLA AND THE PEOPLE OF JARBĀʾ AND ADHRUḤ WHILE HE WAS ENCAMPED AT TABŪK, BEFORE HIS RETURN.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached Tabūk, Yuḥanna b. Ruʾuba, the Governor of Ayla came to him. He made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and paid him the *jizya*, the alms poll-tax. People also came from Jarbāʾ and Adhruḥ and also gave him the *jizya*.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a document for them which they retain. He wrote the following to Yuḥanna b. Ruʾuba and the people of Ayla: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a guarantee of safe passage from God and Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Yuḥanna b. Ruʾuba and the people of Ayla and their transports by land and sea. They have the protection of God and that of Muḥammad, the Prophet and those with him, of the people of Syria, Yemen and the sea. Those of them who cause any incident (breaking this treaty) shall not find that their wealth protects them; (their property) shall be fair game for whoever seizes it. It shall not be permissible to prevent their passage to any well to which they go or any path they take, whether by land or sea.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Isḥāq: "This is the document of Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, (made) by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "He also wrote to the people of Jarbāʾ and Adhruḥ, as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent; this is a document from Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the people of Jarbāʾ and Adhruḥ: that they are secure under the protection of God and Muḥammad. That they shall pay 100 dīnārs each Rajab and 100 *awqiyya* weight of *ṭība*, fine perfume. Moreover, God holds them responsible for providing friendship and kindness to Muslims, and to any Muslims who might seek refuge with them.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) awarded the people of Ayla his cloak, along with his treaty for them."

He went on, "Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad purchased it (the cloak) thereafter for 300 dīnārs."

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD TO UKAYDIR DŪMA.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Khālid b. al-Walīd and dispatched him to Ukaydir Dūma, he being Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a man of Banū Kinda who had been their king; he was a Christian. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Khālid, 'You will find him hunting for cattle.'

"Khālid travelled until Ukaydir's fortress was in sight. It was a summer's night with a full moon, and Ukaydir was on the roof of his fortress with his wife. Cattle spent the night rubbing their horns against the door of the fortress and his wife asked him, 'Have you never seen anything like that before?' 'No, by God, I have not,' he replied. 'Who could let this go on?' she said. 'No one could,' he replied.

"He then went down and ordered that his horse be brought. It was saddled for him. A number of his family then rode out with him, including a brother of his named Ḥassān. They all left on the hunt.

"When they came out, the cavalry of the Prophet (ṢAAS) engaged them, capturing Ukaydir and killing his brother. He (Ukaydir) was wearing a brocade gown embroidered with gold. Khālid appropriated this and sent it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his own arrival back to him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, quoting Anas b. Mālik, as having said, 'I saw the gown of Ukaydir when it was brought in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The Muslims began feeling it in admiration. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Do you so admire this! Why, I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the kerchiefs of Saʿd b. Muʿādh in paradise are finer than this!"'"

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When Khālid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter spared his blood and made a treaty with him on condition that he pay the *jizya*. He then released him and Ukaydir returned to his village.

A man of Banū Ṭayi' named Bujayr b. Bujara spoke the following verses on this:

'Blessed be He who led the cattle! I have seen that
God leads all who guide.
Let whoever wishes turn from Tabūk; we have been
ordered to engage in the fight.'"

Al-Bayhaqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to this poet, "May God not close your mouth!" He lived on for 70 years, during which he never lost a molar or any other tooth.

Ibn Lahīʿa narrated from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that, upon his return from Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālid against Ukaydir Dūma with a cavalry force of 420 men. His account is similar to the above, except that he stated that he tricked him into descending from his fortress. He said that he brought Ukaydir along with 800 prisoners and 1,000 camels, 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. He related that when the Governor of Ayla, Yuḥanna b. Ruʾuba heard the story of Ukaydir Dūma, he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to make peace with him, and that they both met with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Tabūk. But God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Saʿd b. Aws, from Bilāl b. Yaḥyā, that Abū Bakr, "the trusting", was in command of the *muhājirīn* on the expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal, while Khālid b. al-Walīd commanded the bedouin in that expedition. But God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for some ten days, but not longer, and then left to return to Medina.

"On that route there was a spring that oozed from a rock in a valley that could give enough water for one, two or three riders; the valley was known as Wādī al-Mushaqqaq. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Those who reach there before us should not take any of that water, but should await our arrival.'

"A number of hypocrites did precede him there and took its water. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he stopped there but found nothing and asked, 'Who preceded us here?' He was told, "Messenger of God, it was so-and-so and so-and-so.' He then said, 'Did I not forbid them to take its water till I arrived?' He then cursed them and spoke a prayer against them.

"He then dismounted and placed his hand beneath the rock and there began to flow into it that amount of water that God determined. He then splashed the water over the rock and stroked it with his hand, praying as God wished him to do. At that there came forth from the water – as those say who heard it – a sound like that of a thunder-clap. The men went on to drink from it and to satisfy all their needs from it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'If you live on – or those of you who do – will hear of this valley as more fertile than any other either before or beyond it.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me that ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd used to relate as follows, 'While I was on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I happened to get up in the middle of the night and saw a faint light over towards the camp. I went to see what it was. I found it to be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. ʿAbd Allāh Dhū al-Bijādayn had died, and they had dug a grave for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the grave, while Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were lowering the body to him. As they did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was saying, "Let down your brother close to me!" And they did so. When he placed him in position into his niche, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O God, I was pleased with him; may You be pleased with him!"

"'And ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd would say, "How I wish that grave had been my own!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The reason he was known as 'Dhū al-Bijādayn', 'he of the two pieces of coarse cloth', is because when he wanted to accept Islam, his people prevented him. They persecuted him, and when he eventually escaped them, all he had on was one piece of *bijād*, 'coarse cloth'. He ripped it into two pieces and used one as a waist-wrapper and the other as a shirt. He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and became known as Dhū al-Bijādayn."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī related, from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythī, from his nephew Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, who stated he heard Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥusayn, who was one of those who pledged allegiance at the tree, say, 'I went on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One night I was travelling with him at al-Akhḍar, when God sent sleep down upon me. I awoke to find that my mount was very close to that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I was shocked to find it so close to him, afraid I might strike against his leg in the stirrup. I therefore set about moving my mount away from him. Eventually, some distance further on, my eyes were again overcome and my mount approached him and his leg in the stirrup. This time I only awoke when he shouted, "*Ḥuss*!", "careful!". I exclaimed, "Please forgive me, Messenger of God!" He replied, "Ride on!"

"'He then began asking me about those men of Banū Ghifār who had fallen behind, and I told him. He then asked me, "What happened to those men with long, red, thin beards who had no other facial hair?" I told him they had dropped behind.

"'He went on, "And what about those men with short, black, curly hair?" I replied, "By God, I don't know any like that among us." "Yes," he insisted, "they're the ones who own camels at Shabakat Shadakh."[8] I then remembered them to have been among the Banū Ghifār, but I could not identify them until I recalled them to have been a clan of Aslam who were allied to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What prevented one of them, when he fell behind, from giving transport on one of his mounts, to some man eager to participate in God's cause? It troubles me greatly to have *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, along with men of Ghifār and Aslam, fall behind."'"

Ibn Lahīʿa quoted Abū al-Aswad as telling him that ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out to return from Tabūk to Medina, a group of hypocrites plotted to assassinate him by casting him down from a steep ridge on to the path below. He was informed of this and ordered the men to pass through the valley while he mounted the ridge. Those who had plotted accompanied him, having muffled their faces. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān to proceed along with him, ʿAmmār holding the bridle of his camel, while Ḥudhayfa urged it forward.

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[8] A well in Hijāz belonging to Banū Aslam.

"While they were proceeding, they heard the group (of assassins) descending upon them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became angry and when Ḥudhayfa saw this, he went back towards the assassins carrying a bent cudgel that he waved in the faces of their mounts. When they saw Ḥudhayfa, they realized that the terrible deed they planned had been discovered, so they hurried away and mingled with the rest of the force.

"Ḥudhayfa returned and caught up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He ordered his two guides to hurry ahead and they traversed the ridge trail and halted, waiting for the others. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked Ḥudhayfa, 'Did you recognize those men?' 'No,' he replied, 'all I could see was their mounts as I came down at them in the dark of night.' He then asked, 'And do you two men know anything about what these men were doing?' 'No,' they replied. And he told them both of what they had conspired to do to him; he named them, and asked the two men to keep this confidential.

"They asked, 'Messenger of God, won't you order us to kill them?' He replied, 'I dislike to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own men.'"

Ibn Isḥāq gave this account, except for relating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the names of the conspirators only to Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. This is more likely; but God knows best.

Evidence for this is in the words of Abū al-Dardāʾ to ʿAlqama, the friend of Ibn Masʿūd: "Do you not have among you" – meaning the people of Kūfa – "the *ṣāḥib al-sawād wa al-wisād*?"[9] (By this he meant Ibn Masʿūd.) "And do you not have among you the *ṣāḥib al-sirr*, 'he in charge of the secret'?" (By this he meant Ḥudhayfa.) "And do you not have among you he whom God protected from the devil through the tongue of Muḥammad?" (By this, he meant ʿAmmār.)

And the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, has been quoted as having said to Ḥudhayfa, "I adjure you by God to say whether I was one of them!" "No," he replied, "But I'll not declare innocent anyone else after you!" Meaning, in order not to disclose the secret of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

I observe that they were 14 men, though some say they were 12. Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥūdhayfa b. al-Yamān to assemble them and that the former then told them what they had conspired to do. Ibn Isḥāq proceeded to list their names and said, "And it was about them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the words, 'And they set out to do what they did not accomplish.' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; X, v.74).

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[9] Lord of the fertile plains and of the hills.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Aᶜmash, from ᶜAmr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī, from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who said, "I was holding the halter of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and leading it ahead, while ᶜAmmār drove it" – or his words were, "I was driving it while ᶜAmmār was leading it". "Suddenly, there on the ridge trail were 12 men blocking our way along it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was startled at this and shouted out at them, and they turned and went back.

"He then asked us, 'Did you recognize them?' We replied, 'Messenger of God, they were muffled. We did recognize their mounts, however.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, 'Those are men who will be hypocrites right on until Judgement Day! Do you know what they intended?' 'No,' we replied. 'They wanted to crowd out the Messenger of God, on the trail, to cast him down from it!'

"We asked him, 'Messenger of God, would you not have us contact their tribes to have each one send us the head of their man?' 'No,' he replied. 'I dislike having the Arabs discuss how Muḥammad had his people fight with him until God gave him victory, and that he then turned on them and killed them.'

"He proceeded to say, 'O God, cast *al-dubayla* at them!' We asked, 'Messenger of God, what is this *al-dubayla*? He replied, 'It is a flame that strikes a person's aorta and kills him.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of authority through Shuᶜba, from Qatāda, from Abū Naḍra, from Qays b. ᶜUbayda, who stated, "I said to ᶜAmmār, 'Do you regard this action of yours – relating to ᶜAlī, that is – to be an opinion you hold, or something that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) enjoined upon you?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never enjoined upon us anything he did not require of the people as a whole. Except that Ḥudhayfa quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, "Among my men there are twelve hypocrites; of these, eight will not enter paradise until camels pass through the eyes of needles!"'"

In an account on a different line of transmission from Qatāda, he is quoted as having stated, "In my nation there are twelve hypocrites who will not enter paradise until camels go through the eyes of needles! And *al-dubayla* will take care of eight of them for you – a glowing fire that will appear between their shoulders and pass on through them to emerge from their chests."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqi stated, "It was related to us by Ḥudhayfa that they were fourteen – or fifteen – and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swore by God that twelve of them would make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and on the day when the witnesses stand and testify. He forgave three of them who said, 'We did not hear anyone make the announcement and did not know what was wanted of us.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by Imām Aḥmad in his compendium. He stated, "Yazīd related to us, he being Ibn Hārūn, quoting al-Walīd b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jamīᶜ, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was coming back from the expedition to Tabūk, he ordered a crier to announce, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is going along the ridge trail and no one should take that route."'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was being led by Ḥudhayfa and urged forward by ʿAmmār, a group of men, muffled and on mounts appeared. They descended upon ʿAmmār, who was urging ahead the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ʿAmmār advanced at them, striking at the heads of their mounts. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called to Ḥudhayfa, '*Qadin*! *Qadin*!' 'Lead on! Lead on!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on down from the gully and when he had done so, and ʿAmmār had returned, the former asked the latter, 'ʿAmmār, did you recognize those men?' He replied, 'I recognized most of their mounts, but the men were muffled.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Do you know what they intended?' 'God and His Messenger know best,' ʿAmmār replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) explained, 'They intended to crowd out the Messenger of God and cast him down.'

"ʿAmmār later spoke in confidence to one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asking him, 'I adjure you by God, how many do you know the group on the ridge trail to have been?' 'Fourteen men,' he replied. ʿAmmār commented, 'If you were among them, that would have meant fifteen!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forgave three, who said, 'We did not hear the crier of the Messenger of God, and had no idea what they intended.' ʿAmmār stated, 'I declare that the remaining twelve will make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and the day the witnesses stand and testify.'"

An Account of the al-Ḍirār Mosque.

God Almighty stated, "Those who built a mosque *ḍirāran*, to do harm, in unbelief, to disperse the believers and to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger. And they will surely insist, 'It was only good we sought.' But God will declare that they are surely liars. Never stand inside it. A mosque built on piety from its first day is more fit to have men stand within it who like to purify themselves; and God loves those who are pure. Is he who founded his building on fear of God and pleasing Him better, or is he who built his structure upon the side of an undercut bank, which will collapse with him into the fires of hell? God does not guide a people who are unjust. Their structure they built will continue to give them discontent in their hearts, unless their hearts are cut to pieces! God is All-Knowing, Wise" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.107–10).

We have discussed interpretation of matters relating to these verses sufficiently heretofore in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And all praise be to God!

Ibn Isḥāq discussed how this mosque came to be built, and its evil people, and how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), upon his return from Tabūk and before he entered Medina, ordered its destruction.

The gist of this is that a group of hypocrites built a replica of a mosque near that at Qubāʾ. They wished for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to pray for them in it in order to further their purposes of corruption, disbelief and obstinacy.

God forbad His Messenger from praying in it. This was because he was in the process of travelling to Tabūk. When he returned from there, he stopped at Dhū Awān – a place an hour's travel from Medina. It was while he was there that revelation came to him about that mosque – namely, the Almighty's words, "Those who built a mosque to do harm . . ." (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.107).

As for the word *ḍirār*, "harm", used here, it related to their wish to imitate the mosque at Qubāʾ and did so in *kufr*, "disbelief", in God, not in belief in Him, and also as a means of *tafrīq*, "causing separation", of the congregation from the mosque at Qubāʾ.

And they acted *irṣādan*, "in order to subvert", those who had formerly fought God and His Messenger. This referred to Abū ʿĀmir, the immoral monk, may God rebuke him. What had happened earlier was that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had invited him to accept Islam, he refused and went to Mecca and incited them to war. Then they attacked at Uḥud, with the outcome we have given above. Having failed in his purpose, he went to the king of the Byzantines seeking his help against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū ʿĀmir followed the same faith as Heraclius, along with those other Arabs who had become Christians. He would write to his brothers who were acting in hypocrisy, making promises to them and raising their hopes, Satan merely increasing their delusion. His messages and letters kept coming to them constantly.

And so they constructed this overtly as a mosque, while secretly it was a place of war, and a centre for those who came from Abū ʿĀmir, the monk, and a meeting place for those who were hypocrites like themselves. This is why the Almighty stated, ". . . to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger".

He then stated, "And they will definitely insist," that is, those who built it, "it was only good we sought." That is, "We only wanted good in building it." And God further stated, "But God will declare that they are surely liars."

God then told His Messenger, "Never stand inside it." He forbad standing in it in order not to endorse its cause. He went on to order and encourage him to stand in the mosque that had been established in piety from the very first, this being the mosque at Qubāʾ, for the text and reports that exist praise the purity of its congregation, while making reference to it.

The evidence given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the mosque (referred to here) is that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) does not refute the above comment. For even if the Qubāʾ mosque were founded in piety from its very first day, then that applies even more appropriately to the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the virtue of the latter is even stronger and firmer.

We have commented exhaustively on this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And all praise be to God.

The outcome was that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhū Awān, he called for Mālik b. al-Dukhshum and Maʿan b. ʿAdī – or his brother ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī – may God be pleased with them both – and told them to go to that mosque whose people were evil and to burn it. They did then proceed there and burnt it down, and those who had attended it left it.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Those who had built it were 12 men. These were Khidām b. Khālid, next to whose home it was built. Then there were Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib, Muʿattib b. Qushayr, Abū Ḥabība b. al-Azʿar, ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf (a brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf), Jāriyya b. ʿĀmir and his two sons Mujammiʿ and Zayd, Nabtal b. al-Ḥārith, Baḥzaj (who belonged to Banū Ḍubayʿa), Bijād b. ʿUthmān (of Banū Ḍubayʿa) and Wadīʿa b. Thābit (who was of Banū Umayya).

I note that on this expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the *al-fajr*, "the dawn prayer", behind ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, joining him in the second *rakʿa*. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone to make his ablutions in the company of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, and was late in arriving. And so the prayer began with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf leading it. When they made their greetings, the congregation attributed much importance to what had happened. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, however, "You have done extremely well, and acted correctly." This is according to what al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy on him, related.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the Tabūk expedition and approached Medina, he said, "In Medina there are people who, whatever distance you covered, whatever valleys you crossed, were always there with you." They asked him, "While they were still there in Medina, Messenger of God?" He replied, "Yes, while there (valid) excuses kept them confined to Medina."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālid b. Makhlad related to him, quoting Sulaymān, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd, from Abū Ḥumayd, who said, "We returned with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the expedition to Tabūk and eventually saw Medina below us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'This is Ṭāba (Medina); and that is Uḥud, a mountain that loves us and that we love.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from al-Sāʾib b. Yazīd, who said, "I remember going out to Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ with the boys to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his arrival from the expedition to Tabūk."

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda quoted Abū ʿAmr b. Maṭar (as having said), 'I heard Abū Khalīfa say, "I heard Ibn ʿĀʾisha say, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived back in Medina, the women and the boys and girls began calling out, "The full moon has come out for us over Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ! We owe our thanks to one who only invited towards God."'"'"

Al-Bayhaqī commented, "Our scholars relate that this is what was said when he arrived in Medina from Mecca, not when he arrived there from Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ on his return from Tabūk; God knows best. We have, in any case, made reference to it here as well."

THE ḤADĪTH OF KAʿB B. MĀLIK, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, AS QUOTED BY AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said that ʿAbd Allāh, son of Kaʿb b. Mālik, who was one of the sons of Kaʿb and acted as the latter's guide when he became blind, said, "I heard (my father) Kaʿb b. Mālik relate the story of the expedition to Tabūk from which he remained behind, as follows, 'The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part in which I did not participate was that to Tabūk. Except, that is, for the battle of Badr. And God did not censure anyone who had not taken part in it because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had actually gone out on that occasion to seek the Quraysh caravan. And then God brought them (the Muslims) and their enemy together without any prior expectation of that. I was present the night of the pledge at al-ʿAqaba when we made our commitment for Islam; and I would not prefer to have attended Badr instead of it, even though people consider that more worthy of prestige.

"'The fact was that I had never been stronger nor wealthier than I was when I remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he went on that expedition. I swear, never before that had I owned two riding camels, as I acquired from that expedition. Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to send out an expedition, he would talk of one to a different destination. Except for that one. That one he was to make at a time of extreme heat and by travelling very far against a numerous enemy. And so he announced this clearly to the Muslims, so that they could make appropriate arrangements for the expedition. He informed them of the destination for which he was heading. The Muslims accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were many in number; such that a single *kitāb ḥāfiẓ* (by which he meant a *diwān*, "a register") would not have contained them.'

"Kaʿb went on, 'Every man wishing to be absent from it thought it would remain undisclosed, provided that God did not give any revelation about it. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed on that expedition at a time when the fruits and the shade were very alluring.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his preparations, as did the Muslims accompanying him. I also began hurrying to prepare, but I would retire without accomplishing anything. I would then tell myself, "I can do it!" I kept delaying, while the others were making serious efforts. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him departed, I had completed none of my preparations. I said, "I'll get ready in a day or two and then catch up with them." The morning after they left, I went off to get ready, but came back again having accomplished nothing. Again next morning I did the same, but returned having done nothing. And so it continued with me while they hurried on and the expedition came to an end. I constantly intended to leave and overtake them – how I wish I had! But that was not fated for me.

"'Whenever I went out and mixed with people after the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it grieved me that the only men I saw were persons suspected of hypocrisy or those excused by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because they were in poor health.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made no mention of me until after he arrived at Tabūk. Then, while sitting there with his men, he asked, "What happened to Kaʿb?" A man of Banū Salama replied, "Messenger of God, he has been detained by his two cloaks, and by his gazing at his own two flanks!" Muʿādh b. Jabal commented, "That's a rotten thing to say! By God, Messenger of God, we know nothing of him but good!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.'

"Kaʿb b. Mālik went on, 'When I learned that he had begun his return journey, I began to feel anxious. I began thinking up excuses, wondering how I would be able to avoid incurring his anger. I sought the help of everyone of wisdom in my family. When it was said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was close at hand, all this silliness left me, and I knew I could never extricate myself using any deception; I decided to tell him the truth.

"'One morning he arrived back. Whenever he returned from a journey he would first go to the mosque, where he would perform a prayer of two *rakʿāt* and he would then sit down with the congregation. And so when he had done this, those who had remained behind began coming and offering excuses and declaring oaths to him. There were some 80 such men. He accepted from them the statements they made and their pledges of allegiance and then he sought forgiveness for them, relying upon God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to determine their inner thoughts.

"'Then I came to him. When I greeted him, he gave me a smile, but it was that of someone made angry. He said, "Come over here." I walked over and sat before him. He then asked, "What kept you back? Had you not already purchased a mount?" I replied, "Yes, I had. If I were sitting before anyone else in the world than yourself, I would decide to escape his anger by making up some excuse. And I have been gifted with eloquence. But, I swear by God, I am sure that if I were to tell you lies to please you, God would surely soon thereafter make you angry with me. Whereas if I tell you the truth, though you will be angry with me, I will hope for God's pardon. Actually, I swear by God, I had no excuse; I had never been stronger or more wealthy than when I remained behind."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "Well, this man has told the truth. Get up until God makes his decision about you."

"'I arose, as did those men there of Banū Salama, and they followed me outside, saying, "By God, we never before knew you to commit such a sin! You are at fault. Could you not have made excuses to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as the others did who stayed behind? The request for forgiveness that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have made for you would have been enough for you." They kept on blaming me, so that I thought seriously of going back and denying what I had previously said.

"'But then I asked them, "Has anyone other than myself received the same response?" They replied, "Yes; two men. They said as you did, and his response to them was as to yourself." "Who are they?" I asked. "Marāra b. al-Rabī῾ al-῾Amrī and Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifī," they replied. Those they mentioned were fine men who had been present at Badr – exemplary men. When they told me their names, I went on my way.'

"Ka῾b b. Mālik continued, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) banned Muslims from speaking with all three of us who had remained behind. People avoided us, and so changed their relationships with us that the very land itself seemed unfamiliar to me. We stayed in this state for 50 nights.

"'The other two men simply remained inside their homes, weeping. I was the youngest and most resilient. I continued to go out and to participate in the prayers with other Muslims and walked in the markets; no one spoke to me. I would still go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and greet him while seated in his assemblies following the prayers, and I would ask myself whether or not he had moved his lips in response. I would pray close by him and look at him stealthily. As I prayed, he would look over at me, but when I turned towards him, he would look away.

"'Finding this rejection by everyone to be onerous, I walked out and climbed over the wall of the garden of Abū Qatāda, my nephew of whom I was very fond. I greeted him, but, I swear by God, he did not even return my greeting. I asked, "Abū Qatāda, I appeal to you by God! Do you not know that I love God and His Messenger?" He remained silent. I appealed to him again, but he made no reply. Again I appealed and now he said, "God and His Messenger know best." At that my eyes streamed tears, and I turned away and climbed back over the wall.

"'While one day I was walking in the market of Medina, I saw a Nabaṭī[10] from Syria who had come to sell his produce in Medina. He was asking, "Who will direct me to Ka῾b b. Mālik?" People began pointing to me, and he came over and gave me a letter from the King of Ghassān enclosed in a silken envelope. The letter stated, "I have been informed that your master has behaved harshly to you. God will not make you stay in a place where you are despised and ill-treated. So join with us. We will relieve you." When I read this, I said, "This also is a trial!" I took it to an oven where I burned it.

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[10] A word apparently used here to indicate a Christian farmer. The Nabateans were centred in S. Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Petra, a mountainous city with its many splendid edifices carved from rock.

"'Things went on as before until 40 of the 50 nights had passed. Then an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to me and said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), orders you to keep away from your wife." "Should I divorce her, or what?" I asked. "No," he replied, "just keep away from her; do not go near her." He sent similar messages to each of the other two men. I told my wife, "Go and join your family. Stay with them until God decides this matter."

"'Then the wife of Hilāl b. Umayya went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Messenger of God, Hilāl b. Umayya is a needy old man who has no servant. Do you dislike my serving him?" He replied, "No; but he should not come near you." She asked, "I swear by God, he has no desire for anything. He has not stopped weeping since this began, right on up to the present."

"'After that some of my family asked me, "Why don't you ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permission for your wife, as Hilāl b. Umayya asked, that his wife could serve him?' I replied, "I swear by God, I'll not ask his permission about that! How do I know what he might say if I asked him this, since I am still a young man?"

"'Ten more days went by as before until we had gone through fifty since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had forbidden people to speak to us. When I had performed the dawn prayer on the fiftieth night on the roof of one of our houses, sitting in that state that God, Almighty and Glorious is He, described, my spirit feeling constrained and "the earth constricted, though it was spacious . . ." (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118). I heard the voice of someone who had climbed Mt. Salʿ shouting at the top of his voice, "Rejoice, Kaʿb!"

"'I prostrated before God, realizing that relief had come. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had, after he had performed the *al-fajr*, "pre-dawn prayer", announced God's forgiveness of us, and people had come out to tell us the good news. They had gone to the other two men to tell them and a man hurried up on a horse to inform me, while a man of Banū Aslam had climbed up the mountain; his voice had been quicker to reach me than the horse.

"'When the man whose voice I heard came to me to inform me, I took off the two garments I was wearing and presented them to him for his having brought me such good news. And I swear to God, at that time those were the only clothes I owned! I borrowed two garments and put them on, then went off to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The people began swarming in to see me, congratulating me on God's forgiveness of me and expressing their delight at this.

"'Then I went in to the mosque where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated, with people all around him. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh hurried up to me, shook hands and congratulated me. I swear, no others of the *muhājirīn* did so, and I will never forget Ṭalḥa's action.

"'When I greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, his face beaming with pleasure, "Rejoice at the best day you have ever had since your mother gave you birth!"

"'I asked him, "Does this (forgiveness) come from you, Messenger of God, or from God?" He replied, "No; it is from God." When he was pleased, his whole face would radiate as though a piece of the moon; we well knew this characteristic of his. When I sat down before him, I asked, "Messenger of God, in acknowledgement of God's acceptance of my repentance, I will give up my property as a donation to God and to His Messenger."

"'He replied, "Keep some of what you own; that will be best for you." I replied, "I will just keep my share of the booty from Khaybar."

"'I then said, "Messenger of God, it is only my honesty that saved me. It shall be part of my repentance that I will speak nothing but the truth for as long as I live." And I swear by God, I know of no Muslim whom God has so helped for telling the truth, since I told him that truth, than He has helped myself. And since I made that pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I have never intentionally told a lie. And I hope very much that God will preserve me from doing so for as long as I live.

"'And then God revealed to His Messenger (ṢAAS) the verse: "God has forgiven the Prophet, the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*" up to the words "and be with those who are truthful" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117–119).

"'I swear by God, God never bestowed upon me any greater blessings, after he led me to Islam, than having me speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that I did not lie to him and so suffer the same fate as those who had lied. For God Almighty spoke to those who lied more terrible things than He ever did to anyone. The Almighty said, "They will swear by God to you, when you turn away from them," and on to the words, "God is surely not pleased with those who are immoral" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.95–6).

"'We three men were quite different from those who swore to him, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted their excuses and their allegiance and forgave them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) postponed judgement over us until God decided the matter. Therefore God Almighty said, "and (forgiveness is) for those three who remained behind" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118). The reference made here by God is not to our having remained behind from the expedition, but to postponement by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of deciding our case, unlike that of those who swore to him and made excuses that he accepted.'"

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhrī. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related it from al-Zuhrī in a text similar to that of al-Bukhārī. We quoted this in our Exegesis from the *Musnad* compendium of Imām Aḥmad; in that account there are minor additions. And all praise and credit are due to God.

REFERENCE TO DISOBEDIENT PERSONS OTHER THAN THOSE WHO HAD REMAINED BEHIND.

Regarding the words of the Almighty, "And others have confessed their sins, thus mixing a good deed with one that was bad; *ʿasā*, 'perhaps', God will turn to them in forgiveness. God is very Forgiving, Beneficent" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.102). Alī b. Ṭalḥa al-Wālibī quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as having said, "They were a group of ten men who remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the time of the expedition to Tabūk. When it came time for his return, seven of them attached themselves to pillars of the mosque.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by them, he asked, 'Who are these men?' He was told, 'They are Abū Lubāba and associates of his who remained behind you; (they intend to stay here) until you set them free and forgive them.' He commented, 'I swear by God, I'll not release them, nor will I forgive them until God, the Almighty and Glorious, releases them! They disregarded me and remained behind from the expedition on which the other Muslims departed.'

"When they learned of this, the men said, 'We will not release ourselves until God does so.' And then God the Almighty and Glorious revealed the verse, 'And others have confessed their sins . . .'. The word *ʿasā* used in this verse has the power of certainty when applied to God. When it was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to them, and released and forgave them. They then brought their possessions to him, saying, 'Messenger of God, these are what we own; take them as a donation from us and seek forgiveness from God for us.' He replied, 'I have not been ordered to take your possessions.'

"Then God revealed, 'Take alms from their property; you will purify and cleanse them thereby. And pray for them. Your prayer is a relief for them. God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing . . .' as far as the words '. . . and others are made to wait for God's command; He would either punish them or turn to them in mercy' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.103–6).

"This referred to those who had not tied themselves to the pillars and about whom a decision was deferred until there came down the words of the Almighty, 'God has forgiven the Prophet, the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* who followed him . . .'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117).

ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿīd quoted Ibn ʿAbbās in words similar to these.

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Mujāhid b. Isḥāq narrated the story of Abū Lubāba in respect to the battle with Banū Qurayza; they told of his attaching himself until he was granted forgiveness. And then he remained behind from the expedition to Tabūk and again tied himself up until God forgave him. He then wanted to give up all his possessions as a donation, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "No; one-third of it will suffice."

Mujāhid b. Isḥāq stated, "And it was about him that there was revealed, 'And others have confessed their sins'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.102).

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab stated, "And thereafter only good in Islam was seen of him; may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure."

I observe that perhaps the reference here is not to the three above as well as the rest. Perhaps they restricted reference to him (Abū Lubāba) because he was their leader, as the text of Ibn ʿAbbās indicates. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Aḥmad b. al-Zubayrī, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from ʿIyāḍ b. ʿIyād, from his father, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us. He said, 'There are hypocrites among you. Let those I name arise. Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so!' And he went on until he had given 36 names. He then said, 'There are within you' (or 'there are among you') 'hypocrites. Ask for relief from God.' ʿUmar passed by a man concealing his face. He had earlier been acquainted with him. ʿUmar asked, 'What is the matter?' He then related to him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. At this, he (ʿUmar) said, 'Keep away for the rest of the day.'"

I observe that those who remained behind the expedition to Tabūk consisted of four categories. Those who were ordered to do so and were rewarded, like ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad b. Maslama and Ibn Umm Maktūm. Those who were excused, such as the weak and the sick. Those who were *muqillun*, "ill-equipped", such as those who wept. And there were those who were disobedient and were subject to criticism. These were the three men and Abū Lubāba and his companions mentioned above. There were also others who were blameworthy and were rebuked. These were the hypocrites.

An Account of the events after the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Tabūk to Medina.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-Ḥāfiẓ* related to us, by dictation, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Abū al-Bakhtarī ʿAbd Allāh b. Shākir, quoting Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā, quoting the uncle of Abū Zakhr b. *Ḥiṣn*, from his grandfather Ḥāmid b. Manhab, who said, 'I heard my grandfather Khuraym b. Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Lām say, "I emigrated to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on his return from Tabūk and heard al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib say, 'Messenger of God, I want to express some verses of praise in your honour.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Speak on, and may God not block your mouth!' And al-ʿAbbās then recited:

> "Previously, you were content in the shadows and in a
> storehouse where palm leaves are kept.
> Then you came down into the land; you are no more
> human being, not droplet, no clot,
> No; a droplet riding the flow, having bridled an eagle
> that loves to dive.

You were borne from loins to womb; when one person
passed on, another vessel appeared
Until your guardian house encompassed Mt. Khindif, its
heights towering above other peaks.
When you were born, the earth grew bright and the
horizon was illuminated with your light.
We are now in that brightness and that light, and we
pass on along the paths of righteousness."'"'

Al-Bayhaqī then related this from another line, from Abū al-Sakan Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā al- Ṭāʾī. In one part of this line, the above is related from him.

Al-Bayhaqī went on, "He spoke further and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'This is white al-Ḥīra (I see) raised up (in a vision) for me. And this (I see) is al-Shaymāʾ, daughter of Nufayla al-Azadiyya. She is riding a grey mule veiled in a black scarf.' I asked, 'Messenger of God, when we conquer al-Ḥīra and I find her as you describe, may she be mine?' 'She will be yours,' he said.

"'The *ridda*,[11] 'apostacy', wars then arose; no one from (Banū) al-Ṭāʾī apostatized. We were busy fighting the neighbouring Arabs over Islam. We battled against Qays, of whom was ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn. We also fought Banū Asad, of whom was Ṭalḥa b. Khuwaylid. Khālid b. al-Walīd would give us praise, including the following verses he recited:

'May God requite Ṭāʾī in their homes most handsomely
for fighting like heroes.
They are worthy of the banners of nobility and
magnanimity that flutter when the east wind blows through
every tent.
They struck at Qays for the faith, after the latter had
responded to the calls of darkness and blindness.'

"Khālid then went on to attack Muslaylima[12] the Imposter and we accompanied him. When we had finished with Musaylima, we proceeded on towards al-Baṣra. There we encountered Hurmuz at Kāẓima[13] with an army larger than our own force.

"There was no Persian more strenuous in his antagonism to the Arabs and Islam than Hurmuz. Khālid proceeded out against him and challenged him to single combat. He accepted, and Khālid killed him. Khālid sent a dispatch to inform (the Caliph Abū Bakr) 'the trusting', and he (Abū Bakr) awarded the booty from Hurmuz to Khālid. The tall headgear of Hurmuz fetched 100,000

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[11] The term given to the unrest and battles that occurred as a result of dissension and the apostacy of some Arab tribes following the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and the establishment of the Caliphate.

[12] See footnote above.

[13] A place on the coast between al-Baḥrayn and al-Baṣra, positioned some two days' journey at that time from the latter city.

dirhams; the Persians were accustomed to awarding headgear worth 100,000 *dirhams* to one of their number who acquired nobility.

"We then moved out along the al-Ṭaff route to al-Ḥīra. The first person to meet us there when we entered it was al-Shaymāʾ, daughter of Nufayla, just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said; she was mounted on a grey mule and veiled with a black scarf. I took her prisoner, saying, 'This woman was gifted to me by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"Khālid asked me to bring witnesses proving this, and so I did. The witnesses were Muḥammad b. Maslama and Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī. Khālid then awarded her to me.

"After that her brother ʿAbd al-Masīḥ came down to seek peace. He asked me to sell her to him. I replied, 'I swear, I'll not do so for less that 1,000 *dirhams*!' He gave me 1,000 *dirhams* and I handed her over to him. People told me, 'If you had demanded 100,000 *dirhams*, he would have paid it to you.' I told them, 'I could not figure any number larger than 1,000!'"

THE ARRIVAL OF A DELEGATION FROM THAQĪF TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) IN RAMAḌĀN OF 9 AH.

It is told above how, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Thaqīf he was asked to invoke God against them. But he spoke prayer seeking guidance for them.

It is similarly told above that when Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him with honour, made presents to him and placed him in command of those of his people who accepted Islam. Thereafter, Mālik would make attacks into Thaqīf territory and harass them until he had forced them into acceptance of Islam.

It is also related above by Abū Dā'ūd about how Ṣakhr b. al-ʿAyla al-Aḥmasī remained in Thaqīf until he brought them down from their fortress under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and led him to Medina, with the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to do so.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived back in Medina from Tabūk in Ramaḍān, and that same month a delegation from Banū Thaqīf arrived.

"It is told of Banū Thaqīf, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left them, ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd followed after him and caught him up before he arrived in Medina. ʿUrwa accepted Islam and asked permission to return to his people to bring them into Islam.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him – so his people say – 'They will fight you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew of the strong feeling of resistance they would feel against one of their own. But ʿUrwa said, 'I am more beloved by them than their first-born!' And he was indeed thus loved and obeyed among them.

"ʿUrwa then left to call upon his people to join Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of his high status with them. But when he appeared on his high balcony, revealed his faith to them and called for them to join Islam, they cast arrows at him from every side. One struck him a mortal blow.

"Banū Mālik claim that it was one of their men, named Aws b. ʿAwf, a brother of Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf, who killed him. The Aḥlāf, however, claim that it was one of theirs, a man of Banū ʿAttāb called Wahb b. Jābir. ʿUrwa was asked what he thought about his (imminent) death, and he replied, 'It is an honour that God has awarded me, a martyrdom God has given me. I am no different from those martyrs killed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he went from you. So bury me with them.' And they did so.

"They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, 'His position among his people is like that of the hero of (*sūrat*) *Yāsīn* (XXXVI, v.19) among his people.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related similarly the story of ʿUrwa. However, he claimed that this occurred after the pilgrimage made by Abū Bakr, "the trusting". Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī agreed with this view.

But this is unlikely. What is authentic is that this came about before the pilgrimage of Abū Bakr, as Ibn Isḥāq related. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Thaqīf remained thus for some months after the killing of ʿUrwa. They then conferred together and decided they lacked the power to fight all the Arabs around them, and so they pledged their allegiance and accepted Islam.

"Their decision to confer together accorded with the view of ʿAmr b. Umayya, brother of Banū ʿIlāj. Having conferred, they agreed to send out one of their men, ʿAbd Yālīl b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr, accompanied by two of the Aḥlāf and three men of Banū Mālik. These men were al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr b. Wahb b. Muʿattib, Shuraḥbīl b. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Muʿattib, ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, Aws b. ʿAwf, brother of Banū Sālim, and Numayr b. Kharasha b. Rabīʿa."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "They were a body of some ten men, including Kināna b. ʿAbd Yālīl – he being their leader. They also had with them ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who was the youngest member of the delegation."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "When they neared Medina, they halted at Qanāt. There they met al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who was taking his turn to pasture the riding camels of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he sighted them, he hurried off to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their arrival. Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', met him and al-Mughīra told him of the men of Banū Thaqīf who were coming to pledge their allegiance and to accept Islam, provided that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met some of their conditions and wrote a document treating their people. Abū Bakr told al-Mughīra, 'Please don't go in before me to tell the Messenger of God; let me be the first to tell him.' Al-Mughīra agreed and Abū Bakr went in and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their arrival. Al-Mughīra then went back to rejoin his companions, and with them brought in the camels.

He also instructed them how they should greet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since the only greeting they then used was still that of the *Jāhiliyya*.

"When they came in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he had a tent pitched for them in the mosque. It was Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ who walked (with messages) between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he brought food for them from home, they refrained from eating until Khālid b. Saʿīd did so first. It was he who wrote out their pact for them.

"One condition they proposed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that he allow them to keep their idol al-Lāt for a period of three years. They kept on bargaining with him regarding the issues of time, with him constantly refusing until ultimately they asked for one month after their return so that the foolish people among them could become accustomed. He refused them any set period and insisted he was going to send Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra to destroy the Goddess.

"They also requested that they not perform the prayers and that they themselves should not have to destroy their idols. He said, 'Regarding yourselves destroying your idols, this we will excuse you. But concerning the prayer, there is no good in a faith devoid of prayer.' They said, 'Then we will perform them, though it is demeaning.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Ḥumayd, from al-Ḥasan, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said that the delegation from Thaqīf came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he had them reside in the mosque to have it make an impression on them. They posed the condition that they not be required to take part in expeditions, that they not be required to pay a tithe, not be otherwise taxed, and that no others would be placed in command of them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed, saying, 'You will not be required to fight; you will not have to pay a tithe, and others will not have command over you. And there is no good in a religion without prayer prostrations.'

"ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ asked, 'Messenger of God, teach me the Qurʾān and appoint me Imām for my people.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥumayd.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that al-Ḥasan b. al-Sabāḥ related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b.ʿAbd al-Karīm, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAqīl b. Maʿqil b. Munabbih, from Wahb (who said), "I asked Jābir about what happened when Thaqīf pledged allegiance. He replied, 'They proposed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the condition that they should not have to give alms, nor do battle.' Jābir also stated that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say thereafter, 'They will give alms, and will do battle when they become Muslims.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When they accepted Islam and he had written a document for them, he appointed ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ as their commander; he was among their youngest. This was because (Abū Bakr) 'the trusting' told him, 'Messenger of God, I observe this young man to be the one of them most dedicated to Islam, and to learning the Qurʾān.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when their delegation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they had left ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ behind with their camels, and that when they returned at midday, he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask him for information and about reciting the Qurʾān. Finding him to be asleep, he then went to Abū Bakr, "the trusting". His training lasted until he had become expert in Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to like him very much.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shikhkhīr, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'One of the last things the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked of me was when he sent me to Thaqīf. He told me, "ʿUthmān, be concise in the prayer. Evaluate the people by their weakest member, for they will include the old, the young, the weak and those in need."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, from Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, from Muṭarrif, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Appoint me as my people's Imām.' He replied, 'You are their Imām. Be guided by their weakest person. And appoint as your *mu'azzin*, "prayer announcer", someone who will not accept payment for summoning to the prayer.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAliyya, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. As is related above.

Aḥmad related from ʿAffān, from Wahb and from Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmr, from Zāʾida, both of these quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Dā'ūd b. Abū ʿĀṣim, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, that the last direction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to him when he appointed ʿUthmān as commander of al-Ṭāʾif, was to say, "When you say the prayers with a group, take it easy on them." He told him further, "Recite: 'In the name of your Lord who created . . .' (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*; XCVI, v.1) and similar passages from the Qurʾān."

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra (who said), "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ spoke as follows, "The last instruction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me was to say, 'When you act as Imām for a group, make the prayer easy for them.'"'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and from Bindār, both of whom quoted Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ghundar. Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaᶜlā al-Ṭā᾽ifī, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam (who said) that he heard ᶜUthmān b. Abū al-ᶜĀṣ say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed me in command of al-Ṭā᾽if, and the last instruction he gave me was to say, 'Make the prayer easy for the people.'"

Muslim is alone in giving it with this line of transmission.

Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd related to him, quoting ᶜAmr b. ᶜUthmān, quoting Mūsā – he being Ibn Ṭalḥa – to the effect that ᶜUthmān b. Abū al-ᶜĀṣ related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him Imām for his people and then said, "He who becomes an Imām for a people should be easy on them; they include those who are weak, elderly and in need. When he prays alone, he can pray however he wishes."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ᶜAmr b. ᶜUthmān.

Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar, quoting Shuᶜba, from al-Nuᶜmān b. Sālim (who said), "I heard some elders of Thaqīf saying, 'ᶜUthmān b. Abū al-ᶜĀṣ told us, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, 'Be your people's Imām; and if you are a people's Imām you should make the prayer easy for them. For among them there will stand the young and the old, the weak and the sick, and those who are in need.'"'"

Aḥmad also stated that Ismāᶜīl b. Ibrāhīm related to him, from al Jurayrī, from Abū al-ᶜAlā᾽ b. al-Shikhīr, that ᶜUthmān said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, Satan came between me and my prayer and my recitation." He replied, "That satan is named Khanzab; if you sense him, then seek refuge in God from him and spit three times on your left hand." (ᶜUthmān said,) "I did this, and God sent him away from me."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Saᶜīd al-Jarīrī.

Mālik, Aḥmad, Muslim and the orthodox scholars all related from various lines of transmission, from Nāfiᶜ b. Jubayr b. Mutᶜim, from ᶜUthmān b. Abū al-ᶜĀṣ, that the latter complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about a pain he was experiencing in his body. He told him, "Place your hand over that part of your body that is hurting and say three times, '*Bismi Allāhi*!, "In the name of God!"' Then say, seven times, '*aᶜūdhu bi ᶜizzat Allāhi wa qudratihi min sharr mā ajidu wa uḥādhir*!, "I take refuge in the power and might of God against what I am experiencing, and I am on my guard!"'"

In some accounts there is an addition in which ᶜUthmān goes on, "I did this and God cured what was wrong with me. And I have advised my own people and others about this."

Abū ᶜAbd Allāh b. Māja stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, quoting ᶜUyayna b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān – he being Ibn Jawshin – quoting his father, who stated that ᶜUthmān b. Abū al-ᶜĀṣ said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed me in command of al-Ṭā᾽if, something was impeding my prayers, so that I did not know what it was I was praying. When I recognized this, I travelled to the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He asked, 'You are the son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, aren't you?' 'Yes, Messenger of God,' I replied. 'What brings you then?' he asked. I replied, 'Messenger of God, something is impeding my prayer so that I do not know what I am praying.' He told me, 'That is Satan. Come close.' I went over close to him and squatted on the soles of my feet. He then slapped me on my chest with his hand and spat in my mouth, saying, 'Begone, enemy of God!' He did this three times. Then he said, 'Get back to your work.' And, by my life, I don't think he ever interfered with me again."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me, from ʿAṭīya b. Sufyān b. Rabīʿa al-Thaqafī, that one of their delegation said, 'After we had become Muslims, while engaged in fasting along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the remainder of Ramaḍān, Bilāl would come to us with our evening and pre-dawn meals. When he brought the pre-dawn meal, I would tell him, "So we see that dawn has broken?" He would say, "I left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) still eating his meal, for the dawn meal can be eaten this late." When he would bring us our evening meal, we would tell him, "But we don't see that the sun has completely set yet." He would say, "We have only come to you after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has eaten." He would then take his hand to the dish and eat from it.'"

Imām Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, and Ibn Māja all related from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿlā al- Ṭā'ifī, from ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aws, from his grandfather Aws b. Ḥudhayfa, who said, "We came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the delegation of Thaqīf. The *aḥlāf* were given accommodation with al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put up those from Banū Mālik in a tent of his. Every night he would come to us after the evening meal to talk with us, standing putting his weight alternately on each leg to rest them from standing so long. Mostly, he related to us what he had suffered from Quraysh. He would say, 'There was no equivalence. We were treated arrogantly and demeaned in Mecca. After we left for Medina, the tides of war sometimes favoured us, sometimes them.'

"One night, when it was after the time when he usually came to us, we commented, when he arrived, on the fact that he was late. He replied, 'It was my turn to read one-sixtieth part of the Qur'ān, and I hated to come before I had completed it.'"

Aws went on, "I asked the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'How is it you divide up the Qur'ān into parts?' They replied, 'Into three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, and *hizb al-mufaṣṣal*[14] alone.'"

This is the text of Abū Dā'ūd.

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[14] This is apparently a reference to the latter part of the Qur'ān, which it is recommended should be recited in the daily prayers.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When they had concluded the matter, they returned to their own territory. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba with them to destroy the idol al-Lāt.

"The two men continued on with the others until they arrived near al-Ṭā᾽if. There al-Mughīra wished to send Abū Sufyān on ahead, but Abū Sufyān refused this. He responded, 'You go on in to your people.' And Abū Sufyān remained on a property he owned at Dhū al-Hadm.[15]

"When al-Mughīra entered the town, he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people, Banū Mu‘attib, stood in front of him fearing that arrows would be fired at him, or that he would be struck down, as happened to ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd.

"The Thaqīf women came out with their heads bare, weeping for the idol and chanting,

'We weep for a protector betrayed by those accursed
They have not done well in striking her.'

"While al-Mughīra struck her with the pickaxe, Abū Sufyān was saying, 'Alas! Alas for you!' When al-Mughīra had finished destroying her, he took all she had, including her jewels, and sent a message to Abū Sufyān. He also told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to settle with ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd and his brother al-Aswad b. Mas‘ūd, father of Qārib b. al-Aswad, for the debts owed them, using the money from the idol.' And this they did."

I note that al-Aswad had died a polytheist. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the command for this in order to establish goodwill and to honour his son, Qārib b. al-Aswad, may God be pleased with him.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba related that the Thaqīf delegation consisted of some ten men, and that when they arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them accommodation in the mosque so that they would hear the Qur᾽ān. They questioned him about the taking of interest, fornication and wine, and he forbad them all of these.

They asked him about the goddess and what he would do with her. He replied, "Destroy her!"

They responded, "How terrible! If the goddess knew that you intend to destroy her, she would execute her people!"

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb commented, "Really! Ibn ‘Abd Yālīl, how ignorant you are! The goddess is nothing but stone." They replied, "We did not come here to see you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb!"

They then said, "Messenger of God, you undertake destoying her. We'll never do it." He replied, "I'll send someone to take care of her destruction for you."

They gave him a document specifying this and asked him to permit them to arrive back home before his messengers arrived. When they reached their own people, they met with them and were asked what had happened.

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[15] A spring beyond Wādī al-Qurā.

They expressed sadness, saying that they had just come from an uncouth and peculiar man who had appeared bearing a sword, and made whatever judgements he wished. Having dominated the Arabs, he had forbidden usury, fornication and wine. He had ordered the destruction of the goddess. Thaqīf expressed their aversion, saying, "We'll never obey this!"

He then told them, "Then prepare for battle; prepare your weapons." They did this for two or three days, and then God cast terror into their hearts. Once more they sent representatives, instructing them, "Go back to him and agree to his conditions; make peace with him." The delegation members replied, "We have already done this! We find him to be the most God-fearing of men, very trustworthy, merciful and truthful. We were blessed in having gone to him and in having reached a settlement with him!" They then informed them of what had been agreed, and they accepted what God had favoured them with. They asked, "Why did you conceal this from us at first?" The delegation responded, "We wanted for God to remove Satan's arrogance from your hearts!" They accepted Islam right then and there.

They remained thus for several days, and then the messengers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived. He had placed them under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba was among them. They went to al-Lāt; all Thaqīf, their men, women and children, stood there watching, even the old men having emerged from their pavilions. Most of Thaqīf did not believe that she was to be destroyed, thinking her invincible.

Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba took up the *al-karzin* – meaning the *miʿwal*, "the pickaxe", and said to his companions, "I'm really going to make you laugh at al-Thaqīf!" So he struck out with the pickaxe, then fell, his legs giving way. The people of al-Ṭāʾif were shaken by this, all crying out in one voice. They were delighted and said, "May God remove al-Mughīra! The goddess has killed him! They then told the others, "Those of you who wish may go close up."

Al-Mughīra then arose, saying, "It's nothing but a pile of stone and clay! Accept God's munificence and worship Him!" He struck the door and broke it, then scaled its walls, as did other men with him, and they kept on destroying it stone by stone until they had levelled it to the ground.

Its guardian then began shouting, "Its foundations will still be angry! They will swallow them up!" When al-Mughīra heard this, he said to Khālid, "Let me dig up its foundation!" So they dug it all up, collecting all its water and structures.

At this Thaqīf were truly amazed.

Then they all returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he divided up the wealth from it, that very day. They gave praise to God Almighty for inspiring pride in His religion and for aid given to His Messenger.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The document written for Thaqīf by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'In the name of God the most Compassionate, the most Merciful, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the believers. The acacia trees of Wajj[16] and the game there are not to be harmed. Whoever is found doing this shall be whipped and his clothing shall be stripped from him. If he should do this a second time, he will be taken to the Prophet Muḥammad. This is the command of the Prophet, Muḥammad. Khalīl b. Sa῾īd has written (this) by order of the Messenger, Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh. Let no one transgress this; by so doing, he will harm himself in such as Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has ordered.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "῾Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, of Mecca, related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh b. Insān – whom he praised highly – from his father, from ῾Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Mt. Liyya until we reached Mt. al-Sidra. There he made a halt by the side of the peak, facing towards it. He directed his gaze towards a *maḥbas* – a valley, that is. He stayed there until everyone arrived and then he said, "Hunting in Wajj or (cutting down) its trees is forbidden, made so by God." This was prior to his arrival at al-Ṭā᾿if and his siege of Thaqīf.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh b. Insān al-Ṭā᾿ifī. Ibn Ḥibbān includes him among the reliable sources to whom he refers. Ibn Ma῾īn stated that there was nothing wrong with him (as a source). Some authorities, however, express their doubts about him.

Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and other scholars classify this *ḥadīth* as *ḍa῾īf*, "weak". Al-Shāfi῾ī categorized it as *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic", and stated that it was necessary to comply with it. But God knows best.

An Account of the death of ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, may God find him repulsive!

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from ῾Urwa, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to visit ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy as he lay sick during the illness from which he died. When he saw him to be close to death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, "Well, by God, I used to warn you against loving the Jews!" ῾Abd Allāh replied, "And yet did As῾ad b. Zurāra[17] not express his hatred of them?"'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy fell ill some days before the end of Shawwāl. He died in Dhū al-Qa῾da. His illness lasted for 20 days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would constantly visit him during it.

"The day of his death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was being very generous to him with his time, came in to see ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and commented, 'I advised you against loving the Jews.' He replied, 'Asʿad b. Zurāra treated them as enemies; what good did it do him?'

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[16] A valley near al-Ṭā'if.

[17] See the references above, for discussion of ῾Abd Allāh b. Ubayy's maintenance of his pact with the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā῾ contrary to the wishes of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Also see earlier for reference to the death of As῾ad b. Zurāra who had broken with the Jews, but died earlier.

"He then went on, 'Messenger of God, this is no time for complaint; this is my death. Be present when my body is washed and give me your shirt damp from your own skin to wrap me in. And pray and seek forgiveness for me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did all this for him."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Sālim b. ʿAjlān, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, an account approximately the same as that of al-Wāqidī. But God knows best.

Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh stated, "I asked Abū Usāma, 'What was it that ʿUbayd Allāh related to you from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar?' He replied, 'When ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl died, his son ʿAbd Allāh came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him to give him his shirt to wrap his body in. He gave it to him. He then asked him to pray for him.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to pray over him, but ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took hold of his gown, saying, 'Messenger of God, are you going to pray for him even though God prohibited you from keeping company with him?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'My Lord gave me a choice: "Seek forgiveness for them or do not seek forgiveness for them. Even if you do seek forgiveness for them 70 times, God will still not forgive them." I will do so more than 70 times.'

"He (ʿUmar) objected, 'But he was a hypocrite! Will you really pray for him?' Then God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, 'And never offer prayer for any one of them who dies, and do not stand by their graves. They disbelieved in God and His Messenger' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.84). Abū Usāma confirmed this, saying, 'Yes.'"

They included this in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma.

In one account, given by al-Bukhārī and others, ʿUmar said, "So I asked, 'Messenger of God, would you pray for him, though once he said this-and-that? And then on another occasion he said so-on-and-so-forth?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Leave me alone, ʿUmar. I have two choices. If I knew that forgiveness would be granted for him if I spoke more than 70 prayers, I would do so.' He then did pray for him. And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, 'And never offer prayer . . .'"

ʿUmar went on, "I was myself surprised at my courage with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God and His Messenger know best!"

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the grave of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy after he had been placed in it. He ordered that he be brought out and placed upon his knees – or his thighs – and he then discharged some of his spittle upon him and dressed him in his own shirt. But God knows best."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, this is given with the same chain of authorities. According to him, he only dressed him in his shirt in exchange for

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy having given al-ʿAbbās his shirt when he had come to Medina; the only shirt appropriate for him they could find was that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy.

Al-Bayhaqī related at this point the story of Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib, and how he had been led into temptation by the excess of his wealth, and how he had refrained from giving alms. We have dealt with that in our *Exegesis* with regard to the words of the Almighty, "And there are those of them who made a pledge to God; 'If he gives us of His favour . . .'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.75).

DIVISION

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The expedition to Tabūk was the last on which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out."

"Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses enumerating the battles and expeditions in which the *anṣār* participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām attributed these verses to Ḥassān's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān:

"Am I not the best of Maʿad in family and clan, if
all were collected and brought together?
These are men who all fought at Badr along with the
Messenger and they did not disappoint or desert.
They pledged allegiance to him and none of them
reneged, and there was no falseness in their faith.
That morning at the defile at Uḥud hard blows fell on
them like the burning heat of a fire.
And that day at Dhū Qarad, when fighting arose while on
their mounts, and they did not betray or abstain.
And at Dhū al-ʿUshayra they charged ahead on their
horses with the Messenger, armed with swords and lances.
And at Waddān they drove its people out, their horses
charging ahead until rugged ground and mountain intervened.
And there was that night when they pursued their enemy
for God; and God will reward them for their action!
And that night at Ḥunayn they fought hard with him;
that night he gave them new energy for fighting when they
became tired.
And the attack to Najd, where, with the Messenger, they
gained booty and spoils.
And at the expedition to al-Qaʿ we scattered the enemy
like camel herds to a water-hole.
And that day when allegiance was pledged, it was they
who agreed to go to war; they aided him, and did not
retreat.
And there was the Conquest wherein they were enrolled in
his personal guard, and they were not reckless or hasty.

And at Khaybar they were in his squadron, all marching
ahead, death-defying heroes,
Their bare swords brandished in their right hands,
brought down to strike, then raised again.
And that day the Messenger of God went forth to Tabūk,
willing to suffer for reward, they were his prime standard-bearers.
And leaders into battle when warfare faced them, either
advancing or withdrawing, as they thought best.
Those are they – the Prophet's *anṣār*; these are my
people, those to whom I refer in tracing my descent.
They die with nobility, and do not break their oaths;
if they are killed, it is in God's cause."

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF ABŪ BAKR, 'THE TRUSTING', IN COMMAND OF THE PILGRIMAGE IN THE YEAR 9 AH AND THE REVELATION OF SŪRAT BARĀ'A (I.E. AL-TAWBA; IX).

Following his account of the arrival of the delegation from al-Ṭā'if in Ramaḍān, as detailed above, Ibn Isḥāq proceeded to state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there for the remainder of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'da. He then dispatched Abū Bakr in command of the pilgrimage the Muslims could undertake that year, 9 AH, while the polytheists were at the stations for their own pilgrimage. The Muslims were no longer to be prevented access to the *ka'ba*; some of them (the Arab tribes) had agreements with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), for specific and temporary periods of time.

When Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and the Muslims with him departed, and he departed from home, God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the following verses at the beginning of *sūrat al-Tawba* (IX): "(This is a declaration) of immunity by God and His Messenger to those polytheists with whom you made an agreement: move out into the countryside for four months . . ." to the words ". . . and a declaration from God and His Messenger to the people at the time of the Greater Pilgrimage, that God and His Messenger are free of obligation to the polytheists" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.1–3).

Ibn Isḥāq went on to discuss these verses. We have expounded upon them at length in our *Exegesis*; and to God belong all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is the dispatch of 'Alī following that of Abū Bakr so that the former could himself make this declaration of immunity to the polytheists on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did this in his capacity as his cousin and relative on his father's side.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf related to me, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who said, 'When the *sūrat al-Barā'a* (*al-Tawba*; IX) was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after he had dispatched Abū Bakr to oversee the pilgrimage of the Muslims, he was asked, "Should you not send news of the (revelation) to Abū Bakr?" He replied, "Only a man from my own family could transmit this for me."

"'He then summoned ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and told him, "Take this part from the beginning of *sūrat al-Barāʾa*, and announce it to the people when they gather on the day at Minā to make sacrifice there. Tell them (also) that no unbeliever will enter paradise, and that after this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. Nor shall anyone circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked. Those with agreements made (individually) with the Messenger of God, can consider them valid until their term expires."

"'ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib therefore left on al-ʿAdbāʾ, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and travelled to Abū Bakr, "the trusting". When Abū Bakr saw him, he asked, "(Do you come) as a commander, or as one to be commanded?" ʿAlī replied, "The latter".

"'They proceeded on together and Abū Bakr maintained charge of the pilgrimage. That year the Arabs were keeping to their stations for the pilgrimage as they had previously done before the coming of Islam.

"'When it was the day to make the sacrifices, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib arose and made the proclamation as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He gave them a period of four months from the day of that declaration for them all to return to some place of safety, or to their own lands. Thereafter there was to be no pact or protection for any polytheists, except for any individual who had a personal agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); that would remain in force until its expiration.

"'After that year, no polytheist made the pilgrimage and no one circumambulated the *kaʿba* naked. Thereafter the two men returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

This account is *mursal*, with the line of authorities as given.

Al-Bukhārī stated as follows in his section entitled: *Chapter on the pilgrimage made by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, with the men in the year 9 AH*: "Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd Abū al-Rabīʿ related to me, quoting Fulayḥ, from al-Zuhrī, from Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'Abū Bakr, "the trusting", was sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in command of the pilgrimage that preceded the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, "the farewell pilgrimage". With him went a group who were to announce to everyone, "No polytheist shall make the pilgrimage after this year. And no one shall circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked."'"

In another section, al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting al-Layth, quoting ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed me that Abū Hurayra stated, 'On that pilgrimage, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", sent me out along with those criers he dispatched on the day of the making of the sacrifice, to announce at Minā, "After this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. And no one shall circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked."'

"Ḥumayd stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent ʿAlī forth to make the declaration concerning the *al-barāʾa*, "the immunity".'

"Abū Hurayra stated, 'He sent out ʿAlī along with us to make the announcement to those at Minā on the day of the sacrifice, concerning the declaration about the immunity, (and) that, "After this year no polytheists shall make the pilgrimage", and "no person shall circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked".'"

In his *Kitāb al-Jihād* (*Book of fighting in God's Cause*) he stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī, who said that he was told by Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that Abū Hurayra said, "Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', sent me out among those to make an announcement on the day of the sacrifice at Minā, that after that year no polytheist would make the pilgrimage, and that no one should circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked."

"The term *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*, 'day of the greater pilgrimage', refers to the day when sacrifice is made. It is called the *al-akbar*, 'the greater', because of people referring to the *ʿumra* as the *al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*, 'the lesser pilgrimage'.

"Abū Bakr thus gave warning to everyone that year; in the (following) year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage', performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), no polytheist took part."

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhrī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Mughīra, from al-Shaʿbī, from Muḥriz b. Abū Hurayra, who quoted his father as saying, "I was with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him. ʿAlī asked, 'What was the announcement you were making?'

"He replied, 'We would announce that no one but a believer would enter paradise, that no one naked should circumambulate the *kaʿba*, and that those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term – or a period – of four months. After those four months were over, then God and His Messenger would have immunity from it. Also, that no polytheist would make the pilgrimage after this year.' He added, 'I kept making this announcement until my voice became hoarse.'"

This chain of transmission is excellent. However, there is some objection with regard to the narrator's statement ". . . those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term of four months".

There are those who do not maintain this. However, what is correct is that those with a pact would have it last for its specified duration, even if for more than four months. Those with pacts devoid of a specified duration would have their pacts expire after four months.

There remains a third category – those with pacts terminating in less than four months, before the date being specified. Presumably these would be included with the first category – that their duration would be for the term (originally) specified, even if less than four months. It could also be maintained that these should be extended to the four months, that being more appropriate than for those whose initial pacts had no specific terms. But God Almighty knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Simāk, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched his declaration of immunity with Abū Bakr, but that when the latter reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Only a man from my immediate family household should announce this."

And so he dispatched ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to make it.

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama and categorized it as *ḥasan*, "good"; and *gharīb*, "unique", from the *ḥadīth* of Anas.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad related, from Luwayn, from Muḥammad b. Jābir, from Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ʿAlī, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked ʿAlī to follow after Abū Bakr, the latter received the letter from him at al-Juḥfa. Abū Bakr then went back and asked, "Messenger of God, was anything revealed concerning myself?" He replied, "No; but Gabriel did come to me and told me, 'No man but you yourself or one from your family should make this declaration.'"

This *ḥadīth* has a weak line of transmission and its content is somewhat objectionable. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū Isḥāq, from Zayd b. Athīʿ – a man of Hamdān – who said, "We asked ʿAlī what his mission had been when he was dispatched with Abū Bakr on the pilgrimage. He replied, 'With four messages: that only a believing soul could enter paradise; that no one should circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked; that any pact a person had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would remain valid until its term; and that polytheists would not be able to participate with Muslims in the pilgrimage after that year.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān – he being Ibn ʿUyayna – from Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Zayd b. Athīʿ, from ʿAlī. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

He went on to state that Shuʿba related it from Abū Isḥāq, who quoted it from Zayd b. Athīl. Al-Thawrī related it from Abū Isḥāq, one of his companions, from ʿAlī.

I note that Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of Maʿmar, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Ḥārith, from ʿAlī.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam related to him, quoting Abū Zurʿa Wahb Allāh b. Rāshid, quoting Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ, quoting Ibn Ṣakhr (who said) that he heard Abū Muʾāwiya al-Bajalī, from Kufa, say, "I heard Abū al-Ṣahbāʾ al-Bakrī say, 'I asked ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib about the day of the "greater pilgrimage". He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa to conduct the people on pilgrimage, and then sent me as well bearing 40 verses of *sūrat al-Barā'a*. When he was at Mt. ʿArafāt, he made a public address on the day of the assembly there. When he had completed his address, he turned to me and said, 'Now you rise, ʿAlī, and deliver the message of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"""I got up and recited to them the 4 verses from *sūrat al-Barā'a*. We then proceeded on up to Minā, where I cast stones and slaughtered a sacrificial camel. I then shaved my head. Having learned that not all those present had attended the address given on Mt. ʿArafāt by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, I went all around to the camps reciting the verses to them."

""ʿAlī went on, "From that, I believe you imagined it to have been the day when sacrifice is made, when in fact it was the day of Mt. ʿArafāt."""

We have discussed this in detail in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), reporting the lines of authority for the *aḥādīth* and the various evidences relating to this at sufficient length. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Three hundred of the men departed with Abū Bakr on this pilgrimage, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. Abū Bakr took with him five camels for sacrifice. Along with him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent twenty animals for sacrifice, then sent ʿAlī out to follow him; he caught him up at al-ʿArj. He made the announcement concerning *barā'a*, 'immunity', in the presence of those on the pilgrimage."

EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN THAT YEAR, 9 AH DURING RAJAB OF WHICH THE EXPEDITION TO TABŪK TOOK PLACE.

Al-Wāqidī stated that in Rajab of that year the Negus, the leader of Abyssinia, died and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a public address in remembrance of him.

In Shaʿbān that year Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. Her body was washed by Asmā', daughter of ʿUmays and by Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. It is also said that she was washed by *anṣār* wives, including Umm ʿAṭiyya.

I note that this is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections as well as in other *ḥadīth* accounts, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over her and was about to bury her, he said, "Let no one enter her grave who has tonight experienced desire for his family." Her husband, ʿUthmān, therefore abstained (from entering the grave) and she was buried by Abū Ṭalḥa al-Anṣārī. May God be pleased with her.

It is likely that by making that comment he was referring to those companions, such as Abū Ṭalḥa and others, who normally volunteered with burial duties. What he meant, then, was "Let no one from among these persons enter her grave except for whoever has not experienced desire for his family". It is unlikely that ʿUthmān had any other wife than Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That is unlikely. Though God knows best.

That year there was the peace made with the Governor of Ayla, the people of Jarbā᾿ and Adhruḥ, and the ruler of Dūmat al-Jandal, as has been explained above, each in their appropriate places.

That year the Ḍirār mosque had been built by a group of hypocrites; it had the form of a mosque, but secretly was a house for war. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders and it was burned down. In Ramaḍān that year, a delegation came from Thaqīf and made peace on behalf of their people, then returned with a security agreement. Also, al-Lāt was destroyed, as has been related above.

At the end of that year ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, the chief hypocrite, may God curse him, died. A month prior to that occurred the death of Mu᾿āwiya b. Mu᾿āwiya al-Laythī – or al-Muzanī. It was he for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers while he was at Tabūk, if the report about that is true.

That year Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, made a pilgrimage with some of the people with the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

That year also there came delegations from various Arab tribes. The year 9 AH is therefore known as "the Year of the Delegations". We will therefore now present a section under that heading in emulation of al-Bukhārī and others.

THE BOOK OF DELEGATIONS THAT CAME TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS)

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Mecca and completed the expedition to Tabūk, Thaqīf accepted Islam and pledged allegiance, and delegations of Arabs came to him from all directions."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū ‘Ubayda related to me that that occurred in the year 9 AH, which was known as the *sanat al-wufūd*, 'the year of the delegations'."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "The Arabs had only been holding back their acceptance of Islam to observe what became of this tribe of Quraysh. Because it was Quraysh whom the others considered as their leaders and guides; they had charge of the *ka‘ba* and the sacred area, and the pure line of descent from Ismā‘īl, son of Abraham. And the leading Arabs did not dispute that.

"It was Quraysh who had set up the warfare and conflict with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Mecca was conquered, Quraysh accepted his leadership. Islam having conquered them, the Arabs realized that they did not have the power either to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or to be antagonistic towards him. And so they entered into God's faith, as God the Almighty and Glorious stated, *afwājan*, 'in droves', coming to him from every side.

"God Almighty stated to His Prophet (ṢAAS), '(Remember) when God's aid came and the conquest. And you saw people entering in droves into God's religion. And so celebrate in praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness; He is very ready to forgive'" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1–3). That is, give praise to God for having given victory to your religion; and seek His forgiveness, for He is very ready to forgive.

We have narrated above the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Salama[18] which states, "These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, 'Leave him for his own people to take care of him: if he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth. When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, "I swear by God, that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth! He (the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the *adhān* "the summons to prayer". And then whichever one of you knows the Qurʾān best should lead the prayer.'"'"

The *ḥadīth* continues thereafter to its conclusion; it is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

I note that Ibn Isḥāq, followed by al-Wāqidī, al-Bukhārī and then by al-Bayhaqī, makes reference to various delegations that came prior to those of 9 AH, and even prior to the conquest of Mecca.

God Almighty stated, "Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest and did battle (and those who did not); they are higher in rank than those who spent and did battle only later. And to all God promises good" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10). Previous mention has been made above[19] of the words of God Almighty on the day of the conquest, "There is no *hijra*, 'hegira', migration, (henceforth); but there is *jihād* and *niyya*, 'striving in God's service' and 'intent'."

Distinction must be made between those in these two delegations who came at the time of the conquest and whose participation must be considered a Hijra, and those who joined them after the conquest. While these latter were promised good by God, this would not be like the former in time and an earlier (expression of) virtue; but God knows best.

While those *imāms* who concerned themselves with relating the arrival of the delegations have omitted referral to certain matters, we will give not only information they provided, but will also make special references where necessary to issues they omitted, if God so wills it. And in Him is all confidence and reliance.

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī stated, "Kathīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī related to us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'The first delegation to come in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Muḍar were 400 men of Muzayna; this occurred in Rajab of 5 AH.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared the *hijra* as valid for them (while staying) in their own homes. He stated, "You are *muhājirūn* where you were; and so return to your properties." And they went back home.'"

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[18] See Vol. III.

[19] See Vol. III.

Al-Wāqidī then recounted from Hishām b. al-Kalbī, with his chain of transmission, that the first person to arrive from Muzayna was Khuzāʿī Ibn ʿAbd Nahm, accompanied by others of his tribe of Muzayna. He pledged to him the allegiance of his tribe, but when he returned to them he did not find them to be as he had thought; they put it off.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Ḥassān b. Thābit to make negative allusions to Khuzāʿī without actually satirizing him. He did speak some such verses and when they reached Khuzāʿī he complained of this to his people and they rallied around him and did accept Islam along with him. He then brought them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

On the day of the conquest (of Mecca) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner of Muzayna – a force of 1,000 men at that time – to this Khuzāʿī. He (al-Wāqidī) also stated that Khuzāʿī was the brother of ʿAbd Allāh Dhū al-Bijādayn.

Al-Bukhārī, may God forgive him, stated, in a section of his work entitled: *Chapter on the Delegation of Banū Tamīm* "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Abū Ṣakhra, from Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz al-Māzinī, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, 'A group of men came in from Banū Tamīm to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he told them, "Accept the good tidings, Banū Tamīm!" They replied, "Messenger of God, you have already given it to us, so give us (something else now)." Displeasure was to be seen in his face. A group from Yemen then arrived, and he told them, "Accept the good tidings, for Banū Tamīm did not do so." They replied, "We do accept them, Messenger of God."'"

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf (who said) quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr informed them that, "Some men of Banū Tamīm rode in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and Abū Bakr said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'Appoint al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Maʿbad b. Zurāra as leader.' ʿUmar said, 'No! Appoint al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis instead.' Abū Bakr commented, 'You just want to oppose my view.' ʿUmar responded, 'I don't just want to oppose you.' They argued, their voices raised. Then there was revealed the verse, 'O you who believe! Do not be forward in the presence of God and His Messenger'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLVIII, v.1).

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a different chain of authorities, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, and with different phraseology. We have made reference to this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) regarding the words of the Almighty, "Do not raise your voices above that of the Prophet (ṢAAS)" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLVIII, v.2).

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "While the Arab delegations were coming in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra b. ʿAdas al-Tamīmī arrived accompanied by leaders of Banū Tamīm. These included al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī, al-Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī – a man of Banū Saʿd – ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam, al-Ḥabḥāb b. Yazīd, Nuʿaym b. Yazīd, Qays b. al-Ḥārith, and Qays b. ʿĀṣim, a brother of Banū Saʿd, along with a large delegation of Banū Tamīm.

"With them was ʿUyayna b. Ḥuṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna had been present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the conquest of Mecca, and at the battles of Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʾif. When the delegation of Banū Tamīm arrived, these two men were with them.

"When all these men entered the mosque, they called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from behind his apartments, saying, 'Come on out to us, Muḥammad!' This shouting of theirs disturbed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he came to them. They then said, 'Muḥammad, we have come to express our admiration for you; give permission to both our poet and our orator.' He replied, 'I give permission to your orator; he may speak.'

"ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib then arose and said, 'Praise be to God who provides us His grace and favour, for He is worthy of such praise. It is He who made us kings and awarded us great wealth which we donate to charity. It is He who made us the most powerful men of all the East, the greatest in number and equipment.

"'Who is our equal? Are we not at the leaders of the people, their very best? Any who would challenge us should enumerate their qualities, as we have done. We could, if we wished, speak at greater length, but we are reluctant to speak over much of what He has given us. We are well known for this (reluctance). I say this so that you may speak of similar or even better.' He then sat down.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, brother of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, 'Arise and respond to this man's address.'

"Thābit got up and said, 'Praise be to God, Creator of both the heavens and the earth. In these He expressed His will; His throne encompasses all He knows. Nothing ever existed except by His favour.

"'It was, moreover, by His power that He made kings of us and chose as His Messenger the best of His creation, its most noble in lineage, its most truthful in speech and most respected man. It was to him that He revealed a book, entrusting it to him above all others of His creation. He is the best of God's creation in the worlds.

"'He then called upon the people to believe in him. And the *muhājirūn* from his tribe did so, along with his relatives, those most noble in line, those best of all in person and deed. It was we who were foremost in responding to God when the Messenger made his call. We are the *anṣār* "the Helpers", of God and deputies of His Messenger. We will fight people until they believe. Whoever believes in God and His Messenger is also protecting his own possessions and life. Whoever disbelieves, we will battle for God for ever. And executing them will be a minor matter for us. In speaking this, I ask forgiveness for myself and for you all and for all believers. Peace be upon you.'

"Al-Zibriqān b. Badr arose and spoke the following verses:

'It is we who are the nobles; no clan can match us.
Kings come from us and among us places of worship are
built.

Many are the clans we have defeated, extracting plunder
from all; and the benefits of might are to be pursued.
Even in famines we entertain, our food fine meat stew,
even when no trace of a rain-cloud is visible.
And so you see chieftains arrive from all around,
hurrying for us to serve them a banquet.
We slaughter large, fat, young camels for our guests;
when they are accommodated, they are well satisfied.
You know that every tribe we challenge submits and
becomes as though leaderless.
And whoever may challenge us, we know what will happen;
his people will retreat and that news will spread abroad.
We may decline, but no one declines us; and so it is
that we rise in pride.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Since Ḥassān b. Thābit was absent, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for him. He (Ḥassān later) said, 'When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and their poet spoke as above, I challenged what he had said and spoke in the same manner as he had.'

"When al-Zibriqān had finished speaking, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Ḥassān b. Thābit, 'Get up and respond to the man.'

"Ḥassān then recited,

'The chieftains of Fihr and their brothers have
clarified a way of life for the people that should be
followed
Such as to please any man whose inner purpose is to
fear God and who desires to do good,
A people who, when they fight, destroy their enemy, or,
if seeking advantage to their allies, achieve this.
This is their natural disposition, no acquired trait;
the worst of characteristics – you well know – are those
innovated.
Even if, after they are gone, others surpass them, (it
is true that) anyone who leads still follows those who
preceded him.
Men cannot mend what their own hands have ruined in
battle, nor could others ruin what they have mended.
When they seek to lead, their effort succeeds; if
compared in generosity to other nobles, they tip the scales.
These are fine men, their purity mentioned in the
revelation; no materialists, these, untainted by greed.
From their generosity to neighbours, they are no misers
and they are untouched by any taint of ambition.
When we attack people, we do not crawl as does a wild
calf to its mother;

We get right up when the talons of war attain us,
though the riff-raff submit to its claws.
They are not boastful when they attain their enemy; and
if overcome, they do not turn feeble or despair.
When engaged in battle, when death is close by, they
are like lions of Ḥalya, their claws bent and ready.
If they are angry, take whatever you can get
submissively, and don't worry after what they are refusing.
Do not seek their enmity, for in going to war with them
you will have evil laced with poison.
Honour a people in whose party is the Messenger of God,
at a time when ideas and sects are very diverse.
My heart awards them my praise, helped on in its
favoured task by a creative and inventive tongue.
They are the best of all peoples, whether we talk of
what is serious or what is light.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A scholar of the poetry of Banū Tamīm told me that when al-Zibriqān came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the delegation of Banū Tamīm, he arose and spoke the following verses:

'We have come to you so that people may know our virtue
when they mingle in attendance at the fairs,
And that we are the finest in any place, in all the
land of Hijāz, none the like of Dārim.
We put the medalled champions to flight when they
boast, and strike the heads of warriors seeking fame.
To us goes the one-fourth share of every expedition we
fight, whether in Najd or abroad.'

"Ḥassān then arose and responded to him as follows,

'Is glory anything but repeated mastery and
magnanimity, the glory of kings and the bearing of great
responsibility?
We give aid and refuge to the Prophet, Muḥammad,
regardless of the resentment or pleasure of Maʿad.
In a unique tribe whose origins and wealth stem from a
place in Jābiyyat al-Julān,[20] amidst foreigners.
We gave aid when he came to live among us, using our
swords against all the tyrants and aggressors.
We placed our sons and our daughters between us and
him, and put him at ease regarding the spoils gained.
We strike at men with our fine, sharp swords until they
follow into his faith.

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[20] A village near Damascus, Syria.

> It was we who fathered the greatest man of Quraysh, we
> who fathered the Prophet of good from Hāshim's line.
> Banū Dārim, do not boast; your boasting seems shameful
> when noble deeds receive mention.
> You are fools! Do you pride yourselves over us, when
> you are our vassals, somewhere between wet-nurses and
> slaves?
> If you have come to us to save your blood and property,
> from being distributed as booty,
> Then consider none a peer of God and accept Islam; and
> do not dress yourselves in such garb as foreigners wear.'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Ḥassān b. Thābit had finished speaking, al-Aqra῾ b. Ḥābis said, 'By my father, this man is certainly well provided for! His orator is more eloquent than ours, and his poet more gifted. Their voices rise higher than ours.'

"Finally they accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented valuable gifts to them. They had left ῾Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their mounts, he being their youngest. Qays b. ῾Āṣim, who disliked ῾Amr b. al-Ahtam, said, 'Messenger of God, we do still have one man, a young fellow, out with our mounts.' And he went on to belittle him. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to ῾Amr what he had given to the others.

"῾Amr b. al-Ahtam recited the following satirical verses when he learned what Qays had said:

> 'You hurt me, you lazy, hairy dog, by slandering me to
> the Messenger; you were not truthful or accurate
> We ruled you in broad authority, but your leadership
> merely consists of sitting on your tail and displaying your
> molars!'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related through Ya῾qūb b. Sufyān, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥanẓalī, who said, "Al-Zibriqān b. Badr came in the company of Qays b. ῾Āṣim and ῾Amr b. al-Ahtam to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked ῾Amr b. al-Ahtam, 'Tell me about al-Zibriqān; I won't ask you about this other man.'

"He thus indicated that he already knew of Qays.

"῾Amr responded, 'He is obeyed by those closest to him, a good orator and very defensive of those in his care.'

"Al-Zibriqān commented, 'He has spoken very well, knowing me to be better than what he has said!'

"῾Amr responded, 'I swear by God, all I know of you is that you are of little manliness, narrow-minded, that your father was a fool and your uncle a rogue!' He then went on, 'Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in both my characterizations of him. When he treated me well, I said of him the best I could, and when he angered me, I said the worst I know!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Oratory has its own magic!'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, "incomplete", from this line of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is related in a *mawṣūl*[21] from another line of transmission, as follows, 'Abū Jaʿfar Kāmil b. Aḥmad al-Mustamlī informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Baghdādī, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAllāf of Baghdād, quoting ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Ṭā'ī, quoting Abū Saʿd b. al-Haytham b. Maḥfūẓ, from Abū al-Muqawwim Yaḥyā b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Qays b. ʿĀṣim, al-Zibriqān b. Badr and ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam, all of Banū Tamīm, sat down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-Zibriqān set about boasting, saying, "I am lord of Tamīm, the one they fully obey and respect. It is I who defend them from aggression and ensure their rights. This man well knows that." This comment referred to ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam, who responded, "He is a good orator, protective of his own family, and obeyed by those close to him."

"'Al-Zibriqān commented, "I swear by God, Messenger of God, he knows of me other than what he has just said. It is merely his envy that prevents him speaking it."

"'ʿAmr b. Ahtam asked, "What? Me envy you! I swear by God, your uncle is a rogue, only recently wealthy, your child is a fool, and you're a nobody in the tribe! I swear by God, Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in what I first said and I've not lied in what I just said. However, I am a man who will speak the best he can if pleased, but the worst he can when angered. But I still tell the truth, both the former and the latter."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Oratory has its own magic!"'"

This line of authorities is very *gharīb*.

Al-Wāqidī explains the reason for their coming. They had unsheathed their swords against Khuzāʿa, and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent ʿUyayna b. Badr to them along with 50 men who included no *anṣār* and no *muhājirīn*. This force had taken prisoner 11 of their men, 11 of their women and 30 children. Because of this capture, their leaders had arrived. Some say that they were 90 men all told – or 80 – and that ʿUṭārid, al-Zibriqān, Qays b. ʿĀṣim, Qays b. al-Ḥārith, Nuʿaym b. Saʿd, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis, Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, and ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam were among them. They came into the mosque after Bilāl had announced the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, and the people were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to come out to them. These men hurried over and called out to him from behind his apartments. And then the revelation came down concerning them.

Al-Wāqidī went on to make reference to their orator and to their poet, and to the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to each of their men a gift of 12 *awqiyya* and 20 *dirhams* in weight.

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[21] That is, in a fully complete line of transmission.

This did not include ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam, to whom he gave five *awqiyya* because of his youth. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "It was about them that the words of the Almighty were in the Qurʾān: '(As for) those who call out to you from behind the apartments, most of these do not understand; if they were patient until you came out to them, it would be better for them. But God is Forgiving, most Merciful'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLVIII, v.4, 5).

Ibn Jarīr stated that Abū ʿAmmār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth al-Marwazī related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, in reference to the verse, "(As for) those who call out . . .", "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Muḥammad, my praise is *zayn*, "beautiful", and my blame is *shayin*, "ugly!"'. He responded, 'That applies to God, the Almighty and Glorious.'"

The chain of authorities for this is *mutaṣṣil*, "complete and continuous".

This *ḥadīth* is also related from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Qatāda, *mursalan*, "incomplete in its line", in both cases.

The name of this man has been omitted. Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū Salama, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Aqraʾ b. Ḥābis, (who said) that he called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!" In one version his words are related to have been, "O Messenger of God!". But he gave no reply. Al-Aqraʾ then called out, "O Messenger of God, my praise is beautiful, and my blame is ugly!" He then responded, "That applies to God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Chapter: On the excellence of Banū Tamīm.

Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Jarīr, from ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqāʿ, from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "I have always loved Banū Tamīm since I heard three things that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said about them. These were, 'They are the most severe of my people against *al-Dajjāl*, "the imposter", "Satan". ʿĀʾisha had one of them as a slave-girl, and of her he said, 'Free her, for she is of the progeny of Ismāʿīl.' And when their charitable donations arrived, he said, 'These donations are from a people – my people, that is.'"

Muslim also related this in similar form, from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb.

This *ḥadīth* offers a response to Qatāda regarding the poetry given by the author of the *ḥamāsa*[22] and others, which is critical of them. A poem states,

> "Tamīm are better guided than a sand-grouse along the
> paths of what is blameworthy; if they were to seek to
> follow the paths of virtue, they would go astray.
> If there were a flea upon the back of a tick, Tamīm
> would see it from a distance and turn aside!"

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[22] Presumably a reference to the poetry anthology *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tamām.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ ʿABD AL-QAYS.

Al-Bukhārī then proceeded to a section he entitled, *Chapter on the delegation of ʿAbd al-Qays.* He stated, “Abū Isḥāq related to us, quoting Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqdī, quoting Qurra, from Abū Jamra, who said, ‘I told Ibn ʿAbbās, “I have a jar that produces wine for me that I drink when it is sweet. If I drink much of it and then sit down among the people, I fear I may be discovered.” He responded, “A delegation of Banū ʿAbd Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told them, ‘Welcome! You will suffer no disgrace or regret!’ They replied, ‘Messenger of God, in the territory between you and ourselves there are the polytheists of Banū Muḍar and so we can only reach you during the sacred months. Could you kindly tell us of the actions in which we can engage to ensure our entry into paradise? We will tell those of us back home the same.’

“‘“He replied, ‘I order you to accomplish four things and to avoid four things. Faith in God. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to speak the *shahāda*, “to say *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh wa Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, ‘there is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God’”. Also, perform the prayers, pay the *zakāt*, “alms tax”, fast for the month of Ramaḍān, and give over the *khumus*, “one-fifth of the spoils”. And I forbid you four things: the wine that is made in al-Dubbāʾ, in al-Naqīr, al-Ḥantam and al-Muzaffat.’”’”

Muslim related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Qurra b. Khālid, from Abū Jamra. And there are other lines of transmission for it in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Abū Jamra.

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālisī quoted in his *musnad* collection from Shuʿba, who quoted Abū Jamra as having said. “I heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, “When the delegation from ʿAbd Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked, ‘From which tribe do they come?’ ‘From Rabīʿa,’ he was told. He then said, ‘Welcome to the delegation! You will suffer no disgrace nor regret.’ They then told him, ‘Messenger of God, we are a clan of Banū Rabīʿa, and we have travelled very far to be with you. Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month. Give us instructions for our conduct that we can also pass on to those back home to ensure our entry into paradise.’

“‘“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I order you to do four things and forbid you from doing four things. I order you to have faith in God alone. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to state the *shahāda*, to perform the prayers, to pay the *zakāt* tax, to fast the month of Ramaḍān, and to give over one-fifth of the booty you acquire. I also forbid you four things: (wine) from al-Dubbāʾ, al-Ḥantam, al-Naqīr and al-Muzaffat.’”’” (And he may also have said . . . “and from al-Muqayyar”.) ‘“‘“Observe these commandments, and so order those back home.’”’”

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections also gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba in a similar form.

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Saᶜīd b. Abū ᶜUrūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saᶜīd, that account being similar to this text.

In his (Muslim's) account, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Ashajj ᶜAbd al-Qays, "You have two qualities that God, the Almighty and Glorious, much likes: discernment and perseverance." In one version, the words are "that God and His Messenger much like". Ashajj asked, "Messenger of God, was it I who developed these qualities, or God who brought me to them?" He replied, "It was God who brought you to them." Ashajj then said, "Then praise be to God who brought me to two qualities that God and His Messenger much like!"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saᶜīd, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim related to him, quoting Maṭar b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, who said that he heard Hind, daughter of al-Wāziᶜ report that she heard al-Wāziᶜ say, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the company of al-Ashajj al-Mundhir b. ᶜĀmir" – "or ᶜĀmir b. al-Mundhir. With their party there was a man who was much afflicted.

"Having reached and seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they jumped down from their mounts. Then they went up to him and kissed his hand. Al-Ashajj also dismounted, hobbled his camel, took out and opened his baggage pack and extracted from it two white garments which he put on. He then went over to the other camels, hobbled them too and proceeded on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Ashajj, you have two qualities both God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger very much like – discernment and perseverance.' Al-Ashajj responded, 'Messenger of God, is it I who developed these, or did God bring them to me?' He replied, 'No, it was God who brought them to you.' Al-Ashajj commented, 'Praise be to God who brought to me two qualities that God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger both much like!' "Al-Wāziᶜ then said, 'Messenger of God, I have with me an uncle who is much afflicted. Please pray to God for him.' 'Where is he?' he asked. 'Bring him to me.' Al-Wāziᶜ went on, 'I then did as al-Ashajj had done: I dressed him in two white garments and took him over to him. He took hold of his outer garment and lifted up both sides so that we could see the white of his armpits. He then struck the man on his back, saying, 'Get out, you enemy of God!' The man then turned around and he was seeing just as does a healthy man.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Hūd b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜd, that the latter heard his grandfather Muzīda al-ᶜAbdī say, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in speaking to his Companions, he told them, 'From over there riders are coming who are the best of the people of the East.'

"ᶜUmar arose and went out towards them and met 13 riders. When he asked who they were, they replied, 'We're from Banū ᶜAbd al-Qays.' 'And what brings you to these parts; business?' 'No,' they replied. 'Well,' ᶜUmar commented, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) just made mention of you and spoke highly of you.'

"They proceeded in with him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and ʿUmar told them, 'This is your master you seek.' The riders threw themselves off their mounts and some walked while others jogged and ran towards him. When they reached him, they took his hand and kissed it. Al-Ashajj remained back until he had hobbled the camels and gathered some of the baggage of the group. He then walked over and took the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and kissed it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have two qualities that both God and His Messenger much like.' He asked, 'And is that a natural disposition created within me or something I myself have brought about?' 'It is a natural disposition,' he replied. Al-Ashajj commented, 'Then praise be to God who has created within me what both God and His Messenger much like!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Jārūd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanash, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Qays arrived to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He was al-Jārūd b. Bishr b. al-Muʿallā, accompanying a delegation of ʿAbd Qays; he was a Christian."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "Someone I trust related to me that al-Ḥasan said, 'When we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter explained Islam to him, invited him to accept it, and made him very enthusiastic about it. Al-Jārūd told him, "Muḥammad, I used to follow a faith, but now I am leaving it for yours. Do you guarantee to me your faith?" He replied, "I do indeed guarantee to you that God has led you now to something better than it." And so al-Jārūd accepted Islam, as did his companions.

"'He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for transport, but he replied, "I swear, I've nothing on which to mount you." Al-Jārūd then asked, "Messenger of God, between here and our home there are stray mounts that have wandered away from their owners. May we use them to reach home?" "No," he replied, "beware of them. They would mean the fires of hell."

"'Al-Jārūd left to return to his own people; he was a good Muslim and firm in his faith until he died. He lived on into the *ridda*, the wars of apostacy. When some of his people reverted to their former religions along with al-Gharūr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd arose and gave testimony to the true faith and called for them to join Islam. He said, "O people, I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I consider unbelievers all who do not bear witness."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī out before the conquest of Mecca to al-Mundhir b. Sāwī al-ʿAbdī, and he became a good Muslim. Al-Mundhir died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but before the apostacy of the people of al-Baḥrayn; al-ʿAṭāʾ had remained with him as the Governor of al-Baḥrayn on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Consequently al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The first *jumʿa*, Friday congregational, prayer to be performed after that held in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the one in the mosque at Jawāthī, in al-Baḥrayn."

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Umm Salama that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delayed performing the two *rak‘āt* prayers after the noon (prayer) because of the arrival of the delegation of ‘Abd Qays; he performed them later in her dwelling, following the *al-‘aṣr* prayer.

I note, however, that there are suggestions in the text of Ibn ‘Abbās's *ḥadīth* that the arrival of the ‘Abd al-Qays delegation occurred before the conquest of Mecca. This relates to their having said, "Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month." But God knows best.

The Story of Thumāma and the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa, among whom was Musaylima, 'The Imposter', may God damn him!

Al-Bukhārī has a section under the heading, *The delegation of Banū Ḥanīfa and the Story of Thumāma b. Uthāl.* He stated, "‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth b. Sa‘d, quoting Sa‘īd b. Abū Sa‘īd, who heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) dispatched some cavalry to Najd. They brought back a man of Banū Ḥanīfa named Thumāma b. Uthāl. They bound him to one of the pillars of the mosque. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him and asked, "Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind I should do with you)?" He replied, "Muḥammad, I have (a) good (idea). If you kill me, you'll (only) kill a man who has killed others. But if you act kindly, you will be doing so to someone who will be grateful. If it's money you want, just ask for it."

"'He left him there till the next day, when again he asked, "Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind)?" "I have what I told you; if you act kindly, you'll do so to a man who will be grateful." Again he left him, until the following day, when he again asked, "What do you have (in mind), Thumāma?" "Just as I told you before," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said "Release Thumāma."

"'At that the man hurried over to a garden of date-palms near the mosque, washed himself and entered the mosque. He then announced, "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Muḥammad, I swear, formerly there was no one on earth I hated more than you. Now I love you best of all men. And, I swear, there was no faith more hateful to me than yours. Now your faith has become the one I love best. Moreover, there used to be no land more hated by me than your land; now your land has become the one I love best. Your cavalry captured me while I was on my may to make the *al-‘umra* pilgrimage; what do you think (about it now)?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) congratulated him and told him to proceed on the *‘umra*. When Thumāma reached Mecca, someone asked him, "Have you adopted the Sabian faith, then?" He responded, "No, but I have accepted Islam with Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And I swear, you'll not receive a single grain of wheat from Yamāma until he gives his permission for that!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place, as did Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd al-Nasā'ī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth.

Al-Bukhārī's having given this story in his section on delegations is controversial. This is because Thumāma did not come in by himself, but was brought in bonds and was tied up to one of the pillars of the mosque.

It is also questionable whether he should be referred to among the delegations occurring in 9 AH. This is because it is evident from the text of his story that it relates to prior to the conquest of Mecca. This is because the Meccans rebuke him over his acceptance of Islam and ask him whether he has adopted the Sabian faith. He went on to warn them that not a grain of wheat would reach them from al-Yamāma until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave his permission. This shows that at that time Mecca was considered enemy territory, its population not yet having accepted Islam. But God knows best.

This is why the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrates the story of Thumāma b. Uthāl before the conquest of Mecca; this is most likely to have been the case. However, we have given it here in deference to al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Yamān, quoting Shuʿayb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "During the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Musaylima, 'the imposter', arrived and began saying, 'If Muḥammad appoints me to rule after him, I will follow him.' He had arrived in the company of a great number of his people.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding a stick of date-palm wood in his hand, went out to him, accompanied by Thābit b. Qays. Coming to a stop near Musaylima and his men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you had asked me for it, I'd not even give you this stick! You will not avoid God's order concerning you. If you do not turn away, God will destroy you. I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream. This man is Thābit, and he will answer your questions about me.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left him.

"Ibn ʿAbbās stated, 'I asked about the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream." Abū Hurayra told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "While I slept, I saw on my hand two gold bracelets. This disturbed me. Then I received revelation, in my sleep, that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them to be representing two imposters who would emerge after me, one of them being al-Aswad al-Ansī,[23] the other Musaylima."'"

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[23] ʿAyhala b. Kaʿb, of the Madhhij tribe of ʿAns, known as "al-Aswad", led a successful revolt in Yemen both against the authority of the Persians and that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His assassination at the hand of former allies came shortly before the death of the latter. See the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, under the heading "al-Aswad".

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Isḥāq b. Naṣr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, who said, "Maʿmar informed me that Hammām b. Munabbih told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'While I slept, I was brought treasures from the earth and two gold bracelets were placed on my palm. They disturbed me, and revelation came to me that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them as the two imposters between whom I am – the ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ and the ruler of al-Yamāma.'"

Al-Bukhārī continued to state that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Jarmī, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, from Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿUbayda b. Nashīṭ – his name is given elsewhere as ʿAbd Allāh – who said that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba said, "We learned that Musaylima, 'the imposter', had arrived in Medina and was staying in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith. His wife was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz, and she was the mother of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, accompanied by Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās; it was he who was known as the orator of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter had a stick in his hand. He stood before Musaylima and spoke to him and Musaylima told him, 'If you wish, we will leave the way clear for you to rule, provided that you make me your successor.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'If you were to ask me for this stick, I'd not give it to you. I believe you are the one about whom I had a dream. This is Thābit b. Qays; he will answer any questions on my behalf.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left."

ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh continued, "I asked Ibn ʿAbbās about the vision he had mentioned. Ibn ʿAbbās replied, 'I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "While I slept, I was given a vision in which two gold bracelets were placed on my hand. I was disturbed by these and disliked them. Then I was given permission to blow on them and when I did so, they disappeared. I interpreted them to represent two imposters who would appear."'"

ʿUbayd Allāh stated, "One of these was al-ʿAnsī, who was killed by Fayrūz in Yemen; the other was Musaylima, 'the imposter'."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The delegation of Banū Ḥanīfa came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and with them was Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, 'the imposter'."

Ibn Hishām stated, "His name was Musaylima b. Thumāma b. Kathīr b. Ḥabīb b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith b. Haffān b. Dhahl b. al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfa; he was known as Abū Thumāma, and also as Abū Hārūn. He was also referred to as 'al-Raḥmān' and as 'Raḥmān of al-Yamāma'. He was 150 years old at the time of his execution. He knew various forms of magic. He knew how to insert an egg into a long-necked bottle and was the first to do this. He would cut off a bird's wing, then reattach it. It is said that there was a gazelle that would come down from the mountain and he would drink its milk."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They went into residence in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, an *anṣārī* woman of Banū al-Najjār."

Al-Suhaylī stated, "She was Zaynab; some say her name was Kaysa, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams. Musaylima had married her long before, but then separated from her. This is why they stayed in her home."

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "One of our scholars of Medina related to me that Banū Ḥanīfa hid him in some clothing and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was sitting among his Companions, holding a palm frond. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been completely concealed by the clothes, and began to make requests, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you were to ask me for this palm frond, I'd not give it to you!'

"A sheikh of Banū Ḥanīfa from al-Yamāma related to me that the incident concerning him was quite different. He claimed that the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having left Musaylima with their mounts. Having accepted Islam, they remembered him and asked, 'Messenger of God, we have left a companion of ours with our mounts and baggage to care for them for us.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that what had been given to the men of Banū Ḥanīfa should be given to him too, saying, 'His status is no worse than yours.' That is, due to his having looked after his companions' property. That is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to imply.

"They then all left and took to Musaylima what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given to each one of them. When they reached Yamāma that enemy of God apostatized, proclaimed himself a prophet and told them many lies. He said, 'I have been made his partner in this matter.'

"He then told his delegation, who were with him, 'Did he not say to you, "His status is no worse than yours?" The only reason he said this was from his knowledge that I had been made his partner in the matter.'

"Thereafter he began to recite doggerel verse to them and to imitate the Qurʾān, saying, 'God has bestowed His favour on the pregnant woman; he has extracted from her a being that moves, from between the skin on her womb and her intestines.'

"He made wine and fornication permissible for them and abolished the need for prayer. He nevertheless testified for the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, being a prophet. And Banū Ḥanīfa was in agreement with him on that."

This is what Ibn Isḥāq stated. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī and others related the following about al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfūwa – his other name being Nahār b. ʿUnfūwa; he had accepted Islam and learned some of the Qurʾān and spent a period as a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter once passed by while al-Raḥḥāl was seated with Abū Hurayra and commented, "One of you has his molar in hell-fire like Mt. Uḥud!"

Both men remained apprehensive until eventually al-Raḥḥāl apostatized with Musaylima. He falsely testified that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made Musaylima his partner in his activities and attributed to the latter some part of the Qurʾān he had learned; this Musaylima claimed for himself. All this resulted in great confusion for Banū Ḥanīfa. Al-Raḥḥāl was killed by Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the *mu'azzin* employed by Musaylima was named Ḥujayr; and the one of his men who most directed the warfare on his behalf was Muḥkam b. al-Ṭufayl. To these should be added Sajaḥ, known as Umm Ṣādir. This was a woman Musaylima married, and there are various shameful reports about his relationship with her. The name of her *mu'azzin* was Zuhayr b. ʿAmr, or alternatively Janba b. Ṭāriq. It is also said that Shabath b. Ribʿī also acted as her *mu'azzin* and then later became a Muslim. She too accepted Islam during the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and became a good Muslim.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having stated, "Musaylima b. Ḥabīb wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows, "From Musaylima, Messenger of God, to Muḥammad, Messenger of God. Peace be upon you. To proceed: I have been appointed as your partner in the task, along with you. Half the authority is ours, the other half that of Quraysh. However, Quraysh are an aggressive people."

Two messengers brought this document and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote back to him. He stated, "In the name of God, the most Merciful, most Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Musaylima, 'the imposter'. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. To proceed: the earth belongs to God. He entrusts it to whomever of His servants He wishes. The outcome will favour the pious."

This – the receipt of this message – was at the end of 10 AH. Al-Bukhārī relates the story of this message in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, "Saʿd b. Ṭāriq related to me, from Salama b. Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd, from his father, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to the two messengers of Musaylima when they brought the letter from him, "Do you agree with what he said?" "Yes," they replied. "I swear by God", he told them, "that if it were not for the fact that messengers are not to be executed, I would strike off the heads of you both!"'"

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that al-Masʿūdī related to him, from ʿĀṣim, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "Ibn al-Nawāḥa and Ibn Uthāl came as messengers to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on behalf of Musaylima, 'the imposter', and he asked them, 'Do you testify that I am the Messenger of God?' They replied, 'We testify that Musaylima is the Messenger of God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then exclaimed, 'I proclaim my belief in God and in His Messengers! If I were someone who executed messengers, I would execute both of you!'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd went on, "And so the practice was instituted that messengers would not be executed."

He continued, "Regarding Ibn Uthāl, God ultimately gave him his reward. As for Ibn al-Nawāḥa, I continued to feel much anger against him until God took possession of him."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Usāma b. Uthāl accepted Islam. And we referred to this above.

Regarding Ibn al-Nawāḥa, Abū Zakariyyā᾽ b. Abū Isḥāq al-Muzanī, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said that a man came to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and said, 'I passed by a mosque of Banū Ḥanīfa while they were making a recitation of something God did not reveal to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). It was, 'By those women who mill flour; by those women who knead dough; by those women who bake bread; by those women who concoct stew; by those women who swallow morsels . . .'

"ʿAbd Allāh then sent for them; they were 70 men in number, and their leader was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Nawāḥa. ʿAbd Allāh gave orders and he was executed. He then said, 'We'll never acquire Satan out of these; however, we can drive them off to Syria, so that God may take care of them for us!'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa consisted of approximately ten men, under the leadership of Sulmā b. Ḥanẓala. They included al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfuwa, Ṭalq b. ʿAlī, ʿAlī b. Sinān, and Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, 'the imposter'. They were accommodated in the home of Maslama, daughter of al-Ḥārith, and they were given full hospitality. They were given lunch and dinner – at times consisting of bread and meat, at others of bread and yoghurt, bread and meat fat, and dates, during their stay.

"When they came to the mosque, they accepted Islam. They had left Musaylima with their mounts and when they wanted to depart, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them each five *awqiyya* weight of silver. He also ordered the same gift for Musaylima, and when they said he was with their mounts, he commented, 'His status is no worse than yours.'

"When they returned to Musaylima and told him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, he commented, 'He only said that because he knows that power will come to me after him.'

"Having said this, Musaylima, may God abhore him, persisted and made claim to the prophethood."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent out with them a vessel containing the remainder of water he had used for cleansing himself. Musaylima ordered his men to revoke their pledge of allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to pour the water over his dwelling, and to adopt it as a *masjid*, a place of prayer. This they did."

Hereafter we will recount the death of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī at the end of the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Musaylima was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'.

THE DELEGATION FROM THE PEOPLE OF NAJRĀN.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥusayn, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ṣila b. Zufar, from Ḥudhayfa, who said, "Al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyad, rulers of Najrān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), intending to engage in the *liʿan*[24] ceremony.

"One man said to the other, 'Let's not do this. If he is a prophet, and we engage him in this *liʿān*, neither we nor our descendants will have success.' They both then said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'We will give you whatever you want. Send a trustworthy man out with us, but do not send anyone who is not worthy of trust.' He responded, 'I will send with you a man who is truly trustworthy.'

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) competed to have this honour, and he ultimately said, 'Stand up, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.' And when he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is the (most) trustworthy man of this nation.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Mūsā ibn al-Faḍl, both of whom said, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Salama b. ʿAbd Yasūʿ, from his father, from his grandfather. Yūnus, who had been a Christian and had accepted Islam, said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Najrān before the (sūrat) *Ṭa Sīn*[25] of Sulaymān (Soloman) had been revealed to him, 'In the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the bishop of Najrān. Are you peaceable? I praise to you the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To proceed: I summon you to the worship of God, away from worshipping servants of God. If you should refuse, then you will have to pay the *jizya*. If you refuse, I am warning you of warfare. Peace.'

"When this letter reached the bishop, he was shocked and astounded by it. He sent for a man of Najrān named Shuraḥbīl b. Wadāʿa, who was originally from Hamdān. No one would be consulted in preference to him in the case of some problem – not al-Abham, nor al-Sayyid, nor al ʿĀqib.[26]

"The bishop gave this letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Shurahbīl. When he had read it, they asked him, 'Abū Maryam, what do you think?' Shuraḥbīl replied, 'You well know how God promised Abraham that prophethood would pass on through the progeny of Ismāʿīl; don't you believe that this could refer to this man? I have no personal opinion about the prophethood question. If this were a worldly matter, I would give you my views on it, and would do my very best for you.' The bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat.' Shuraḥbīl then went aside and sat down near him.

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[24] A practice in which two contending groups attended a remote area to pray to God to punish whichever of their two parties had engaged in lying. See also footnote 27, p.73 hereafter.

[25] Ṭ s (Ṭā Sīn), the two opening letters of sūrat al-Naml (or sūrat Ṭā Sīn).

[26] The other leaders of the tribe.

"The bishop sent to a man of Najrān named ʿAbd Allāh b. Shuraḥbīl, a man of Dhū Asbaḥ, from Ḥimyar. He had him read the letter and asked him his opinion. This man spoke as Shuraḥbīl and the bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat', and the man did so and sat near him.

"Next the bishop sent for a man of Najrān named Jabbār b. Fayḍ, of Banū al-Ḥārith, son of Kaʿb, a man of Banū al-Ḥimās. He asked this man to read the letter and to give his opinion of it. Jabbār replied as had Shuraḥbīl and ʿAbd Allāh. The bishop then told him to go aside and sit, which he did.

"When they had all agreed on the same statement, the bishop gave orders that the bell be struck and lighted lanterns and hair shirts were lifted up into the monks' cells; they would do this if there were an alarm during the day, but if the alarm were by night, they would merely strike the bell and lift up the lights into the cells.

"When the bell was struck, they assembled and the people of the valley, both in its upper and its lower parts, raised the hair shirts; the valley was the length of a day's journey for a fast rider. It consisted of 73 villages and had 100,000 warriors. The letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was read to them and the bishop sought their opinion of it. Their leaders agreed that they should send Shuraḥbīl b. Wadāʿa al-Hamadānī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Shuraḥbīl al-Aṣbaḥī, and Jabbār b. Fayḍ al-Ḥārithī to seek information about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The delegation travelled to Medina and when they arrived there, they took off their travel garments and dressed in fine robes of striped cloth and put on gold rings. They then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They greeted him, but he did not respond. They waited there all day long for him to speak to them, but he did not, since they were wearing those garments and gold rings.

"The delegation went to find ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, whom they had known previously; they found them in an assembly, meeting with *anṣār* and *muhājirīn*. They asked them, 'ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, your Prophet wrote us a letter and we have come in response to it. We have greeted him, but he has not returned our greeting. We waited patiently all day long, but failed to get him to speak to us. What do you both think; do you consider we should return home?'

"They also asked ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who was also there in the group. He said to ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 'I think they should take off these fine robes and rings, dress in their travel garments and then return to him.'

"They did this and when they greeted him, he responded. He then told them, 'By Him who sent me with the truth, when you first came to me, Iblīs (Satan) was certainly with you.' He then asked them questions, as they did him. This session of questioning continued and they eventually asked, 'What do you say about Jesus? Although we will go back to our people as Christians, it would please us, if you are a prophet, we could hear what you say of him.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I don't have anything to say about him today; stay here until I tell you what it is God says about Jesus.'

"By next morning God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed this verse, 'God considers Jesus to be the like of Adam; He created him from earth, then said to him: "Be!" And he was. The truth is from your Lord; and so do not be of those who make disputes. To those who could dispute with you, after the knowledge that has come to you, say, "Come, let us call our sons and (you) your sons, we our wives and (you) your wives and we our ownselves and (you) yourselves, and then let us make our appeals to God, and pray that God places his curse upon those who lie' (*sūrat Āl ῾Imrān*; III, v. 58–60).

"They refused to agree to this.

"On the next morning following that when he had told them of this, he arrived for a *mulā῾ana*,[27] 'an oath-taking competition', accompanied by al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. He was dressed in a *khamīl*, 'a coarse-fibred garment', and Fāṭima walked at his back; that day he was also accompanied by several of his womenfolk.

"Shuraḥbīl told his two companions, 'You both well know that the upper and lower parts of our valley join in accepting my views and I have, I swear, reached a weighty conclusion. Given that this man is a powerful leader, if we were the first of the Arabs to spite him and to reject his orders, he and his men would maintain such ill-will for us that they would eventually do us great harm. We are the Arabs who are his closest neighbours, and if this man is truly a prophet, and we challenge him as a liar, then every hide and hair of us is sure to perish!'

"His companions then asked him, 'Well, Abū Maryam, what should we do?' He replied, 'My opinion is that I should recognize his authority. He is, I think, not a man who would ever make an over-harsh judgement.'

Shuraḥbīl then met with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'I have something better to suggest than an oath-taking competition with you.' 'And what is that?' he asked. 'Spend this day till tonight and tonight till tomorrow reaching your judgement and whatever you decide concerning us will be acceptable.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Is there anyone else back home behind you who will contradict you?' Shuraḥbīl replied, 'Ask my two companions.' They said, 'Our whole valley will accept his decision.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned home without making oaths regarding them. When they went to him next day, he wrote for them the following document, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. This is written by Muḥammad, the Prophet, the untutored, the

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[27] A procedure in which contending parties would call down oaths upon their various family members and invoke God's aid to determine which side had been speaking the truth. This practice is inferred in the Qur᾽ān verse quoted in the previous paragraph.

Messenger of God, to Najrān. It is his judgement regarding all their produce and all their assets in gold, silver and slaves to be generous to them and to leave them all this in consideration of a payment of 2,000 sets of garments. Of these 1,000 shall be paid each Rajab, and another 1,000 each Ṣafar.' He then went on to give the rest of the conditions. The document ends, 'Witnessed by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ghaylān b. ʿAmr, Mālik b. ʿAwf, of Banū Naṣr, and al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis al-Ḥanzalī, and al-Mughīra.' And he (so) wrote it.

"When they received this document, they left for Najrān. With the bishop there was a brother of his, on his mother's side, he being his uncle's son, a man named Bishr b. Muʾāwiya, known as Abū ʿAlqama. The delegation gave the letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the bishop. While he was reading it, in the company of Abū ʿAlqama, while they were both riding, Bishr's camel stumbled. Bishr swore an oath, although he did not make reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The bishop told him, 'You might have spoken a curse against a prophet who has been sent.' Bishr replied, 'Certainly; and I swear I'll not nullify it until I go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"He then directed his camel back towards Medina, but the bishop positioned his own in his way and told him, 'Understand from me, that I only said that so that the Arabs have that reported to them of me, fearing that they might consider that we had accepted his authenticity, or been swayed by his voice, or agreed to something this man wanted to which the Arabs did not comply, even though we are the most powerful and numerous of all.' Bishr replied, 'No; I swear, I'll never accept this attitude of yours.'

"Bishr then spurred his mount into motion, turning his back to the bishop. He also spoke the following doggerel verse:

'To you (my camel) anxiously turns her flank
Though a foal inside her belly objects,
For her religion opposes that of the Christians.'

"When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he accepted Islam and stayed on with him until he was eventually killed."

"The delegation entered Najrān and went to the monk Ibn Abū Shamar al-Zubaydī while he was high up in his cell, telling him, 'A prophet has been given a mission in Tihāma!' They narrated how the Najrān delegation had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how he had suggested an oath-swearing competition to them, which they had refused, and how Bishr b. Muʾāwiya had hurried off to him and had accepted Islam.

"The monk replied, 'Bring me down, or else I'll cast myself from this cell!' They did so; he brought with him a present which he took with him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Part of it is that cloak that the caliphs wear, along with a wooden cup and a staff.

"He remained for some time with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), listening to the revelation, then returned to his own people. He is not credited with having accepted Islam. He promised to come back but this was not to be until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died.

"The bishop, Abū al-Ḥārith, went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with *al-Sayyid, al-ʿĀqib*[28] and important persons from their people. They stayed with him, hearing what God revealed to him. He wrote the document for the bishop and those bishops to come after him: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Prophet, to Bishop Abū al-Ḥārith and the bishops of Najrān, and its priests and monks, including all those under their control, few or many. (This gives) protection of God and of His Messenger, which shall not be changed for any of its bishops, monks or priests. Nor shall any of their rights or powers or former practices be changed. The protection of God and His Messenger is for ever, so long as they remain peaceful and sincere and are not subjected to wrongdoing or engage in it.' 'Written by al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related that the delegation of Christians of Najrān included 60 riders, of whom 14 were leaders. These latter consisted of *al-ʿĀqib*, whose name was ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, and *al-Sayyid*, whose name was al-Abham, Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama, Aws b. al-Ḥārith, Zayd, Qays, Yazīd, Nubayh, Khuwaylid, ʿAmr, Khālid, ʿAbd Allāh and Yaḥnus.

Leadership of these 14 men devolved upon 3 of them. These were al-ʿĀqib their leader, opinion-maker and council-leader, whose decision no one would oppose; al-Sayyid, their protector, and camel-master; Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama, their bishop and pontiff. The last-mentioned was an Arab of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil. He had entered the religion of Christianity, and the Byzantines had promoted and honoured him, built churches for him and given him power and authority because of the firmness they knew of his faith. He was nevertheless fully aware of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but (his love for) honour and prestige prevented him from following the truth.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, "Burayda b. Sufyān related to me, from Ibn al-Baylamānī, from Kurz b. ʿAlqama, who said, 'A delegation of Christians of Najrān arrived, consisting of 60 mounted men, 14 of whom were their leaders. And there were 24 of them . . .[29] Three of them were in charge – al-ʿĀqib, al-Sayyid and Abū Ḥāritha, one of the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil, their bishop, and their *ṣāḥib midrās*.[30] This last man they had awarded great honour, power and privileges, and had built him churches because of what they had heard of his great knowledge and zeal for their faith.

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[28] Titles of authority.

[29] Incomplete in the Arabic printed text.

[30] Perhaps the guardian of their Midrash, an early Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament.

"When they left Najrān, Abū Ḥāritha was mounted on a mule and by his side rode a brother of his named Kurz b. ʿAlqama. The mule of Abū Ḥāritha stumbled and Kurz said, 'May al-Abʿad, "the one far away", (meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) stumble!' Abū Ḥāritha commented, 'No; it's you who may stumble!' Kurz asked him, 'Why, brother?' He replied, 'I swear by God, he is certainly the prophet whom we have been awaiting!'

"Kurz asked, 'Well, what is holding you back, when you know that?' He replied, 'It's because of what these people have done for us. They have honoured us, made payments to us, and given us authority. But they adamantly oppose him; if I were to take action, they would take everything away from us.'

"His brother Kurz gave much thought to what he had said and eventually accepted Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to relate that when they entered the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), they were dressed in finery. It was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, and they got up and prayed towards the east. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Let them do so."

Their spokesman was Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama and (their other leaders were) *al-Sayyid* and *al-ʿĀqib*. Eventually the major part of *sūrat Āl ʿImrān* and verses about the oath-taking competition were revealed concerning them. But they refused the latter. They asked that a fully trustworthy man be sent out with them.[31] And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did dispatch Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, as is related above in the account of al-Bukhārī.

We have discussed this in detail in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of *sūrat Āl ʿImrān*. And to God be all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ ʿĀMIR AND THE STORY OF ʿĀMIR B. AL-ṬUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS, MAY GOD DAMN THEM BOTH!

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Then a delegation from Banū Āmir came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It included ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Arbad b. Qays b. Jazʾ b. Khālid b. Jaʿfar and Ḥayyān b. Salmā b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar. These three men were the leaders and chief mischief-makers of their tribe.

"When that enemy of God ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl came to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it was with the intent of betraying him. His people had told him, 'Abū ʿĀmir, others have accepted Islam, you do so too.' But he replied, 'I swear by God, I made a vow I would never cease striving to get the Arabs to follow me; should I now follow this Quraysh fellow?'

"Al-Arbad then said, 'When we go to see this man, I will get him to turn his face away from you. When I do this, you strike him with your sword!'

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, 'Muḥammad, will you come aside with me?' He replied, 'No, by God, not until you believe in God alone!' ʿĀmir repeated, 'Please, just come aside with me, Muḥammad,' and he began talking to him, waiting for Arbad to act. Arbad, however, did nothing. When ʿĀmir saw that Arbad was taking no action, he again said, 'Muḥammad, do come aside with me,' but he again replied, 'No, not until you believe in God alone Who has no partner.'

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[31] To act as an arbitrator to settle an internal financial dispute, according to the sources.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thus rejected him, ʿĀmir said, 'Then, by God, I'll fill this place with horses and men to fight you!' When ʿĀmir had turned away to leave, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, take care of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl for me!'

"When they had left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked Arbad, 'Had I not ordered you what to do? I swear by God, there was no man on earth I considered more fearsome than you! I swear, I'll never fear you again, after today!'

"He replied, 'I pray you, don't blame me too hastily. Whenever I was about to do as you had asked, you got in the man's way so all I could see was you. Should I have struck you with my sword?'

"They headed back home and when they had gone part way, God, the Almighty and Glorious, afflicted ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl with a growth in his neck. And God killed him in the home of a woman of Banū Salūl. He exclaimed, 'O Banū ʿĀmir, shall (my death) be from a growth like that on a young camel in the home of a woman of Banū Salūl?'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The words are also quoted as, '. . . a growth like that of a camel and a death in the house of a Salūlī woman?'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, quoting Fāṭima, daughter of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mawʾala, from her father, from her grandfather, Mawʾala b. Ḥumayl, who said, "ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who told him, 'ʿĀmir, accept Islam!' He replied, 'I will do so on condition that I control *al-wabar*, "the nomads", while you control *al-madar*, "*the villages*".' He refused.

"Again the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Accept Islam!' And again ʿĀmir replied, 'On condition I control the nomads, while you control the villages.' 'No,' replied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿĀmir then turned away, saying, 'I swear by God, Muḥammad, I'll fill this place with horses like locusts and men like breadcrumbs; I'll tether a horse to every palm tree!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, rid me of ʿĀmir and give his people guidance!'

"ʿĀmir then left and when he reached the outskirts of Medina, he happened to meet a woman of his tribe called Salūliyya. He dismounted from his horse and slept in her house. He was then afflicted by a growth in his throat. He mounted his horse and, levelling his lance, he rode away, saying, 'A growth like that on a young camel and a death in the house of Salūliyya!' He kept this up until he fell dead from his horse."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb fī Asmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba* (*A Study of the Names of the Companions*) concerning (a man named) Mawʾala: "He was Mawʾala b. Kuthayf al-Ḍabābī al-Kilābī al-ʿĀmirī, of Banū ʿĀmir b. Saʿsaʿa. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when a young man of 20, and he lived on in the faith for 100 years. He was known as 'he of the two tongues' because of his eloquence. His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related materials from him. It was he who recounted the story of ʿĀmir b. al- Ṭufayl and the line, '. . . a growth like that of a baggage camel and a death in the house of Salūliyya!'"

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "Ẓamyāʾ, daughter of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mawʾala b. Kuthayf b. Ḥaml b. Khālid b. ʿAmr b. Muʾāwiya, he being al-Ḍabbāb b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, said, 'My father related to me, quoting his father, quoted Mawʾala as having recounted that he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when he was 20 years old. He pledged him his allegiance, wiped his right arm (in deference to him), and led his camel to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a two-year-old she-camel. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he became a companion of Abū Hurayra and lived on for 100 years into Islam. He was nicknamed "he of the two tongues" because of his eloquence.'"

I note that it is evident that the story of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl related to a period prior to the conquest of Mecca, even though Ibn Isḥāq and al-Bayhaqī include mention of it thereafter.

When al-Bayhaqī gave it, he did so from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, from al-Awzāʿī, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas, in the account of the expedition to Biʾr Maʿūna and the killing by ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl of Ḥarām b. Malḥān, the uncle of Anas b. Mālik, and his treachery against the men there that resulted in the killing of them all except ʿAmr b. Umayya, as is given above.

Al-Awzāʿī stated that Yaḥyā said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl for 30 mornings, saying, 'O God, rid me of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl however You wish, and send upon him what will kill him.' And God did infect him with a malignancy."

It is related from Hammām, from Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Anas, in the story relating to Ḥarām b. Milḥān. Anas stated, "ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'I give you to choose between three options: you shall govern the people on the plains, while I the nomads, or I shall be your successor after you, or I will attack you with Banū Ghaṭafān and 1,000 stallions and 1,000 mares.'"

He went on, "He was then, while staying in a woman's house, afflicted with a malignant growth. At this, he exclaimed, 'Shall it be a growth like that on a camel and death in the house of a woman of Banū so-and-so? Bring me my horse!' He rode away and died upon his horse."

Ibn Isḥāq stated. "His companions went out and buried him, then proceeded on to Banū ʿĀmir territory to spend the winter. When they arrived there, their people came to them and asked, 'Arbad, how was it back behind you?' 'It was nothing,' they replied. 'I swear, all he did was invite us to worship something or other. I wish he were here now; I'd kill him with an arrow, right on the spot!'

"A day or two after his having made that comment, he went out with a camel he had to sell and God sent down upon him and it a thunderbolt that burned them both up."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Arbad b. Qays was a brother of Labīd b. Rabīʿa on his mother's side. Labīd said, mourning Arbad,

> 'Death spares no one – not a kindly father, nor a son.
> I fear much that death of Arbad more than I do the influence of Pisces or Leo.
> Eye, why weep for Arbad, now that both we and the women have stood in mourning?
> If others threatened, he ignored their threats; if they were reasoned in judgement, so was he.
> A sweet and clever man, though with some bitterness in his sweetness; a man of calm and healthy constitution.
> Eye, would you weep for Arbad now that the winter winds sweep the bare trees
> And they have become wind-tossed and fruitless, their remnants of fruit revealed?
> He was braver than a meat-eating forest-lion, staring forth and determined to prevail.
> The eye does not see to its full extent on a night when horses return frail and worn.
> He inspired the mourning women to attend his wake, (as evident) as young gazelles on barren terrain.
> The lightning and thunderbolt terrified me when they struck this bold warrior that terrible day.
> He took from those who robbed and gave back to their victims; if they came in distress, he gave them again and again.
> He was generous in bad times, as when spring rain produces growth.
> All the sons of a free-born woman must diminish in number, no matter how many they were.
> Even though once envied, all shall be brought down; though once leaders, all shall perish and fade.'"

Ibn Isḥāq quoted many further lines from Labīd in mourning for Arbad b. Qays, his brother on his mother's side. We have omitted them here for brevity's sake, thinking the verses we have given sufficient. And it is God who leads to what is right.

Ibn Hishām stated that Zayd b. Aslam recounted, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "And God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the following concerning ʿĀmir and Arbad: 'God knows what every female bears and what falls short and what comes to fruition in the womb. And with Him everything has its measure. (He it is who is) Knowledgeable of the unseen and what is witnessed; He is the Great, the Most High. Alike (for Him) are those of you who conceal their words and those who speak openly, those who hide by night, and those who go forth by day. He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf, both ahead and behind him, who protect him, by God's command' (*sūrat al-Raʿd*; XIII, v.9–11). By this latter wording, He is referring to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

"He proceeded to make reference to Arbad and to his execution. God Almighty stated, 'And when God intends harm for a people there is no averting it and from Him they have no protector. He it is who shows you lightning bringing fear and expectation, He who summons the heavy clouds. The thunder proclaims His praise and the angels too are in awe of Him. He sends the thunderbolts and uses them to strike whomever He wishes. Yet they dispute concerning God, and He is Mighty in power'" (*sūrat al-Raʿd*; XIII, v.11–13).

We have discussed these honoured verses in our exegesis of *sūrat al-Raʿd*. And to God goes all praise and credit.

Ibn Hishām, may God have mercy on him, did provide a chain of authorities for this additional comment he made.

We are also given an account by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium of *aḥādīth* in which he states, "Masʿada b. Saʿd al-ʿAṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmrān, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd Allāh, two sons of Zayd b. Aslam, from their father, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who recounted that Arbad b. Qays b. Jazʾ b. Khālid b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb and ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl b. Mālik came to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. When they reached him, he was seated and they both sat down in front of him. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked him, 'Muḥammad, what will you do for me if I accept Islam?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You will receive the same as the other Muslims and have the same obligations.'

"ʿĀmir then asked, 'If I accept Islam, will you ensure that I become leader after you?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'That shall not be for you or for your tribe. But you may have command over the cavalry.' ʿĀmir responded, 'I already now have control over all the cavalry of Najd. Give me control over the nomads, and you control the villages.'

"'No,' he replied. As he was leaving him, ʿĀmir said, 'I am going to fill up this place with horses and men to fight you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'God will prevent you.'

"When Arbad and ʿĀmir left, the latter suggested, 'Arbad, I'll distract Muḥammad from you by talking to him, and then you strike him with your sword. If you do kill Muḥammad, they'll want no more than to be satisfied by payment of the blood-wit. They dislike warfare. You'll just give them the blood-wit.' Arbad replied, 'I'll do it.'

"They proceeded back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and ʿĀmir addressed him, 'Muḥammad, get up and come with me so I can talk to you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and went alone with him towards the wall where he stopped to talk to him. Arbad went to draw his sword, but when he touched it, his hand lost its grip on the sword's hilt and he could not unsheath it. Arbad was unable to strike him sufficiently quickly for ʿĀmir, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned and, seeing Arbad and what he intended, walked away from them both.

"When Arbad and ʿĀmir left the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and reached the lava plain of Wāqim, they halted. But Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥudayr went out after them and said, 'Clear off, you enemies of God! God damn you both!' ʿĀmir responded, 'Who is that, Saʿd?' 'That is Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, of the cavalry squadrons,' he replied.

"They left, and while they were at al-Raqm, God sent a thunderbolt down on Arbad and killed him. ʿĀmir then left, and when he was in the lava field, God sent a malignant growth to afflict him. That night he spent in the house of a woman of Banū Salūl. He began feeling the growth on his neck and said, 'A growth like that of a camel, in the house of a woman of Banū Salūl!' He loathed the idea of dying in her house.

"He then rode off on his horse, made it gallop, then died on it as he returned. God revealed about them both, 'God knows what every female . . .' and so on, to the words, 'He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf . . .' By this, He was making reference to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). He then made a reference to Arbad and how God had killed him, then quoted the verse, 'He sends the thunderbolts and uses them . . .'"

This account suggests the early time frame of this incident concerning ʿĀmir and Arbad; this is because it mentions Saʿd b. Muʿādh in it. But God knows best.

The arrival of the delegations of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿĀmir al-Dawsī, may God be pleased with him, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Mecca and his acceptance of Islam have been treated above,[32] and also how God placed a light between his eyes and he made a request to God, who removed it on to the end of his whip. we have detailed that above and have no need to repeat it here, as did al-Bayhaqī and others.

THE ARRIVAL OF ḌIMĀM B. THAʿLABA TO SEE THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), ON BEHALF OF HIS TRIBE OF BANŪ SAʿD B. BAKR.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwayfiʿ related to me, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Banū Saʿd b. Bakr sent Ḍimām b. Thaʿlaba with a delegation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

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[32] Vol. II, pp. 48–50.

"'When he arrived, he made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it and entered the mosque while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated inside with his men. Ḍimām was a burly and hairy man who had two pigtails.

"'He advanced, stood over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Which one of you is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's son?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I am ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's son."

"'Ḍimām then asked, "Muḥammad?" "Yes?" he asked. "Son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I've got some tough questions to put to you; don't be offended."

"'"I'll not be offended," he replied. "Ask what you want."

"'"I adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those who came before you, and the God of those who will come after you, is it God who orders you that we worship Him alone, and associate none other with Him, and that we take down those idols that our fathers worshipped?" "Yes, by God," he replied.

"'"I again adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those before and after you, is it God who ordered you that we pray those five prayers?" "Yes," he replied.

"'Ḍimām then began referring to the religious duties of Islam, one by one – alms-giving, fasting, the pilgrimage and all the other ordinances of Islam. He went on to refer to each one specifically. When he had finished, he said, "I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And I shall perform these duties and shall abstain from all that you prohibit. And I shall not add nor subtract anything."

"'He then went to his camel to go home. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "If that man with the two pigtails spoke the truth, he will enter paradise!"

"'When Ḍimām reached his camel, he untied it and travelled home. His people gathered to meet him and the first thing he said was, "Al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā are evil!" They told him, "Take care, Ḍimām! You might get leprosy! You might get elephantisis! You might go crazy!"

"'He replied, 'Confound you all! Those two can do no harm nor good. God has sent a Messenger and revealed to him a book with which I will try to save you from your former error. I testify that there is no god but God alone who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I have come to you from him with orders for what you should do and what he forbids you from doing."

"'And by God, that night and by next morning every man and woman there had become Muslims. And Ibn ʿAbbās said, "We never heard of anyone who came as a finer representative of any tribe than Ḍimām b. Thaʿlaba."'"

Imām Aḥmad related this similarly, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Abū Dā'ūd related this *ḥadīth* through Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Salama b. Kuhayl, and Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwayfiʿ, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in similar words.

In this text there is evidence of his having returned to his people before the conquest of Mecca, since Khālid b. al-Walīd destroyed al-‘Uzzā during the days of that conquest.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Sabra related to him, from Shurayk b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, from Kurayb, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, "In Rajab, 5 AH Banū Sa‘d b. Bakr sent Ḍimām b. Tha‘laba out in a delegation to meet with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was a burly, thick-haired man with two pigtails.

"When he arrived, he stood over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him questions, doing so brusquely, about who had sent him, what he was sent with, and about the required duties of Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him concerning all this and he went back to his people as a Muslim. He took down the idols and told them what orders he had received and what he had been forbidden from doing. And by the next morning, every single man and woman of them had become Muslims. They built mosques and instituted the call for prayer."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Sulaymān – meaning Ibn al-Mughīra – from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "We had been forbidden to pose any questions to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and it would amaze us to have some intelligent man come in from the desert and ask him questions while we listened.

"One man arrived from the desert and asked, 'Muḥammad, your messenger came to us and claimed that you claim that God sent you.' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied.

"'So who created the sky?' he asked. 'God.' 'And who created the earth?' 'God.' 'And who set up these mountains and placed things upon them?'

"He went on, 'By Him who created the sky and the earth and set up these mountains, was it God who sent you?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are required to perform five prayers each day and night.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are to give *zakāt* payments from our assets.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you with the truth, did He really give you this order?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are required to fast for one month each year.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"'And your messenger claimed that everyone with the necessary means is required to make a pilgrimage to the *ka‘ba*.' 'He spoke the truth.'

"The man then turned aside, saying, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I will not add to nor subtract from these at all.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'If he has spoken the truth, he will enter paradise.'"

This *ḥadīth* is included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as well as in other compendia, with various phraseology and lines of transmission, from Anas b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him. Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Al-Bukhārī also gave this *ḥadīth* from this source.

It is also given in similar form from another line. Imām Aḥmad stated, "Al-Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, quoting Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd, from Shurayk b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, who stated that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'While we were seated in the mosque with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a man arrived on a camel that he made kneel and hobbled it there. He then asked, "Which of you is Muḥammad?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there, resting among his Companions. We told him, "He is this white-skinned man, the one reclining."

"'The man addressed him, "Son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib . . ." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I will respond to you." The man went on, "Muḥammad, I want to ask you some tough questions; don't be offended at me." "Ask whatever you see fit." The man went on, "I adjure you by your Lord and the Lord of those who came before you, did God send you to all the people?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Yes, by God."

"'"Again, I adjure you by God, was it God who gave you the order that we perform the five prayers each day and night?" "By God, yes," he affirmed.

"'"Then, I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you that we fast this month each year?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Yes, by God!"

"'"I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you to take these alms from our wealthy and to distribute them to our poor?" "Yes, by God," responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'The man went on, "Then I believe the message you bring. I am an envoy on behalf of my people back home; my name is Ḍimām b. Thaʿlaba, a brother of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr."'"

Imām al-Bukhārī related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Saʿīd al-Maqburī.

Abu Dā'ūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja related this from al-Layth.

It is curious that al-Nasāʾī related it from a line other than through al-Layth. He stated, "Ibn ʿAjlān and others of our colleagues, related it to me from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from Shurayk, from Anas b. Mālik . . ." and he then gave the *ḥadīth*. Al-Nasāʾī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra. Perhaps it was derived from Saʿīd al-Maqburī from both of these other sources. God knows best.

DIVISION

We have given above[33] the account related by Imām Aḥmad, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, relating to the arrival of Ḍimām al-Azdī to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca before the Hijra and of the acceptance of Islam by the former and by his people. Our previous account is of sufficient detail to need no repetition here. And to God be all praise and credit.

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[33] See Vol. II.

THE DELEGATION OF ṬAYYIʾ WITH 'ZAYD OF THE HORSES' MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

This man was Zayd b. Muhallil b. Zayd b. Manhib, known as Abū Muknif al-Ṭāʾī. He was one of the finest of the Arabs, and one of their tallest. He was called, "Zayd of the horses" because of five mares he owned.

Al-Suhaylī noted, "Each of these horses had a name, but these at present escape me."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "A delegation from Banū Ṭāʾī, led by 'Zayd of the horses', came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they reached him, they spoke with him, and he explained Islam to them which they accepted; they became good Muslims.

"A man of Ṭāʾī whom I trust told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'I have never met an Arab previously referred to me as of high reputation whom I have not found, on meeting him, to fall short of what is ascribed to him. Except for 'Zayd of the horses'; his reputation did not do justice to him.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then renamed him Zayd al-Khayr, 'Zayd the good', instead of Zayd al-Khayl, 'Zayd of the horses'. He then deeded to him Fayd[34] and two properties along with it, giving him a document to that effect.

"Zayd then left to travel back to his people; as he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Let's hope Zayd avoids catching the Medina fever.'

"The source for this report said that he did not actually use the term *ḥummā*, 'fever', nor did he use its commonly used nickname *Umm Maldam*; however, my source did not actually give the term he used."[35]

Ibn Isḥāq continued, "When Zayd travelled on and reached one of the wells in Najd called Farda, he was fatally stricken by the fever. As he sensed the approach of death, he said,

> 'Shall my people move on in the morning to the East
> while I am left in a house in Farda in Nejd?
> Many was the day that women would visit with me, even
> when sick, or tired but not exhausted by journeying.'

"After his death, his wife, due to her ignorance and the scant nature of both her intellect and her faith, took all the documents Zayd had with him and burned them."

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[34] Land to the east of Salmā, a mountain in Banū Ṭāʾī territory.

[35] The Arabic printed text quotes al-Suhaylī as stating that the word used was *Umm Kalba*.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Saʿīd, that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib sent a nugget of gold to the value of a *dhahabīyya* from Yemen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who distributed it between four persons: Zayd al-Khayl, ʿAlqama b. ʿUlātha, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna b. Badr; this *ḥadīth* is similar to that given above. An account of this will be given hereafter, relating to the dispatch of ʿAlī to Yemen, if God Almighty so wills it.

The Story of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection under a section headed: *The Delegation from Banū al-Ṭayyiʾ and the ḥadīth of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim.* Mūsā b. Ismāʾīl related to us, as did Abū ʿAwāna and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said, "We came to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in a delegation and he began calling out to us by name, one by one. I asked, 'Don't you know me, Commander of the Believers?' 'O yes,' he replied, 'you accepted Islam when others disbelieved. You advanced when they retreated. You were true when they betrayed. You recognized when they denied.'"

ʿAdī said, "So I responded, 'Well,I don't mind[36] then!'"

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, so I have been told, used to say, 'No Arab more disliked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he first heard of him than did I. Of high birth, I was also a Christian. I used to move among my people collecting my fourth share. I was content about my religion and was treated by my subjects like a king.

"'When I heard about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I hated him. I told an Arab slave of mine who was herdsman for my camels, "Get some of my camels well trained and fattened and keep them close by me. If you hear of Muḥammad's army setting foot in this area, then warn me." And he did so.

"'He came to me one morning and said, "ʿAdī, do now whatever you intended if Muḥammad's cavalry were to come; I've seen banners, and when I asked about them I was told they were Muḥammad's armies." I told him, "Bring up my camels!" And he did so. Having mounted up my family, I announced, "I'm going to join my fellow Christians in Syria."

"'I travelled to al-Jawshiyya, at which town I left a daughter of (my father) Ḥātim. When I reached Syria, I took up residence there. Muḥammad's cavalry came on after me and among the prisoners they took was Ḥātim's daughter. She was conducted in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with other prisoners of Banū Ṭayyiʾ; he had heard of my flight to Syria.

"'Ḥātim's daughter was placed in an enclosure near the door of the mosque where prisoners were kept. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) happened to pass by there, Ḥātim's daughter, a woman of fine intellect, arose to greet him and said, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my *wāfid*,[37] 'guardian', has gone. So please spare me – and may God spare you!"

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[36] The caliph's evident high regard for ʿAdī has removed the latter's sense of offence at not having been called upon earlier.

"'He asked, "And who is your guardian?" "῾Adī b. Ḥātim," she replied. 'The one who fled from God and His Messenger?" he asked.

"'She (later) stated, 'He then went away, leaving me there. Next morning, he again passed by; I said as I had before, and he made the same response as the previous day.

"'"The following morning, he again passed and I was in despair. A man following behind him gestured to me to get up and speak to him. I did so, saying, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my guardian absent; please spare me. And may God spare you!'

"'"He responded, 'So be it. But do not hasten to leave before you find someone of your people whom you trust who can conduct you home. Let me know.' I asked about the man who had gestured to me to speak to him and I was told that he was ῾Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

"'She went on, "I remained until riders came from Balī or Quḍā῾a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, a group of my people have arrived and I consider them trustworthy.'" She went on, "He gave me clothing and a mount and expense money; I then left with them and arrived in Syria."'"

῾Adī went on, "There I was, I swear, sitting with my family when I saw a *howdah* heading for our people. I said, 'That will be Ḥātim's daughter.' And there she was! When she stood there before me, she burst out, 'You absolute villain! You carried off your wife and family, yet left your father's daughter unprotected!' I responded, 'Come on now, sister; speak only good! I swear, I have no excuse. I did just as you say.'

"She then dismounted and remained there with me. I asked her, knowing her to be a sensible woman, 'What is your view of this man?' She replied, 'In my opinion you should join him quickly. If the man is a prophet, then all the more virtue to those who go to him first. If he is a king, then you'll not be bringing any shame to the glory of Yemen, being who you are.'

"I said, 'By God, that's good advice.' I then left and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. I went to him in his mosque and greeted him. He asked, 'Who is this man?' I replied, '῾Adī b. Ḥātim.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and took me home with him. On the way with me there an infirm old woman came up and stopped him. He stood there talking with her for a long time about her problem. I told myself, 'By God, this is no king!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took me to his home. When I went inside, he picked up a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to me, saying, 'Here, sit down on this.' I replied, 'No, you sit on it.' 'No, you,' he insisted.

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[37] An obscure word; the context here seems to require "guardian" as its translation, since her comment refers to her near relative, the narrator.

"So I did sit, while he seated himself on the floor. Again I told myself, 'This is not the action of a king!'

"He then said, 'Well then, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, so you're a *rakūsī*,[38] right?' 'That's right,' I agreed.

"'You've been taking a quarter share from your people, haven't you?' he asked. 'Yes,' I agreed. 'But that's not appropriate for you in your religion,' he commented. 'I swear, you're quite right,' I said, conscious of him being a prophet, aware of things not well known.

"He then said, 'Maybe, ʿAdī, the only thing preventing you joining the faith is the poverty of our people. I swear by God, wealth is about to flood over them so that there won't be enough to take it! Or perhaps you don't enter the faith because of the large number of our enemies. I swear by God, you'll soon be hearing of women who come riding camels from Qādisiyya[39] to visit this house, and without being afraid. Or maybe what's holding you back is your seeing that others have control and sovereignty over them. I swear by God, you'll soon hear of the white castles of Babylon being conquered by them.'"

ʿAdī concluded, "At that I accepted Islam."

Ibn Isḥāq's account continues, "ʿAdī used to say, 'Two of these (predictions) came to pass, but the third remained unfulfilled. But, I swear, it too was to be fulfilled! I did see the white castles of Babylon conquered. And I also saw women borne on *howdahs* from al-Qādisiyya and make pilgrimage to the *kaʿba* without fear. And, I swear, the third will happen too; wealth will flood in until there won't be those to take it!'"

This is how Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy on him, gave this text – without a chain of transmission. But there are witnesses to this *ḥadīth* from other sources.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Shuʿba, quoting Simāk b. Ḥarb, quoting ʿAbbād b. Ḥubaysh, who related the following *ḥadīth* from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said, "The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while I was at ʿAqrab.[40] They took prisoner my aunt and others. When these were later lined up before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she said, 'Messenger of God, my guardian is far away, and I am separated from my children. I'm just an elderly woman with no servants. Spare me – and may God spare you!'

"He asked her, 'Who is your guardian?' 'ʿAdī b. Ḥātim,' she replied.

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[38] A religion considered to share elements of Christianity with those of Sabianism.

[39] An ancient city in Iraq, the site of the famous battle in the caliphate of ʿUmar. By "this house", the *kaʿba* is presumably implied. The comment suggests that Islam would establish an empire in which security would prevail.

[40] A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that this might be a mistake for ʿAqrabāʾ, a town in Jūlān, near Damascus.

"He asked, 'The man who fled from God and His Messenger?'

"'Spare me,' she asked.

"When he next came back, there was another man at his side who I think to have been ᶜAlī, who said, 'Ask him for a *howdah*. She did so, and he ordered one.'"

ᶜAdī went on, "Then she came to me and said, 'Your father would never have done as you have! Go to him, whether hoping for gain or pity. So-and-so went and were rewarded, as others have been.'

"I did go to him and he had with him a woman with two children and another boy. He mentioned their relationship to him. I then knew that this was not the domain of some Chosroe or Caesar.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "ᶜAdī b. Ḥātim, what made you flee? Was it having the words, "There is no god but God" spoken? Is there any god but God? What made you flee? Was it due to the words, "*Allāhu Akbar*! 'God is most Great!'" spoken? Is there anything greater than God, Almighty and Glorious is He?' So I accepted Islam and saw his face rejoice. He then said, "The ones *al-maghḍūb ᶜalayhim*, 'who have incurred (God's) wrath', refers to the Jews; the *al-ḍālīn*, 'those who are straying' refers to the Christians.'[41]

"Then questions were asked of him, and he gave praise and thanks to God. He went on to say, 'To proceed: people, it is up to you to give from (your) surplus. Give a man (the measure of) a *ṣāᶜ*; or one part of a *ṣāᶜ*; or a handful; or part of a handful.' (Shuᶜba stated, 'As far as I know, he also said, "or a date; or half a date".')

"(The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on) 'Each of you will meet God, saying as I am, "Did I not make you hearing and seeing? Did I not give you wealth and children? Yet what have you offered?" Each person will then look before and behind him, to his right and to his left and find nothing but hell-fire wherever he looks. Fear the fire, even if by giving only half a date! And if you do not possess that, then give a kind word. I fear not poverty for you. God will certainly aid you until a *howdah*-borne woman can travel between al-Ḥīra and Yathrib (Medina) with the worst fear she has being to be robbed while travelling.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuᶜba and ᶜAmr b. Abū Qays, both of them quoting Simāk. He then said, "This is *ḥasan*, *gharīb*; 'good' and 'unilateral'; we know it only from the *ḥadīth* of Simāk."

Imām Aḥmad also stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Abū ᶜUbayda – he being Ḥudhayfa's son – from a man who said, 'I told ᶜAdī b. Ḥātim, "I've heard a *ḥadīth* attributed to you that I would like to hear from you." "Certainly," he replied. "When I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come forth (with his mission) I very much hated his having done so. I left and travelled into Byzantine territory" – in one version the wording is, "until I reached Caesar" – "but I hated my being there even more than I did his having come forth (with his mission).

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[41] The Arabic phrases given here are from the *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*; I, v.7.

"""So I told myself, 'If I go to this man, it will not harm me if he is a liar; and if he is being truthful, then I will have learned.' So I did go to him and when I arrived, people said, 'It's ʿAdī b. Ḥātim!'

"""When I went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked me, 'Adī b. Ḥātim, *aslim, taslim*!, "accept Islam and be safe!" He said this three times.

"""I replied, 'But I already have a faith.' He commented, 'I know more about your faith than you do!'

""" 'You know more of my faith than I?' I asked. 'Yes,' he said. 'Aren't you of the *al-rakūsiyya*?[42] And yet you take a fourth of your people's produce?' 'Yes,' I acknowledged. 'Well,' he commented, 'that's not permissible for you in your faith.' 'Yes,' I agreed. And as soon as he said this, I came to agree about it.

"""He went on, 'And I know what is keeping you from Islam. You say, "It's only those with the least power who follow him, those with no power, and the Arabs attack them." Do you know al-Ḥīra?' 'I've not seen it; but I have heard of it,' I replied. 'I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand,' he went on, 'God will so conclude all this that women borne on *howdahs* will come out of al-Ḥīra and circumambulate the *kaʿba* without having any to protect them! And He will conquer the treasuries of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz! The treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, and the money will be distributed bountifully until there will be no one to accept it!'

""" 'And,' ʿAdī b. Ḥāzim went on, 'these women borne on camels did come and circumambulate the *kaʿba* without (needing) any to protect them. Moreover, I was one of those who conquered the treasuries of Chosroe and the third prediction will come about because it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said it!' """

(Imām) Aḥmad then stated, "Yūnus b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Abū ʿUbayda b. Ḥudhayfa, from a man – and Ḥammād and Hāshim stated it, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū ʿUbayda, but not quoting in the chain of authorities from 'a man' – who said, 'I used to ask people about the *ḥadīth* of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim while he was right there nearby, but did not ask him. Then I went and did ask him, and he agreed to recount the *ḥadīth*.' "

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAmr al-Adīb, quoting Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, quoting Isrāʾīl, quoting Saʿd al-Ṭāʾī, quoting Maḥl b. Khalīfa, from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said, "While I was with the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man came in to see him, and complained about his poverty. Then another man came to him and complained to him about highway robbery.

"He then asked, "ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, have you seen al-Ḥīra?' I replied, 'I've not seen it, but I've been told about it,' 'Well,' he said, 'if you live long enough, you'll see women borne in *howdahs* ride in from al-Ḥīra and circumambulate the *kaʿba* fearing no one except God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'

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[42] A derogatory term applied to a faith said to combine the beliefs of Christians and Sabians.

"I asked myself, 'So where are those toughs of Ṭayyi᾿ who set the country afire?'

"He went on, 'And if your life continues long enough, the treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz will be conquered.' 'What? Chosroe, son of Hurmuz?' I asked. 'Yes, Chosroe, son of Hurmuz. And if your life continues long enough, you'll see a man come along bearing a palm full of gold or silver who asks everyone he meets to accept it, and he'll find no one. And on the day you each meet with God, you'll find you have no intermediary between yourself and Him, and that you'll see only hell-fire if you look to the right and only hell-fire if you look to the left.'"

ᶜAdī went on, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Fear the fire, even if (by donating) only half a date. And if you can't find half a date, then (speak) a kind word.'

"And I did see *howdahs* arriving from al-Kūfa so their women could circumambulate the *kaᶜba* and having fear only of God the Almighty and Glorious. I was one of those who conquered the treasures of Chosroe b. Hurmuz; and if you live long enough, you'll see (fulfilled) all that Abū al-Qāsim, God's peace and blessings be upon him, spoke."

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, in full. He also related it on a different line of transmission, from Saᶜdān b. Bishr, from Saᶜd Abū Mujāhid al-Ṭā᾿ī, from Maḥall b. Khalīfa, from ᶜAdī. Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasā᾿ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuᶜba, from Saᶜd Abū Mujāhid al-Ṭā᾿ī.

ᶜĀmir b. Shuraḥbīl al-Shaᶜbī is also one of those who narrated this, and he did so in similar words. His version has the wording, ". . . having fear only of God and of wolves attacking their sheep."

It is related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuᶜba, and by Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr b. Mu᾿āwiya, both of them quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. Maᶜqil al-Muzanī, from ᶜAdī b. Ḥātim, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Fear hell-fire, even if only on account of half a date!'"

The phrase given by Muslim is, "Whoever among you can shield himself from hell-fire by means of half a date should do so."

There are other lines of transmission also that testify to the above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Abū Saᶜīd, ᶜUbayd b. Kathīr b. ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid al-Kūfī, quoting Ḍirār b. Ṣurad, quoting ᶜĀṣim b. Ḥāmid, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumalī, from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakhaᶜī, who said, "ᶜAlī b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'Glory be to God! How many a man who acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment, he ought to make haste in acting with nobility, for it is such deeds that lead to succcess.'

"A man thereupon arose to ask him, 'O Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' ʿAlī replied, 'Yes. And I have a tale even better than that. When the Ṭayyiʾ women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-necked, fine-nosed, with an erect figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke, I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, "O Muḥammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects; he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad, and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī."

"'The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "O girl, all that truly describes the Believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved noble character traits, and God Almighty loves noble character traits."

"'At that Abū Burda b. Niyār arose and asked, "Messenger of God, does God really love noble character?"

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by noble character."'"[43]

This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, "good", in its content, but very *gharīb*, "unique", in its line of transmission. Its *mukhrij*, "narrator", is highly esteemed.

We have reviewed the biography of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī in the *jāhiliyya* period in reference to those men of fame who died during that time. Therein we commented upon those qualities of goodness and kindness that made him believed by people. However, (we showed that) the extent of the advantage to him of these qualities was dependent upon his faith; he was of those who never spoke the words, "O God, forgive me my sins on the Day of Judgement."

Al-Wāqidī claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of 9 AH into Ṭayyiʾ territory and brought back prisoners who included the sister of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim. With him he also brought two swords that had been in the temple for the idols; one of them was called *al-rasūb*, "the deep-cutter", the other *al-mikhdam*, "the sharp-slicer". Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shamar had presented them as an offering to the idol there.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, also gave a section under the heading, *The Story of (Banū) Daws and al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr.*

He stated that it was related to him by Abū Nuʿaym, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Dhakwān – he being ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād – from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aʿraj, from

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[43] This *ḥadīth* is also given above: Vol I, pages 152–4.

Abū Hurayra, who said, "Al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, '(Banū) Daws are done for; they have been disobedient and have refused (Islam); so pray to God against them.'

"However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, give Daws guidance and bring them.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this with this line of transmission.

He then went on, "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'As I made my way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I recited to myself, "O night, how long and difficult you are; however, you have freed me from the abode of disbelief!"

"'On the way, a slave of mine escaped and, having reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pledged my allegiance to him, I was still there with him when the slave suddenly appeared. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, "Abū Hurayra, this is your slave." I replied, "He is freed for God's sake." And I manumitted him.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*, from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim.

The arrival of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr, to which al-Bukhārī refers here, occurred before the Hijra. Moreover, even if his arrival is calculated as after the Hijra, it came before the conquest of Mecca. This is because Daws brought Abū Hurayra when they came. And his arrival coincided with the siege of Khaybar by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Hurayra then left again and came back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after the conquest and some of the spoils (of Khaybar) were awarded to them. We have covered all this at appropriate length in its appropriate place.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, gives a further section entitled, *The Arrival of the Ashʿarīs and the people from Yemen.*

He then proceeded to relate from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash, from Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most gentle and kind. Faith is (a characteristic) of Yemen; wisdom is of Yemen. Pride and arrogance reside in those with camels, while tranquillity and seriousness resides in those with sheep."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī then related it from Abū al-Yamān, from Shuʿayb, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most kind and sensitive. Understanding the faith and wisdom are (characteristics) of Yemen."

He then related, from Ismāʿīl, from Sulaymān, from Thawr, from Abū al-Mughīth, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Belief is of Yemen, while *al-fitna*,[44] 'trouble', is over here. It is over here that Satan's horn appears."

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[44] The word bears connotations of dissension and civil unrest.

Muslim related it from Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to relate from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Abū Masʿūd, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Faith is over here" – gesturing towards Yemen – "while insensitivity and harshness of heart are qualities of those concerned only with their camels; and from them the two horns of Satan will emerge. (They are the tribes of) Rabīʿa and Muḍar."

Thus do al-Bukhārī and also Muslim relate it, from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Masʿūd ʿUqba b. ʿAmr.

Al-Bukhārī proceeded to relate a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Ṣakhra Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, quoting Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, "Banu Tamīm came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told them, 'Accept my good tidings, Banū Tamīm!' They replied, 'Having now awarded us your good tidings, how about you also giving us something?' At that the expression of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) changed. Some people from Yemen then came in and he told them. 'You accept my good tidings; Banū Tamīm have not done so.' They responded, 'We do accept them, Messenger of God.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī.

All of this goes to show the superiority of the delegations from the people of Yemen, regardless of the lateness of their arrival. The lateness of the arrival of the Banū Tamīm delegation need not necessarily be placed in comparison with the arrival of the Ashʿarīs. Indeed, the arrival of the delegation of the Ashʿarīs preceded this. They came in the company of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, accompanied by Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his fellow *muhājirīn* who had been in Abyssinia. And this all happened while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in the conquest of Khaybar, as we have detailed in its appropriate place above.[45] The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had then made his statement, "I swear by God, I don't know which makes me happier; the arrival of Jaʿfar, or the conquest of Khaybar!" But God, Almighty and Glorious is He, knows best.

Al-Bukhārī then proceeded with his section on *The Story of ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn*. He stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'When the money arrives from al-Baḥrayn, I'll give you so-much and so-much and so-much.' He gave three figures. But the money from al-Baḥrayn did not arrive before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.

"When it came in for (the Caliph) Abū Bakr, he ordered a crier to announce, 'Anyone having an outstanding debt or payment due him from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should come to me.'"

Jābir went on, "So I went to Abū Bakr and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, 'When the money arrives from Baḥrayn, I'll give you so-much and so-much,' mentioning three figures. But he turned away from me.

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[45] In Vol. III, page 245 *et seq*.

"So thereafter I again met Abū Bakr and asked him, but again he gave me nothing. Once more I went and he still did not give to me. And I did this yet a third time, with him still not giving to me. I then told him, 'I have repeatedly come to you and asked you to give me payment but you have not done so. Either you pay me, or you will be treating me in a miserly manner. Are you being a miser?' He replied, 'What curse would be worse than miserliness!' He said this three times, then went on, 'Every time I refused you, I really did want to give to you.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this here in this way. Muslim related it from ʿAmr al-Nāqid, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

Al-Bukhārī proceeded to state, "And from ʿAmr, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh is quoted as having said, 'I went to him and Abū Bakr (gave me the money and) said, "So count it." I did so and found it to be 500 *dirhams*. He then said, "Now, take the same, twice over."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān – he being Ibn ʿUyayna – from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir, from Jābir. This account is similar to that from Qutayba. Both he and Muslim also related it through other lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from Jābir in similar form. In another account he is said to have given orders and his hands were piled high with coins which he counted; they amounted to 500 *dirhams*. He then doubled it twice – that is, the total he gave him was 1,500 *dirhams*.

THE DELEGATION OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURĀDĪ, ONE OF HIS PEOPLE'S LEADERS, TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī came in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having abandoned and separated from the kings of Kinda.

"A conflict had arisen between his people of Murād and (Banū) Hamdān. In that engagement, known as the battle of Radm, Hamdān had severely beaten his people; the leader of the Hamdān force had been al-Ajdaʿ b. Mālik."

Ibn Hishām stated that he is also said to have been Mālik b. Kharīm al-Hamdānī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Farwa b. Musayk spoke the following verses on that day:

'They passed by Lafāt, their eyes fatigued, pulling at
their reins, turning aside.
Should we be conquered, well, we were conquerors once,
and if (now) conquered, then by others than those we conquered.
It is not our way to be cowards, but our fate and the
wishes of others (influence the outcome).
Thus it is that fate revolves, its revolutions going
around and around.
We may be pleased and contented with our lot and may
have enjoyed its bounties for years.

> The cycles of fate may reverse their course and those
> formerly envied are suddenly crushed.
> Those who are envied for bounty from fate may find the
> turns of time treacherous.
> If kings were immortal, so would we be; and if men of
> nobility lived for ever, so would we.
> The leaders of my people pass away, just as have those
> of former times."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And as Farwa left the kings of Kinda on his way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said:

> 'Having seen how the kings of Kinda went astray, like a
> man betrayed by his thigh joints,
> I brought up my mount to head for Muḥammad, hoping for
> his favours and all they entail.'

"When Farwa reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter asked him, so I have been told, 'Farwa, did what befell your people at the battle of al-Radim truly upset you?'

"He replied, 'Messenger of God, what man would not be upset to have happen to his people what happened to mine?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him, 'That can only compound for your people the benefit Islam will bring them.' He then appointed Farwa as governor over Murād, all of Zubayd and Madḥij, sending out with him Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ to collect the alms; he remained there with him in his territory until the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

THE ARRIVAL OF ʿAMR B. MAʿDĪ KARIB WITH PERSONS FROM (BANŪ) ZABĪD.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached them, ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib had said to Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī, 'Qays, you are your people's leader; we have been told that a man of Quraysh named Muḥammad has come forth in Ḥijāz saying that he is a prophet. Let's go to him and gain knowledge of him. If a prophet, as he says, we'll find out, and if we decide him to be one, we'll follow him. If not, we'll know that too.' But Qays refused to do this and ridiculed his view.

"ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib then left and rode to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he accepted Islam, believing and having faith in him. When news of that reached Qays b. Makshuḥ, he made threats against ʿAmr for having acted against his own wishes and views.

"On that subject, ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib spoke the following verses:

> 'I advised you on that day at Ṣanʿā in a manner that
> was plainly wise

> I advised you to fear God, to act with charity and to
> subject yourself to Him.
> But you went off out of your lust, like an ass led on
> by his member!
> He wanted me to be on a horse, seated on it like a
> lion.
> Dressed in a coat of mail (shining) like a pool of
> water, its water clear, lying on rocky, flat ground.
> Armor that will fend off lances having bent their
> heads, making them fly off in pieces.
> Had you met me in battle, you would have found me like
> a lion with a towering mane,
> A fierce lion, its claws raised about its shoulders
> Facing its opponent; if his rival makes for him, he
> throws him over,
> Grips him, raises him, brings him down and kills him,
> Crushing his brains, smashing him, biting him and
> devouring him,
> Refusing to share what his own fangs and claws grip
> fast.'"

Ibn Isḥāq proceeded, "'Amr b. Ma‘dī Karib remained there among his people of Banū Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was their governor. Following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Amr b. Ma‘dī Karib apostatized along with the others and spoke the following verses satirizing Farwa b. Musayk:

> 'We found the rule of Farwa the worst ever – an ass, his
> nose sniffing at a female organ!
> When one looks at Abū ‘Umayr, one is reminded of the
> disgusting afterbirth from a camel!'"

I note that he returned to Islam thereafter and was a good Muslim. He participated in many of the conquests made during the rule of Abū Bakr and that of ‘Umar, may God be pleased with them both.

He was a brave and renowned warrior and hero, as well as a fine poet. He died in 21 AH after having taken part in the battle of Nahāwand; it is alternatively said that he took part in the battle of al-Qādisiyya and was killed on that day.

Abū ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Barr stated, "His arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred in 9 AH. However, according to what is related by Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī, this took place in 10 AH."

I note that al-Shāfi‘ī gives evidence in support of this. But God knows best.

Yūnus stated, quoting from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "It has been said that ‘Amr b. Ma‘dī Karib did not actually go to see the Prophet (ṢAAS). On that subject he (‘Amr b. Ma‘dī Karib) is quoted as having spoken the following verses:

'I am in myself fully convinced by the Prophet, even if
I have not seen him with my own eyes.
He is the master of all men, and the closest to God
when his stature became manifest.
He brought the law from the presence of God, and he was
al-Amīn, "the trustworthy", given help thereby.
In wisdom after wisdom and in light by which we were
led aright out of our blindness.
We rode along the (right) path when we rode with him,
new in both what we dislike and liked.
We worshipped God in truth, whereas before having
worshipped idols, in our ignorance,
We became allied with him, whereas we had been enemies,
and we came back with him, as friends.
Peace be upon him, and peace from us (to him) wherever
we were and wherever he be.
Even if we did not see the Prophet, we followed his
path in faith.'"

THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ASHʿATH B. QAYS IN A DELEGATION FROM KINDA.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Al-Ashʿath b. Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a delegation from Kinda.

"Al-Zuhrī related to me that he came as one of a party of 80 riders from Kinda. They went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his mosque, having curled their long hair, put *kuḥl*, 'mascara', around their eyes and dressed in multi-coloured robes with silken edges.

"When they entered in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked them, 'Would you not accept Islam?' 'Why yes,' they replied. 'Then why is there this silk around your necks?' They ripped it off and discarded it.

"Al-Ashʿath b. Qays then told him, 'Messenger of God, we are, just as you are yourself, from the tribe of the *ʿākil al-murār*, "the one who ate bitter herbs".'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, 'People do ascribe this ancestry to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith.'

"These two men referred to were merchants and when they travelled out among the Arabs and were asked who they were, they would reply, 'We are sons of Ākil al-Murārʾ; that is, they would attribute their ancestry to Kinda to acquire prestige. This is because Kinda had been kings. And Kinda considered that Quraysh were their descendants, because of this comment made by ʿAbbās and Rabīʿa. The full name of this Ākil al-Murār was al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥijr b. ʿAmr b. Muʾāwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʾāwiya b. Thawr b. Murtiʿ b. Muʾāwiya b. Kindī, also known as Ibn Kinda.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told them, 'But really we are descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we don't cast aspersions on our mothers, nor do we deny our fathers.'

"Al-Ashʿath b. Qays then told his companions, 'By God, people of Kinda, any man I hear say that in future I'll give 80 lashes!'"

This *ḥadīth* is also narrated from a different and unbroken line of authorities. Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Bahz and ʿAffān, both of whom said that it was related to them by Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿAqīl b. Ṭalḥa. In his *ḥadīth*, ʿAffān said that he had been informed by ʿAqīl b. Ṭalḥa al-Sulamī, from Muslim b. Hayṣam, from al-Ashʿath b. Qays, who is quoted as saying, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a delegation from Kinda" – ʿUthmān added the words ". . . and they did not consider me the best man among them" – "and I told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'I am a cousin; you are one of us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are of Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither cast aspersions on our mother, nor do we deny out father.'

"Al-Ashʿath then said, 'I swear by God, anyone I hear denying that Quraysh is descended from al-Naḍr b. Kināna, I'll whip to the limit.'"

Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yazīd b. Hārūn; from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Hārūn b. Ḥayyān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Mughīra. All three lines give their source as Ḥammād b. Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Shurayḥ b. al-Nuʿmān, quoting Hushaym, quoting Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, quoting al-Ashʿath b. Qays as saying, "I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a delegation from Kinda and he asked me, 'Do you have children?' 'A son was born to me as I was leaving to come to you, her mother being the daughter of Jamad. I want his role to be that of our people's provider.'

"He responded, 'Don't say that; they will be made content and given reward, if they should die. And if you say as you have, then they will become cowardly and pitiable; yes, cowardly and pitiable!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; it is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan*, "good", and it has a fine line of transmission.

THE ARRIVAL OF AʿSHĀ B. MĀZIN TO THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Imām Aḥmad, stated that it was related to him by al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-ʿAnbarī, quoting Abū Salama ʿUbayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī, who said, "Al-Junayd b. Amīn b. Dhirwa b. Naḍla b. Ṭarīf b. Nahṣil al-Ḥirmilazī related to me, quoting Abū Amīn, quoting his father Dhirwa, from his father Naḍla, that one of their men, called al-Aʿshā, his actual name being ʿAbd Allāh al-Aʿmmar, had a wife named Muʿādha. He went forth in Rajab to seek supplies from his family from Hijr. After he had left, his wife fled, in defiance of him, and took refuge with a man of their tribe called Muṭarrif b. Nahshal b. Naʿb b. Qumaythaʿ b. Dulaf b. Aḥḍam b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥirmāz who hid her. When al-Aʿshā returned home and did not find his wife there, he was told that she had left him and had sought refuge with Muṭarrif b. Nahshal. Al-Aʿshā went to this man and asked him, 'Cousin, if my wife Muʿādha is with you, hand her over to me.' 'She is not here,' he replied. 'And even if she were, I'd not give her over to you!'

"Now Muṭarrif was more powerful than him. So al-Aʿshā went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to seek his help and recited the following verses:

'Lord of men, he who gives religion to the Arabs, I
complain to you about someone sharp of tongue
Like a long-haired female wolf in the shade of her
lair; I went out to find food for her in Rajab
She left me in dispute and fled; she broke the promise
and hid in disgrace.
She defamed me among the crowd of impure lineage. And
women can be overwhelmingly evil to those they overcome.'

"At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'They can be overwhelmingly evil for those (evil spirits) who control them.'[46]

"Al-Aʿshā went on to complain to him about his wife's behaviour and how she had gone off to a man of their tribe named Muṭarrif b. Nahshal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wrote a letter to this Muṭarrif saying, 'As for Muʿādha, the wife of this man; return her to him!'

"When he received this note and it was read to him, he told her, 'Muʿādha, this is a letter from the Prophet (ṢAAS) about you. I'm giving you over to him.' She replied, 'Get a firm pact from him and the protection from his prophet that he will not punish me for what I did.' He obtained this commitment and Muṭarrif gave her back to him, whereupon he (al-Aʿshā) spoke the following verses:

'Neither my love for Muʿādha, I swear, nor time itself,
will bring change to the slanderer
The evil she wrought is nothing, made trivial by the
lustful calls of men (to her) after me.'"

THE ARRIVAL OF ṢURAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-AZDĪ AMONG SOME MEN OF HIS TRIBE, AND THEN AFTER THEM THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF JURASH.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Ṣurad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī then came in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), among a delegation of Banū al-Azd. He accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him as governor over those of his people who had accepted Islam. He gave him orders to fight alongside those who had accepted Islam against the polytheists of the neighbouring tribes of Yemen.

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[46] The comment of the Prophet (ṢAAS), despite his use of the same words as the poet, seems to require the interpretation given here.

"He proceeded to besiege Jurash, wherein were some of the Yemeni tribesmen. Banū Khath῾am had taken refuge with them when they had heard of his approach. He besieged them for approximately one month but they held out against him. Ṣurad then retired to a place close by a mountain called Shakar. The enemy, thinking that he had retired in defeat, went out to chase him. He then turned on them and engaged them in fierce battle.

"Meanwhile, the people of Jurash had sent out two of their men to Medina to observe the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One day, following the *al-῾aṣr* prayer, he asked, 'In which part of God's earth is Shakr?' The two men of Jurash arose and responded, 'Messenger of God, in our territory there is a mountain called Kashar. That is the name the people of Jurash give it.' He commented, 'Well, it's not named "Kashr"; it's "Shakr".' 'Why do you refer to it, Messenger of God?' they asked. 'Bodies are being offered in sacrifice to God there and now.'

"The two men sat down next to Abū Bakr [or ῾Uthmān] and he told them, 'Woe on you both! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has just been informing you of the death of your people; go and ask him to pray to God to spare them.' The two men did so and he replied, 'O God, spare them.'

"They then returned home and discovered that their people had indeed suffered casualties on the day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had so informed them.

"A delegation of those of the people of Jurash who were still left then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam. They were good Muslims thereafter; he placed a protective zone around their village."

THE ARRIVAL OF A MESSENGER FROM THE KINGS OF ḤIMYAR TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

According to al-Wāqidī, this took place in Ramaḍān, 9 AH.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Following his return from Tabūk, a document was brought by messengers on behalf of the kings of Ḥimyar announcing their acceptance of Islam. Their names were al-Ḥārith b. (῾Abd) Kulāl, Nu῾aym b. ῾Abd Kulāl, al-Nu῾mān, the prince of Dhū Ru῾ayn, Ma῾āfir and Hamdān. Zur῾a Dhū Yazan sent to him Mālik b. Murrat al-Rahāwī with news of their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and those accepting it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote them the following document: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the Prophet, to al-Ḥārith b. ῾Abd Kulāl, Nu῾aym b. ῾Abd Kulāl, al-Nu῾mān, prince of Dhū Ru῾ayn, Ma῾āfir and Hamdān. To proceed: to you I give praise to God, the One and only God. Your Messenger came to us upon our return from Byzantine territory. We met in Medina; he informed us of your message, of your wishes, of your acceptance of Islam, of your battling against the polytheists, and of your having been given guidance by God. If you have indeed reformed and have given obedience to God and to His Messenger, then perform the prayers and give the alms. You must also give one-fifth of booty to God, along with the share due to the Prophet (ṢAAS), that portion he selects, along with the charitable donation required of Muslims. (This consists of) one-tenth of the produce of land watered by wells or rain and one-twentieth of that watered by bucket. For every forty camels you must give one young female foal of a milch-camel and for every thirty camels you must give one young male born to a milch-camel. For every five camels you must give one sheep; for every ten camels, two sheep. For every forty cattle, you must give one cow. For every thirty cattle you must provide a calf that can be either a male or a female. For every forty goats (or sheep) at pasture, you must give one sheep. This donation is a requirement God has made incumbent upon believers; those who do even greater good will benefit thereby.

"'Those who fulfil all this, give testimony to their acceptance of Islam, and assist Muslims against polytheists, shall be considered Muslims with all the attendant rights and obligations they have. They shall have the protection of God and that of His Messenger. Those Jews and Christians who accept Islam become Muslims with all the rights and obligations due them.

"'Those who remain within Judaism or Christianity shall not be turned away from either, but they must pay the *jizya*, 'the poll-tax', for each adult, whether male or female, free or slave, one full dīnār by the value of (gold) dust, or its equivalent value in clothing. Those who pay this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall have the protection of God and of His Messenger; those who refuse it will be enemies of God and of His Messenger.

"'Further, the Messenger of God, Muḥammad, the Prophet, has sent to Zurʿa Dhū Yazan the following: "When my envoys, Muʿādh b. Jabal, ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd, Mālik b. ʿUbāda, ʿUqba b. Nimr, Mālik b. Murra and their men come to you, I require you to treat them well. Collect the alms and the poll-tax from your territories and deliver all this to my envoys. Their commander is Muʿādh b. Jabal; he is not to return until fully satisfied."

"'To proceed further, Muḥammad testifies that there is no god but God and that he is His servant and His Messenger. Moreover, Mālik b. Murrat al-Rahāwī has told me that you are the first men of Ḥimyar to have accepted Islam, and to have fought against the polytheists. I commend you and command you to treat Ḥimyar well; do not betray or forsake them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is the ally of your rich and of your poor. The alms payments may not legally go to Muḥammad or to his household; they are alms payable to poor Muslims and to wayfarers. Mālik delivers information and witholds what is confidential. I order you to treat him well. I have dispatched to you some of my finest people, most religious and learned men; I order you to treat them well. They are being watched over. May peace be upon you along with the mercy and blessings of God.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting ῾Umāra, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that Mālik Dhū Yazan presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a ceremonial robe for which he had paid either 33 baggage camels or 33 riding camels.

Abū Dā'ūd related it from ῾Amr b. ῾Awn al-Wāsiṭī, from ῾Umāra b. Zādhān al-Ṣaydalānī, from Thābit al-Bunānī.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related at this point the story of the letter of ῾Amr b. Ḥazam. He stated, "Abū ῾Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, quoting Abū al-῾Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ῾Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ῾Amr b. Ḥazam, who said, 'The following is the letter we have that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote for ῾Amr b. Ḥazam when he sent him to Yemen to give religious instruction to its people, to teach them the *sunna*, the orthodox practices of Islam, and to collect their alms payments. The letter he wrote for him gives him his appointment and his instructions.

"'He wrote, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a document from God and His Messenger. 'O you who believe, keep to your agreements! (This represents) a commission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to ῾Amr b. Ḥazam upon his being sent to Yemen.

"'"'He commands him to fear God in all he does, for God stays with those who fear Him and who do good. He orders him to act in accord with the truth as God so commanded it, and to give people glad tidings of what is good and to tell them to act in accord with it. He shall teach people the Qur᾽ān and give them religious instruction. He must warn people that no one may touch the Qur᾽ān unless that person is undefiled. He shall inform people of their rights and of their obligations. He shall treat them with liberality in matters relating to good, but with severity in cases of injustice; for God proscribed and forbad injustice, saying, "The curse of God shall be upon the unjust, those who turn others aside from the path of God" (*sūrat Hūd*; XI, v.18, 19).

"'"'He shall tell people the good tidings of paradise and what happens there, and will warn people of hell-fire and what happens there. He will court people's friendship so that they acquire knowledge of the faith. He will teach them about the conduct and practices and obligations required by God that relate to the *ḥajj*, "the pilgrimage", and it consists of *al-ḥajj al-akbar*, "the greater pilgrimage", and the *al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*, "the *lesser pilgrimage*", which is known as the *al-῾umra*.

"'"'He shall order people that a man should not pray in one flimsy garment unless it be loose-fitting and hangs down over both shoulders between both sides. He will forbid a person from sitting in a single garment with his legs drawn up, thus exposing his private parts to the sky. And a person's hair should not be plaited if it hangs over the neck. He is to forbid people from calling upon clans or tribes in the case of conflict; their call should be directed solely to God alone Who has no associate. Those who do not call to God but call instead to clans or tribes are to be put to the sword until their calls are to God alone Who has no associate.

"'"'He shall command people to perform the ablutions properly, washing their faces, their hands up to their elbows and their feet up to their ankles. And they shall wipe over their heads just as God the Almighty and Glorious, commanded. They are commanded to say the prayers at the correct times and to perform properly the bowings and the prostrations at them. They are to arise for the *al-ṣubḥ*, "pre-dawn", prayer while it is still dark, pray at midday until the sun is past its zenith, pray the *al-ʿaṣr*, "the late afternoon", prayer while the sun is hurrying towards earth, and thereafter the *al-maghrib*, "the post-sunset prayer", as night approaches, but it should not be delayed until when the stars appear in the sky. And then is the *al-ʿishā*, "the evening prayer", at the first part of the night.

"'"'He is ordered to take God's share of the booty as alms as is required from Muslims. From the produce of land watered by springs, the alms payments shall be one-fifth. From land watered by rain, it shall be one-tenth. From land watered by the bucket, it shall be one-twentieth. For every ten camels, two sheep shall be paid, and for twenty camels, the payment shall be four sheep. For every forty cattle, one cow. For every thirty cattle, whether male or female, one calf, whether male or female. For every forty sheep (or goats) at pasture, one sheep shall be paid. This is all an obligation made incumbent by God upon Muslims. Anyone paying more will gain benefit thereby.

"'"'Any Jew or Christian who genuinely accepts Islam and properly performs in accord with the faith of Islam shall be (considered) a believer, and shall enjoy all the rights and obligations they have. Those who remain in their Judaism or Christianity shall not be made to change their faith. But each of their adults, whether male or female, free or slave, shall pay one full dīnār, or clothing in value thereto. Those who fulfil this shall have the protection of God and His Messenger; those who refuse shall be considered the enemies of God, of His messenger and of all believers.

"'"'May the prayers of God be upon Muḥammad. And may the peace and the mercy of God and His blessings be upon him.'"'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī went on to state that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related in this *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, with a full chain of transmission and including many additions, as well as omissions of some details he may have given above relating to the alms and the compensations payable and other matters.

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī related it from this same chain of transmission at length in his *sunan*; Abū Dā'ūd also did so in his work *Kitāb al-Marāsil*.[47] I have made reference to that in including his chains of authorities and his phraseology in my *al-sunan*. And all praise and credit belong to God.

Following the account of the delegations, we will make reference to the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his commanders into Yemen to teach people and to collect from them their one-fifth payments (of booty) and their alms donations. Those he dispatched were Muʿādh b. Jabal, Abū Mūsā, Khālid b. al-Walīd and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. May God be pleased with them all.

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[47] A work listing *mursal* traditions.

THE ARRIVAL OF JARĪR B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BAJALĪ AND HIS ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū Qaṭan, quoting Yūnus, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl, who quoted Jarīr as saying, "When I approached Medina, I made my camel kneel, untied my leather bag, put on my ceremonial garments and went inside. There I found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address. The people present stared hard at me and I asked the person sitting next to me, 'ʿAbd Allāh, did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make some reference to me?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'he did make a very nice reference to you while he was making his address. He said, "There will come in to you through this door" – or this opening – "one of the finest men of Yemen. On his face, however, will be an expression of authority."'"

Jarīr went on, "So I gave praise to God, the Almighty and Glorious, for the esteem he had expressed for me."

Abū Qaṭan stated, "So I asked him (Yūnus), 'Did you hear this from him, or from al-Mughīra b. Shibl?' 'Yes,' (from him), he replied.

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it from Abū Nuʿaym and Isḥāq b. Yūsuf. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, all three of them quoting Yūnus, from Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl – also known as Ibn Shubayl – from ʿAwf al-Bajalī al-Kūfī, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh; he gave no other line of transmission.

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr. His text stated, "Through this door there will enter in to you a man on whose face there is an expression of authority."

This *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never ignored me after I had accepted Islam. Whenever he saw me, he would smile directly at me."

The community of scholars except Abū Dā'ūd related this, through various lines of transmission, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is additional wording: "I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that I could not keep my seat on a horse, and he slapped me in the chest, saying, 'O God, set him firmly and make him a guide who is rightly led.'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays, and his account gives the alternative wording, '. . . and there will enter among you from this door a man upon whose face is an expression of authority.' The rest of this account is as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū ʿAmr and ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad al-Sammāk, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, quoting Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-Khurasānī, quoting Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-Aḥmasī, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for me and said, 'Jarīr, why have you come?' I replied, 'To accept Islam at your hands, Messenger of God.'" Jarīr went on, "He then threw a mantle over me and went to his men, saying, 'When a people's (most) noble man comes to you, then honour him.'"

He went on, "Jarīr, I invite you to testify that there is no god but God, that I am God's Messenger, that you believe in God and in the last day, in fate, both its good and its evil, that you will perform the prayers as written, and that you will pay the alms that are required."

Jarīr said, "I did all that; and therafter, whenever he saw me, he would smile at me."

This *ḥadīth* must be classified as *gharib*, "unique", with this chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān related to us, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'I pledged to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer, to pay the alms and to be loyal to all Muslims.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid. It is (also) given in both from a *ḥadīth* of Ziyād b. ʿUlātha, from Jarīr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū Saʿīd, quoting Zāʾida, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Sufyān – Abū Wāʾil, that is – from Jarīr – who said, "I asked, 'Messenger of God, make stipulations; you know best what they should be.'

"He replied, 'I ask you to pledge that you will worship God alone and that you will not associate any other with Him; that you will perform the prayers, pay the alms, be loyal to Muslims and disavow idolatry.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from Jarīr. He also gave it with another line, from al-Aʿmash, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, from Abū Nukhayla, from Jarīr. But God knows best.

He also related it from Muḥammad b. Qudāma, from Jarīr, from Mughīra, from Abū Wāʾil and al-Shaʿbī, quoting Jarīr. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayra also related it from Jarīr. Aḥmad alone gives his specific text; he is also alone in giving it through Jarīr's son ʿUbayd Allāh. One source quoted above is also known as "Abū Jamīla", which name should be Abū Nukhayla. Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī also gave it from this line.

Aḥmad also related it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, from "a man" who quoted Jarīr.

It seems apparent that the "man" referred to here would be Abū Nukhayla al-Bajalī. But God knows best.

We have referred previously to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, following his acceptance of Islam, out to Dhū Khalaṣa, the temple where (Banū) Khatʿam and (Banū) Bajīla would worship. That was known as the "Southern *kaʿba*" with which they would rival the *kaʿba* in Mecca. The *kaʿba* at Mecca they would refer to as the "Northern *kaʿba*". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Jarīr, "Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalaṣa?"

Jarīr then complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had difficulty in keeping his seat on horses. At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck him in the chest so hard as to make a mark there and said, "O God, seat him firmly and make him a guide who is well guided." Thereafter he never fell from a horse.

Jarīr then went to Dhū al-Khalaṣa with a force of 150 cavalry of his own clan of Aḥmas and destroyed and burned that temple, leaving it looking like a mangy camel! He sent back a messenger named Abū Arṭat to tell him this good news. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) five times spoke blessings upon the horses and men of Aḥmas.

This *ḥadīth* is given in full in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere, as we have given above in the materials relating to the period following the conquest of Mecca, narrating it after reference to the destruction by Khālid b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with him, of the temple of al-ʿUzzā.

It is clear that the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr, may God be pleased with him, came substantially after the conquest.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUlātha, from ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mālik al-Jazarī, from Mujāhid, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, who said, "I only accepted Islam after the revelation of *sūrat al-Māʾida*. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wipe (his socks) after I had accepted Islam."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. This chain of transmission is fine, except for the fact that there is a break[48] in it between Mujāhid and Jarīr.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the companions of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd were much struck by Jarīr's reference to wiping (his socks), because the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr came only following the revelation of the *sūrat al-Māʾida.*[49] It will be related in the section of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Jarīr, "Hearken to the people, Jarīr." He only told him to do this because he was very highly regarded.

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[48] Presumably because Mujāhid and Jarīr were not contemporaries or because there is a lack of evidence that they met or could have done so.

[49] This chapter of the Qurʾān contains the injunctions pertaining to the manner of performing *al-wuḍūʿ*, the ritual ablution. The wiping (of the socks), which is a modification of those injunctions, would only have legal effect if it were known to have been instituted subsequent to the revelation of the said chapter.

Jarīr was a man of very large stature. His feet were the length of a fore-arm. His face was also unusually handsome. Despite this, he was the the most modest of men. Thus, it is related of him in the traditions considered authentic that he said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), about glancing inadvertently (at the opposite sex), and he replied, 'Turn your gaze away!'"

THE ARRIVAL TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), OF WĀ'IL B. ḤUJR B. RABĪ'A B. WĀ'IL B. YA'MUR AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ B. HUNAYDA, ONE OF THE KINGS OF YEMEN.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated, "He was one of the princes of Ḥaḍramawt, his father having been one of their kings. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the news of his coming before his actual arrival, saying, 'A son of a line of kings is coming to you.' When Wā'il entered, he welcomed him heartily, positioned him to sit close to himself and spread out his cloak for him, saying, 'O God, bless Wā'il and his sons and the sons of his sons!'

"He then placed him in command of the princes of Ḥaḍramawt, sending three letters home with him. One was a letter to al-Muhājir b. Abū Umayya. There was also a letter to the princes and (another) to the hereditary rulers. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned him control over a specific territory and dispatched Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān along with him on foot. The latter complained to him at the heat of the ground and Wā'il responded, 'Well, step in the shadow of the camel!' Mu'āwiya asked, 'What good will that do? Could you not let me ride behind you?' Wā'il replied, 'Be silent! You're not such as to ride behind kings!'

"Wā'il b. Ḥujr lived on to later go to see Mu'āwiya when he had become Commander of the Believers. Mu'āwiya recognized him, welcomed him and invited him to come close to himself. He then reminded Wā'il of what he had said and offered him an official gift. Wā'il refused it saying, 'Give it to someone more needy of it than myself.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave some of the above and pointed to the fact that al-Bukhārī in his *History* related it in part.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from 'Alqama b. Wā'il, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned me control over a specific territory. And he sent with me Mu'āwiya for me to give it' – the land or its revenues – 'over to him' (or his words were '. . . to acquaint him with it' (the land). Mu'āwiya asked, 'Let me ride behind you.' I replied, 'You're not such as to ride behind kings!' He then asked, 'Then give me your shoes.' I replied, 'Step in the camel's shade.'"

Wā'il went on, "After Mu'āwiya had become caliph, I went to visit him; he seated me next to him on his couch and reminded me of our conversation."

Simāk continued, "Wā'il then commented, 'I wished I had in fact borne him in front of myself!'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this, as did al-Tirmidhī, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ṣaḥīḥ.*

THE ARRIVAL OF LAQĪṬ B. ʿĀMIR B. AL-MUNTAFIQ B. ABŪ RAZĪN AL-ʿAQĪLĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that his father related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr al-Zubayrī wrote to me as follows, ‘I am writing to you with this *ḥadīth*; it was delivered to me, and I heard it just as I have written it to you. Relate it thus as a *ḥadīth* from myself: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra al-Ḥizāmī related to me, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyāsh al-Samʿī al-Anṣārī al-Qubāʾī, of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, from Dalham b. al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥājib b. ʿĀmir b. al-Muntafiq al-ʿAqīlī, from his father, from his uncle Laqīṭ b. ʿĀmir. Dalham stated, “My father al-Aswad related to me from ʿĀṣim b. Laqīṭ that the father of the latter, Laqīṭ, went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the company of a friend of his named Nahīk b. ʿĀṣim b. Mālik b. al-Muntafiq.

“‘“Laqīṭ stated, ‘I and my friend travelled until we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina at the end of Rajab. We came to him and expressed our allegiance to him as he was leaving the noon prayer meeting. He then stood to address the people and said, “The only reason I have been refraining from addressing you for the past four days was in order to listen to you. Is there any man among you sent out by his people?”

“‘“‘People were saying (to one another), “Tell me what the Messenger of God, is saying!” He then said, “What if a person is misled by what he tells himself, or what his friend tells him, or what he is told in error; am I not responsible for delivering my message? Listen carefully, and you will live. Sit down all of you.”

“‘“‘The people sat down. I and my friend stood, and when he had turned his attention to us entirely, I asked, “Messenger of God, what knowledge do you possess of *al-ghayb*?”[50]

“‘“‘He laughed, I swear by God, and shook his head, realizing that I was seeking to trip him up. He replied, “Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, kept concealed five keys to the future that only God knows.” And he made a gesture with his hand.

“‘“‘I asked, “And what are those?” He replied, “Knowledge of death; He knows when the death of each of you will occur, though you do not. And (He has) knowledge of the sperm when it is inside the womb; he knows of it, though you do not. And knowledge of what tomorrow will bring and what your sustenance will be. Though you have no sense or knowledge of tomorrow. He knows when heavy rain will fall, and when you will suffer severe drought. And He continues laughing, knowing that your fate is close at hand."'"'"

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[50] The word, from the verb *ghāba*, to be absent or to vanish, carries many associations. It may imply what is invisible, secret, supernatural or transcendental; it can also connote “the future”.

Laqīṭ stated, "We'll never lack from a Lord who laughs in benevolence. And Who knows *yawm al-sāʿa*, the day of the (judgement) hour.

"We then said, 'Messenger of God, teach us what people do not know but that you do know. We are of a tribe who never gives credence to anyone; we are a group from (Banū) Madhhij who lead us, from Khathʿam who are allied to us, and we ourselves, from our own tribe.'

"He replied, 'You will continue on for some time as now, and then your Prophet will die. Again you will continue as before for a time and then the day of lamentation will be sent. By the life of your God, I swear every single thing on earth will die, as well as the angels who are with your Lord. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will then pass over the earth, alone, over all its parts. Your Lord will have sent down a deluge from His throne. And, by the life of your Lord, every single place on earth where warriors have fallen or the dead have been buried will be split open, revealing them. The dead will be recreated from the head (down) and each one will sit up straight. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will ask them, "*Mayham*? 'What did you do?'" – concerning what each had done. Each will reply, "O Lord, it all happened shortly before today." And from his knowledge of life, he will consider it (his death) to have been a recent event for his family.'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, how will He join us back together again once the winds, decay and wild beasts will have scattered our remains?'

"He replied, 'I remind you of such similar favours of God; you have looked down at the earth and found clods of soil empty of life and have said, "It will never live again. But then your Lord sends rain from the sky and soon you will look down at it again and see a plant sprouting. By the life of your God, it is easier for Him to compound you from water than the plants from the earth. You shall emerge from your graves wherever you died, and you will look at Him, as He will look at you."'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, how can it be that we (who are so many as to) fill the land while He, Almighty and Glorious is He, is just one person, and yet He can look at us as we look at Him?'

"He replied, 'I refer you to some of God's favours that are similar to that. The sun and the moon are a sign from him. You see them as small. They see all of you at one instance, yet you are not harmed by seeing them. By the life of Your God, He is more able to see you and you Him than you are to see both of them, and them to see you.'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, what will our Lord do when we meet Him?' He replied, 'You will turn to him and show him your entire surface; nothing of you shall remain hidden from him. Your Lord will take up a handful of water and splash it towards you. And, I swear by the life of your God, not a drop of it will fail to strike the face of any one of you. It will fall upon the face of the Muslims like a fine, white cloth, while it will lie upon that of the unbelievers like black pitch.

"'Then your Prophet will leave, as will the righteous, following after him. You will pass across a bridge of fire, and when one of you treads upon it, he will cry out in pain. Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, will say, "His time has come!" You will gaze out at the *al-ḥawḍ* of the Messenger as all go towards it, burning with thirst, a sight such as you will never have seen before. And, by the life of your God, every time any one of you stretches forth his hand, there will fall over it a cup full with which he will cleanse himself from the excrement, the urine and the filth. The sun and the moon will be veiled over and you will see neither of them.'"

Laqīṭ went on, "I asked, 'Messenger of God, with what shall we see?' He replied, 'Your sight will be as it is now; that will be when the sun rises on a day when it will brighten the earth and appear face to face with the mountains.'

"I asked next, 'Messenger of God, how will we be requited for our bad and for our good deeds?' 'By ten-fold the like for your good deeds and by one the like for your bad, unless He forgives them.' I asked, 'Messenger of God, then (it is to be) either paradise or hell-fire?' He replied, 'By the life of your God, hell-fire has seven gates, any two of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them! Paradise has eight gates, any two doors of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them.'

"I asked him, 'Messenger of God, on what will we look in paradise?' He replied, 'On rivers of purified honey and on rivers of goblets that give neither headache nor regret. On rivers of milk the taste of which never changes, and of water devoid of brackishness, and fruits. By the life of your God, along with you do not yet know that other like fine things. And there will be spouses for you, who are pure.'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, we shall, then, have these women as wives, and they will be righteous women?' He replied, 'Only righteous women for the righteous men! And you will give them pleasure just as you do on earth, and they will give you pleasure. However, there will be no procreation.'"

Laqīṭ went on, "I then asked, 'And that then, will be the utmost we will attain and achieve?'

"To this the Prophet (ṢAAS) made no response."

Laqīṭ went on to ask, "Messenger of God, what shall I make my pledge to you that I will do?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) spread forth his hand and said, 'To perform the prayer, to pay alms, to give up idolatry and to refrain from associating God with any other god than Him.'

Laqīṭ continued, and reported having said, "'And we are to have (control over) all between the East and the West?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) clenched his hand, then stretched out his fingers, thinking me to be presenting as a condition something he would not give me. I then said, 'And we will be able to travel over it wherever we wish and with never a man doing harm, except to himself?' He spread out his hand and said, 'That is granted you; you shall go where you wish, and no one but your own self will do you harm.'"

Laqīṭ concluded, "We then left him. And he stated, 'Those two, I swear by the life of your God, are of the most pious of all, both in this world and the afterlife!'"

Kaʿb b. al-Khudāriyya, a man of Banū Kilāb, one of those there, then asked him, 'Messenger of God, are those of the Banū al-Muntafiq also worthy (of your comment)?'"

He concluded, "We then left, and I (later) joined him."

Laqīṭ proceeded to complete the *ḥadīth* in which he said, "(I asked), 'Messenger of God, does any good people may have done in the *jāhiliyya*, "before Islam", count for them?' One man of the Quraysh faction, then commented, 'Indeed, your father, al-Muntafiq, is in hell-fire!'

"I felt a flush of embarrassment at what he had said about my father in front of everyone. I was about to ask, 'And what of your father, Messenger of God?', but thought something else would be better. So I asked, 'And your own family, Messenger of God?'

"He replied, 'Yes, my family too, I swear by God! Every time you pass by the grave of a person of (Banū) ʿĀmir or of Quraysh who had been a polytheist you should say, "Muḥammad sent me to you to tell you of the harm coming to you; you will be dragged on your face and stomach into hell-fire."'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, what brought this about for them? They did not know any better than what they were doing; they thought they were behaving righteously.'

"He replied, 'The reason is that God sent someone' – a prophet, he implied – 'at the end of seven nations; and whoever disobeyed His prophet was going astray, while everyone who obeyed His prophet was rightly guided.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very *gharīb*, "odd". Some of its phraseology is objectionable. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī did include it in his work *al-Baʿth wa al-Nushūr* (*Resurrection and Doomsday*), as did ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī in his *al-ʿĀqiba* (*The Hereafter*), and as did al-Qurṭubī in the work *al-Ṭadhkira fī Aḥwāl al-Ākhira* (*Treatise on the Circumstances of the Afterlife*).

THE ARRIVAL OF ZIYĀD B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ṢŪDĀʾĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Asadābādī informed him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Mālik al-Qaṭīʿī, quoting Abū ʿAlī Bishr b. Mūsā, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muqriʾ, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Anʿam, quoting Ziyād b. Nuʿaym al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that he heard Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣudā᾿ī relate as follows, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pledged to him my allegiance in Islam. I was told that he had sent out an army against my people and I said, 'Messenger of God, bring back the army and I will guarantee to you that my people will accept Islam and pledge obedience to you.' He replied, 'You go and bring them back.' I replied, 'My camel is exhausted.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out a man and brought them back."

Al-Ṣudā᾿ī went on, "I wrote a letter to them, and their delegation arrived with news of their acceptance of Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Brother of (Banū) Ṣudā᾿, your people give you obedience.' I replied, 'In fact it is God who led them to Islam.' He then asked, 'Should I then not appoint you to be their leader?' I replied, 'Oh no; you should do so, Messenger of God.' He then wrote a document appointing me their leader and I asked him, 'Messenger of God, entrust me with part of their alms payments.' He replied, 'Certainly'. He then wrote me another document."

Al-Ṣudā᾿ī continued, "That occurred during one of his trips. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took up residence in a house and the family of that house came to him and complained about their governor, saying, 'He blames us for some problem there used to be between us and his people in the *jāhiliyya* days.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'He does this, does he?' 'Yes,' we replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to his Companions, who included myself, and he said, 'Well, there's no (material) benefit in having command for a man who believes.'"

Al-Ṣudā᾿ī went on, "His words had great impact on me. Another man then came to him and asked, 'Messenger of God, give to me!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Those who request donations from superfluous property are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach!' The petitioner now asked, 'Then give me from the alms.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'God would not be pleased at alms being disbursed by the decision of a prophet or anyone else, whereas He Himself has decided about it and divided it up into eight parts. If you were of one of those parts, I would give it to you.'"

Al-Ṣudā᾿ī went on, "That made an impression on me; I was wealthy, yet I had asked for payment from the alms. Early that night the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the campfire and I kept close by him; his (other) Companions were away from him and late in coming to him, so that there was no one with him except myself.

"When it was close to the time for the *al-ṣubḥ*, 'pre-dawn', prayer, he gave me orders and I made the call to prayer. I asked him, 'Shall I (give the) *iqāma*,[51] then, Messenger of God?' He began looking out to the east for the dawn and said, 'No'.

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[51] The second call made to the worshippers, to form straight lines in readiness for the congregational prayers.

When dawn came, he went off and relieved himself, then came back to me, his Companions with him. He asked me, 'Brother Ṣudā', is there water?' I replied, 'Not except for just a little that won't be enough for you.' He told me, 'Put it in a vessel and bring it to me.' I did so and he placed his palm in the water. And there between his fingers I saw a spring bubbling up! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Were it not for my diffidence towards my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, we would drink of the water and also draw therefrom. Invite those of my Companions in need of water to come.' I did call out to them and those who wished did take some.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose to perform the prayer. Bilāl wished to call the *iqāma*, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Brother Ṣudā' made the call to prayer; he who calls the *ādhān* should also call the *iqāma*.' And so I did.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the prayer, I took to him both documents and said, 'Messenger of God, please cancel out both of these for me.' 'What is your reason?' he asked. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I heard you say, "There is no benefit in having command for a man who believes." And I do believe in God and in His Messenger. I heard you tell that petitioner, "Those with superfluous property who request donations are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach." I made a request to you, though I am wealthy.'

"He replied, 'So be it; accept if you wish, or decline.' 'I decline,' I answered. He then told me, 'Point out to me a man I can place in command of you.' I led him to one man of the delegation who had come to him and he appointed him in command of them.

"We then said, 'Messenger of God, we have a well that has enough water for us in the winter and we assemble around it. But in the summer its water is scanty, so we disperse to wells around about us. Now we have accepted Islam, all those around us will be enemies. Say a prayer for us to God about our well so that its water supply will suffice for us and we will not have to disperse.'

"He called for seven pebbles, rubbed them in his hand and spoke a prayer over them. He then said, 'Take these pebbles and when you go to the well, throw them in, one by one, and invoke the name of God.'"

Al-Ṣudā'ī went on, "We did as he had told us. And thereafter, when we looked down into it" – the well, he meant – "we could not see its bottom!"

There are many testimonials to this *ḥadīth*, in the collections made by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja.

Al-Wāqidī narrated that following the *ʿumra* of al-Jiʿrāna, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda out with 400 men to subdue the territory of Ṣudā'. Those there dispatched one of their men, who said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "I have come to you to withdraw your army from my people. And I will bring them over to you." Thereafter, their delegation of 15 men did arrive. And 100 of their men were seen participating in the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, "the farewell pilgrimage".

Al-Wāqidī then narrated, from al-Thawrī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An‘am, from Ziyād b. Nu‘aym, from Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣudā᾽ī, the latter's account concerning the summons to the prayer.

THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ḤĀRITH B. ḤASSĀN AL-BAKRĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb related to him, quoting Abū al-Mundhir Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Naḥwī, quoting ‘Āṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Abū Wā᾽il, from al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī, who said, "I went to make a complaint about al-‘Alā᾽ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to the Messenger of God. As I passed by al-Zabda, I came across an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked, '‘Abd Allāh, I need to see the Messenger of God. Will you take me to him?'

"So I carried her into Medina. The mosque was inundated with people; a black banner was flying and Bilāl was there wearing his sword, standing in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked what was going on and people told me that he was about to dispatch ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ.

"I sat down, and he entered his house" – or the narrator used the word, his *raḥl*, "his tent" or "dwelling" – "and I asked permission to go in to him and it was granted me. I entered and greeted him, and he asked, 'Has there been something going on between your people and (Banū) Tamīm?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'And they lost this time. I passed by an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked me to transport her to you; she is over there, at the door.' He asked her to enter, and she did so. I asked, 'Messenger of God, if you should decide to make some barrier between us, let it be the desert.' The old woman then became very excited and agitated and said, 'Messenger of God, to what will (your own tribe of) Muḍar be reduced!'

"I commented, 'Well, I'm like in the ancient saying, "a goat bearing its own fate"! I transported this woman without realizing that she was my adversary! I seek refuge with God and His Messenger! I'm like the man who came to (Banū) ‘Ād!'

"He asked, 'What's that about, "the man who came to ‘Ād"? ' "(He was more knowledgeable about the story than was the narrator, but he wanted to test him.)

"I replied, '‘Ād suffered from lack of rain, and they sent out one of their men, named Qayl; he passed by Mu᾽āwiya b. Bakr and stayed with him for a month, being given wine to drink and having songs sung to him by two girls, called *al-jarādatān*, "the two locusts". When the month was over, he went off to the mountains of Muhra. There he called out, "O God, You know I would never visit a sick man (without) giving him medicine, nor to a prisoner without ransoming him! O God, send rain for ‘Ād as you never have before!" Black clouds then passed above him, and a voice called out to him, "Choose from among them!" He gestured to one particular black cloud. Then a voice called out from it, "Take it to be ashes, fine and copious! You will not have one of ʿĀd survive!" And, from what I have heard, no more wind was sent at them than would pass through this ring of mine, before they had all perished!'"

Abū Wāʾil commented, "He spoke the truth. Men and women would say, when a man was sent to visit them, 'May you not be like the man sent out by ʿĀd!'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Mundhir Sallām b. Sulaymān. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī; but their accounts made no mention of Abū Wāʾil.

Imām Aḥmad also related it as above, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿĀṣim, from al-Ḥārith, but the correct version is from ʿĀṣim, from Abū Wā'il, from al-Ḥārith. As just related.

THE ARRIVAL OF ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABŪ ʿUQAYL, WITH HIS PEOPLE.

Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sūsī, quoting Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, quoting ʿAlī b. Jaʿd, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, as having related, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Khālid Yazīd al-Asadī, quoting ʿAwn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlqama al-Thaqafī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿAqīl, who said, "I set off in a delegation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we reached him, we made our camels kneel at the door. There was absolutely no one more hated by us than the man we were going in to see. Yet after we had gone in and come out again, there was absolutley no one more beloved by us than the man we had gone in to see! One of our men asked him, 'Messenger of God, have you not asked your Lord for a domain like that of Solomon?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and replied, 'Perhaps your companion[52] has even higher status with God than King Solomon! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, never sent any prophet without according him a request. Some of them take theirs here on earth and are awarded it. Some use it to invoke God against their people who disobey and are destroyed thereby. God awarded me a request that I have kept hidden with my Lord: I will intercede for my nation on Judgement Day.'"

THE ARRIVAL OF ṬĀRIQ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Janāb al-Kalbī, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād al-Muḥāribī, quoting one of his people, a man named Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd Allāh, who related, "I was standing at the market at Dhū al-Majāz when a man wearing a *jubba*, a long robe, arrived and said, 'People, say the words, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper!' There was another man following him, throwing stones at him and saying, 'People, he is a liar!' I asked who it was and was told it was a young man of Banū Hāshim who claimed to be a Messenger of God. I also asked who it was treating him that way and was told that he was his uncle ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. When people accepted Islam and migrated (to Medina), we left al-Rabdha for Medina to purchase dates there. When we neared its walls and palm-groves, I said, 'We should make a halt and change our clothes.' Just then a man dressed in rags came up and greeted us. He asked from where we had come, and we told him from al-Rabdha. He then asked where we were headed, and we told him we had come to that town. When he asked why, we told him we wanted to barter some dates. I told him we had a lady in a litter with us and a red camel with a blaze on its nose. He asked whether we would sell him our camel and we said we would, in exchange for a specific weight of dates.

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[52] Referring, of course, to himself.

"We received no deposit on the price agreed; the man took hold of the camel's halter and left. When he was out of our sight beyond the city's walls and palms, we asked one another what it was we had done. We realized we had sold our camel to someone we did not know, and we had not been paid for it.

"The lady with us commented, 'I swear by God, what I saw was a man whose face was like a slice of a full moon! I'll guarantee the price of your camel!' Just then the man appeared and announced, 'I am the Messenger of God to you; these are your dates. Eat until you are satisfied and take your full measure.' We did eat our fill and take full measure.

"Then we entered the town and went in the mosque. He was there, on the *minbar* making an address. We arrived as he was saying, 'Make charitable donations, for alms-giving is better for you. And the hand that gives is better than one that receives – to your mother and your father, then to your sister and your brother, and then on lower down from there.'

"A man of Banū Yarbūʿ" – or the narrator may have said, "one of the *anṣār*" – "then approached and said, 'Messenger of God, these people have unpaid debts of blood from the *jāhiliyya*, "before Islam".' He replied, 'Sins of the father do not become those of the son.' He repeated this three times."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated about his comments on the special virtue of charitable giving, from Yūsuf b. ʿĪsā, from al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, from Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥāribī, giving part of the above *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī also related it, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yazīd b. Ziyād, from Jāmiʿ b. Ṭāriq, complete as above. In his account, the lady in the litter is quoted as saying, "Don't blame yourselves; I saw the face of a man who would not deceive. I never saw anything more like the moon when full than his face!"

THE ARRIVAL OF THE DELEGATE FROM FARWA B. ʿAMR AL-JUDHĀMĪ, THE RULER OF THE LANDS OF MUʿĀN, BRINGING NEWS OF HIS ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

I believe that to have been either at Tabūk or thereafter.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Farwa b. ʿAmr b. al-Nāfirat al-Judhāmī, of the Nufāthī tribe, sent an envoy to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), announcing his acceptance of Islam and presented him with a white mule.

"Farwa was governor on behalf of the Byzantines over the Arabs whose territory bordered their own. His residency was centred in Muʿān, and the Syrian lands thereabouts. When the Byzantines learned of his acceptance of Islam, they summoned him, and seized and imprisoned him there with them. While imprisoned, he composed the following verses:

'Sulayma made her way at night to my friends, while the
Byzantines were between the gate and the water-tank.
The spirit turned away in distress at what it had seen
and though I tried to sleep, it had made me cry.
Do not decorate your eyes with antimony, Salmā, when I
am gone, nor subject yourself to intercourse.
You have learned, O Abū Kubaysha, that when in the
presence of the powerful, my tongue is not tied.
If I should die, you will mourn your brother, while if
I survive my status will be recognized.
I have encompassed the finest qualities a hero can
have – generosity, bravery and eloquence.'

"When the Byzantines had decided to crucify him at a well of theirs in Palestine called ʿIfrā, he spoke the following:

'I wonder whether Salmā has learned that her husband
will be at the ʿIfrā well upon a camel
Whose mother was never served by a stallion, a mount
whose limbs were pruned by axes?'"[53]

Al-Zuhrī claimed that when they took him out to kill him, he said,

"Inform the Muslim leaders that I am bequeathing my
body and my bones to my Lord."

They then cut off his head and crucified him at that well. May God have mercy on him, be pleased with him and give him pleasure and make paradise his abode.

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[53] He is, of course, referring to a wooden cross.

THE ARRIVAL OF TAMĪM AL-DĀRĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND HIS INFORMING HIM ABOUT AL-JASSĀSA AND ABOUT WHAT HE HEARD FROM AL-DAJJĀL,[54] 'THE IMPOSTER', CONCERNING THE MISSION OF THE PROPHET AND THE FAITH OF THOSE BELIEVING IN HIM.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sahl b. Muḥammad b. Naṣrawayh al-Marwazī of Nīshāpūr narrated to us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, quoting Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Yaḥyā b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, who said that he heard Ghaylān b. Jarīr relate from al-Shaʿbī, who quoted Fāṭima, daughter of Qays, as having said, "Tamīm al-Dārī came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him how he had gone to sea. His ship had gone off course and they had been cast upon an island. They had gone ashore seeking water and met a man with exceedingly long hair. Tamīm asked him who he was, and the man replied that he was al-Jassāsa. When they asked him about himself, he replied, 'I'll tell you nothing! But you can have this island!'"

Tamīm's account went on, "So we proceeded into the island and there we found a man in chains. He asked us, 'Who are you people?' 'We're Arabs,' we replied. He asked, 'What's all this about some prophet who has come forth among you?' We replied, 'People believe in him, follow him and consider him truthful.' He commented, 'That is best for them.'

"He then asked, 'Tell me what news there is of ʿAyn Zaʿr.[55] We did so, and he was so excited he almost jumped right outside! He then asked, 'What news is there of the date-palms at Baysān?[56] Are they bearing fruit yet?' We told him they were and again he was most excited. He next said, 'If I were allowed to do so, I would travel throughout the land – except for Ṭayba!'"[57]

Fāṭima continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him (Tamīm) out to the people and he recounted this to them. And he said, 'This is Ṭayba, and that man was al-Dajjāl, "the imposter".'"

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this *ḥadīth*, as did Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan*,[58] from several lines of transmission, from ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī, from Fāṭima, daughter of Qays. Imām Aḥmad gave testimony to this *ḥadīth* from an account of Abū Hurayra and ʿĀ᾿isha, "mother of the Believers". We have given this

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[54] A red-complexioned, corpulent one-eyed male being to whom reference is variously made in the *ḥadīth* literature. Sometimes identified as the anti-Christ or as a servant of Satan, he is said, elsewhere as here, to be a captive resident of an island. See the entry *al-Dadjdjāl* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

[55] A location in Hijāz.

[56] Located in al-Yamāma.

[57] One of the names by which Medina was known.

[58] The remaining four, that is, of the six scholars who composed the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of the traditions.

ḥadīth, with its various lines of transmission and phraseology, in our work *Kitāb al-Fitan* (*Book of Intrigues*).[59]

Al-Wāqidī also related the arrival of the delegation of al-Dāris of Lakhm, a group of ten men.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ ASAD.

Al-Wāqidī also stated that a delegation from Banū Asad came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), early in 9 AH; it consisted of ten men. These included Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, Wābiṣa b. Maʿbad, Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid, who later claimed to be a prophet, then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim, and Nafāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf.

Their leader, al-Ḥadramī b. ʿĀmir, commented, "Messenger of God, we have made our way to you in dark of night in a year of drought without you sending out anyone to us."

And so God revealed about them, "They think they place you under an obligation by accepting Islam. Say: 'Don't place me under an obligation for your accepting Islam; rather, it is God who places you under an obligation by guiding you to the faith, if you are sincere'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLIX, v.17).

There was one clan of theirs known as Banū al-Rathya, "the error clan"; he changed their name to Banū al-Rashda, "the correct clan". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had requested Nafāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf to bring him a camel that would be excellent for both riding and milk and that did not have young. The only one Nafāda could find belonged to a cousin of his and he did bring it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to draw some of its milk. He drank some and gave the remainder back, saying, "May God bless her and those who donated her." Nafāda asked, "Messenger of God, and also those who brought her?" He added, "And those who brought her."

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ ʿABS.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they were nine in number, and he named them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said "And I am the tenth of you." He then gave orders to Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, who made up a banner for them and he made its motto, "O Ten!".

It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about Khālid b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī, whose biography we mentioned in the account of the *jāhiliyya*. They said he had had no descendants.

Al-Wāqidī stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them out to waylay a Quraysh caravan arriving from Syria. This would mean that their acceptance of Islam would have preceded the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

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[59] In Ibn Kathīr's *al-Nihāya wa al-Bidāya* (*An End and a Beginning*).

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was related to him by ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Jumaḥī, from Abū Wajza al-Sa‘dī, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Tabūk, that being in 9 AH, a delegation consisting of some ten men came to him from Banū Fazāra. These included Khārija b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn; the latter was the youngest of them. The camels they rode were emaciated. They had come to affirm their acceptance of Islam.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about their lands. One of them replied, 'Messenger of God, our lands are suffering drought; our cattle are dying. Our whole area is barren, and our families are starving. Pray to God for us!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted the *minbar* and said, 'O God, water Your land and Your cattle! Extend forth Your mercy and give life to Your dead land! O God, send rain upon us to render a great area fertile, soon and without delay, making it beneficial and without harm! O God, send rain for us as an act of mercy, not for punishment, nor for destruction, without inundation or damage! O God, send us rainfall and give us aid against our enemies!'

"It did rain and they could see no break in the sky. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted the *minbar* and prayed, saying, 'O God, let it be around about us, but not upon us! Let it be upon the hillocks and the knolls, on the valleys and the woodlands.'

"And the rain was drawn away from Medina as though it were a garment removed."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ MURRA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that their arrival came in 9 AH when he returned from Tabūk. They consisted of 13 men, including al-Ḥārith b. ‘Awf. The Prophet (ṢAAS) awarded them each 10 *awqiyya* weight of silver. To al-Ḥārith b. ‘Awf he gave 12 *awqiyya.*

They related that their country was undergoing drought and he prayed for them, saying, "O God, send down rain upon them!" When they returned home they discovered that it had rained that very day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had spoken the prayer for them.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ THA‘LABA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, from a man of Banū Tha‘laba, who quoted his father as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ji‘rāna in 8 AH four of us went to him and said, 'We are envoys from our people who wish to affirm their acceptance of Islam.'

"He ordered us to be accorded hospitality. We stayed there a few days, then went to him to say farewell. He told Bilāl, 'Give them the awards usual to delegations.' He brought large quantities of silver and gave each of our men the weight of five *awqiyya*, saying, 'We don't have any *dirham* coins.' We then returned home."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ MUḤĀRIB.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ quoted Abū Wajza al-Saʿdī, as saying, "A delegation from (Banū) Muḥārib came in 10 AH during the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'. It consisted of ten men, including Sawāʾ b. al-Ḥārith and his son Khuzayma. They stayed at the home of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Bilāl would bring them their lunch and their dinner. They accepted Islam, saying that they were leaders of their people.

"And in the past the fairs had treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a more rough and rude way than they had. In that delegation there was one man whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized. That man told him, 'Praise be to God who has allowed me to live on to believe in you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'These hearts are in the hands of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped the face of Khuzayma b. Sawāʾ and it turned clear and white. He gave them the awards usual to delegations and they then returned home."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ KILĀB.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they came in 9 AH, their delegation consisting of 13 men. These included Labīd b. Rabīʿa, the poet, and Jabbār b. Sulmā. There was great friendship between the latter and Kaʿb b. Mālik, who warmly honoured and welcomed Jabbār and made gifts to him. They went with him (Kaʿb) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to whom they spoke with the Islamic words of greeting. They told him that al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī had gone among them with God's Book and with information concerning the religious practices of His Messenger that had been ordained by God. Al-Daḥḥāk had invited them to God and they had responded. He had then taken from their wealthy charitable donations, which he had then distributed to their poor.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ RUʾĀS B. KILĀB.

Al-Wāqidī went on to relate that a man named ʿAmr b. Mālik b. Qays b. Bujīd b. Ruʾās b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam. He then returned to his own people and invited them into Islam, saying, "We will then gain from Banū ʿAqīl the like of what they took from us.'

He then recounted a battle that took place between them and how this ʿAmr b. Mālik had killed a man of Banū ʿĀqil. He (ʿAmr) said, "I placed my hands in manacles and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had learned what I had done and had said, 'If he comes to me, I'll strike off his hands above the manacles!'

"When I came in and greeted him in Islam, he did not return my greeting, but turned away. I then approached him from his right side, but again he turned away. I came to him from his left, and again he turned away. Then I approached him from directly in front and said, 'Messenger of God, when the approval of the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, is sought and He approves; now therefore do be pleased with me – may God be pleased with you!' He responded, 'I am so pleased.'"

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ ʿAQĪL B. KAʿB.

Al-Wāqidī recounted that they came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he accorded them the income from al-ʿAqīq – the ʿAqīq of Banū ʿAqīl – which is land on which there are palm trees and wells.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a document to this effect, as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, Messenger of God, has given to Rabīʿ, Muṭrif and Anas – namely al-ʿAqīq – for their having performed the prayers, made payment for the alms, and having accepted and obeyed (my) authority. He has not given them any right (to anything) belonging to a Muslim."

The document was entrusted to Muṭrif.

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Laqīṭ b. ʿĀmir b. al-Muntafiq b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAqīl, he being known as Abū Razīn, also came to him. He awarded Laqīṭ a well called al-Naẓ īm; Laqīṭ expressed allegiance to him for his people."

We have fully recounted above his arrival and the narrative about Laqīṭ. And to God go all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ QUSHAYR B. KAʿB.

This was prior to the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, "the farewell pilgrimage", and also before the battle of Ḥunayn. Among these men is said to have been Qurra b. Hubayra b. ʿĀmir b. Salama al-Khayr b. Qushayr. He accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a payment and also awarded him a cloak. He placed him in charge of collecting the charitable donations from his people. When he returned home, Qurra spoke the following verses,

> "The Messenger of God defended it when it came down
> to him, protecting it from attack or criticism.

And so it attained lush green pastures, Muḥammad
having provided for all its needs,
Upon it is a hero, who would never allow blame to
ride beside him, who encourages the hesitant to
overcome indecision.”

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ AL-BAKKĀʾ.

It is said that they arrived in 9 AH and that they were 30 men in number. Among them was Muʾāwiya b. Thawr b. Muʾāwiya b. ʿUbāda b. al-Bakkāʾ, he at that time being 100 years old. He had a son with him named Bishr. Muʾāwiya asked, ‘Messenger of God, I would receive blessing from your touch. I am old, and this son of mine is dutiful towards me. Please stroke his face.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did stroke his face and gave him some ash-coloured goats. He spoke a blessing over them. And thereafter they were never afflicted by drought or poverty.

Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Muʾāwiya spoke the following verses on this:

“It was my father whose head the Messenger stroked,
praying for good and blessings for him.
When he went to him, Aḥmad gave him ash-coloured goats,
lean but not emaciated like snakes.
They would satisfy the delegation every evening, and
return to do the same during the day.
Blessed is the gift, and so too the donor, and
salutations to him from me for as long as I live.”

THE DELEGATION FROM KINĀNA.

Al-Wāqidī related, with complete lines of transmission, that Wāʾila b. al-Asqaʿ al-Laythī arrived to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was equipping himself to leave for Tabūk. He performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with him, then returned to his people. He invited them to accept Islam, telling them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His father told him, “I swear by God, I'll never forgive you!”

His sister heard what he had said and accepted Islam. She equipped him for travel and he went with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Tabūk, mounted upon a camel belonging to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him with Khālid to Ukaydir Dūma. When they returned, Wāthila offered to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra the share of the booty that had been apportioned for him. Kaʿb replied, “But it was to God the Almighty and Glorious that it carried you.”

THE DELEGATION FROM ASHJAʿ.

Al-Wāqidī related that they arrived the year of the battle of al-khandaq. They consisted of 100 men; their leader was Masʿūd b. Bukhayla, and they made camp at the Salʿ defile.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to them and ordered that they be provided supplies of dates. It is also said that they arrived after he had finished with Banū Qurayza, and that they consisted of 700 men. He reached an understanding with them and they returned home. They accepted Islam thereafter.

THE DELEGATION FROM BĀHILA.

Their leader, Muṭarif b. Kāhin arrived after the conquest of Mecca and accepted Islam. He took a peace pact to his people and signed a document to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accepting the laws and obligations of Islam. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, may God be pleased with him, wrote it.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ SULAYM.

He (al-Wāqidī) stated, "A man named Qays b. Nushba came from Banū Sulaym to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter listened to what he had to say and asked him various questions to which he replied, being fully aware of everything. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then invited him to accept Islam, and he did so.

"Qays returned to his people of Banū Sulaym, and told them, 'I've heard the history of the Byzantines, the legends of Persia, the poetry of the Arabs, the divinations of Ḥimyar, but the words of Muḥammad are not at all similar to theirs. Obey me and seek your fortune with him.'

"The year of the conquest of Mecca, Banū Sulaym went out and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Qadīd; they consisted of 700 men, though this figure is also given as 1,000. They included al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās and a number of their leading men. They accepted Islam, saying, 'Place us at your fore; make our banner red and our motto *muqaddaman*, "ahead!" He agreed to this and they were present with him at the conquest, and at the battles of al-Ṭāʾif and Ḥunayn.

"Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihi al-Sulamī used to worship an idol. One day he saw two jackals urinating over it and he spoke the line,

> 'Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate?
> Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!'

"He then attacked and broke it. After that he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'Ghāwī b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā.' 'No', he told him, 'now your name is Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbihi.[60] He awarded him the revenue of a place called Ruhāṭ where there is a running spring; it is known as the *ʿayn al-rasūl*, 'the well of the Messenger'. He was the best man of Banū Sulaym, over whom he was placed in command. He was present at the conquest of Mecca and later actions."

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ HILĀL B. ʿĀMIR.

He (al-Wāqidī) mentioned ʿAbd ʿAwf b. Aṣram in their delegation. He accepted Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him ʿAbd Allāh. Also there was Qabīṣa b. Mukhāriq, who is the source for a *ḥadīth* about charitable donations.

Amongst those he (al-Wāqidī) mentioned as in the delegation of Banū Hilāl were Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Bujayr b. al-Hadm b. Ruwayba b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir. When he entered Medina, he made his way to the home of his aunt Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. He went inside and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered his home, he saw him, became angry and went out again. She called to him, "Messenger of God, he's my sister's son!" He then went inside, came out again and went to the mosque, accompanied by Ziyād. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, then prayed for him. He placed his hand on his head, then touched the tip of Ziyād's nose. Banū Hilāl used to say, "We could always recognise the blessing in Ziyād's face."

A poet spoke the following verses to Ziyād's son ʿAlī:

"O Son of him whose head the Messenger touched and for
whom he prayed for good at the mosque,
I mean Ziyād, referring to none but him, to no passer-by,
not to one accused or one seeking aid.
That light on the bridge of his nose was always
visible, until his body went down to the grave."

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ BAKR B. WĀʾIL.

Al-Wāqidī stated that when they arrived, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Quss b. Sāʿida. He replied, "That man was not one of yours. He was of Iyād. He became a *ḥanīf*[61] in the *jāhiliyya*. He was present at ʿUkāẓ while the people were gathered there. He spoke there the words since passed on as his.

"In the delegation there were Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyya, ʿAbd Allāh b. Marthad and Ḥassān b. Khūṭ. A son of Ḥassān spoke the following verse:

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[60] The man's original name meant "Misleader, son of the worshipper of al-ʿUzzā"; his new name meant "Right-guided, son of the worshipper of his Lord".

[61] See glossary. A word with many associations. Often applied to Abraham with connotations that he was a devoted follower of God; the word also has implications of being circumcised or of having abandoned the worship of idols.

> ‘I am the son of Ḥassān b. Khūṭ; my father was the
> messenger of all Banū Bakr to the Prophet.’”

THE DELEGATION FROM TAGHLIB.

He (al-Wāqidī) stated that they consisted of 16 men, Muslims, and Christians wearing crosses of gold. They stayed at the house of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥārith.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact of peace with the Christians on the understanding that they would not baptize their children into Christianity. He gave payments to the Muslims among them.

DELEGATIONS FROM THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they came in 9 AH and that they consisted of 13 men. He gave them larger payments than he had to others. Al-Wāqidī also said that there was a youth among them whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked what gift he wanted. He replied, “Messenger of God, pray to God to forgive me, to have mercy on me and to place my wealth in my heart.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘O God, forgive him, have mercy on him, and place his wealth in his heart.’ And thereafter he was one of the most pious and ascetic of men.”

THE DELEGATION FROM KHAWLĀN.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they were ten in number, and that they arrived in Sha‘bān of 10 AH.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about their idol known as “‘Amm Anas”. They replied that they had exchanged him for a better one and that they intended to destroy it on their return. They learned the Qur᾽ān and the orthodox practices of Islam and when they returned home, they did destroy the idol. They made permissible what God had rendered so, and they forbad that which God had forbidden.

THE DELEGATION FROM JU‘FĪ.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they forbad eating heart. When their delegation accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to eat heart. He had some cooked and handed it to their leader, saying, “Your faith will not be complete until you eat it.” He did take it, his hand trembling, and he did eat it, saying, ‘I did eat the heart unwillingly, my body trembling when I touched it.’”

Section: On the arrival of the delegation of Banū Azd to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Abū Nuʿaym stated, in his book *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (*Knowledge about the Companions*) as did the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥawārī, who said, "I heard Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, who said, "ʿAlqama b. Yazīd b. Suwayd al-Azdī said, "My father related to me, from my grandfather, from Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith, who said, 'I was the seventh of a delegation of seven men from my people who went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we went in to him, we spoke with him and he was surprised by our appearance and our dress. He asked, "And what are you?" We replied that we were Believers.

"'"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, "There is truth in every statement; what is the truth in your statement and your faith?"

"'"'We replied, "There are fifteen essentials, five of which your emissaries ordered us to believe. Five you ordered us to act upon and five we ourselves developed while during the *jāhiliyya* and still maintain – unless you should dislike any of them."

"'"'He asked, "What are the five my envoys ordered you to believe?"

"'"'We replied, "They told us to believe in God and in His angels, His books, His messengers and rebirth after death."

"'"'He then asked, "And what are the five I ordered you to act upon?" We replied, "You ordered us to say, "There is no god but God", to perform the prayers, to pay the *zakāt*, 'the alms', to fast at Ramaḍān, and to make pilgrimage to the *kaʿba* if we are able."

"'"'He asked, "And what are the five you developed during the *jāhiliyya*?" We replied, "Being thankful when prosperous, being stoical in the face of difficulty, being pleased with whatever fate brings, being truthful at social gatherings, and refraining from cursing enemies."

"'"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Why, such wise and learned men! Their understanding is such as to almost make them prophets!"

"'"'He then said, "I'll give you five more; then you'll have twenty essentials. If you are as you say, then do not accumulate what you cannot yourselves consume, do not build what you do not inhabit, do not compete for something you will shortly leave behind, fear God to Whom you will be returned and before Whom you will be exposed, and desire strongly that to which you head and wherein you will be forever."

"'"'The party then left him, having memorized his advice and acting upon it.'"'"

THE DELEGATION FROM KINDA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they were ten or so mounted men under the command of al-Ash‘ath b. Qays. He made a payment of ten *awqiyya* weight (of silver) to each, while to al-Ash‘ath he gave twelve. This has been related above.[62]

THE DELEGATION FROM AL-ṢADIF.

They arrived in a group of some ten riders. They came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was on the *minbar* delivering an address. They sat down without giving the usual Muslim greeting. He asked, "Are you Muslims?" "Yes," they replied. "Will you not give the Muslim greeting, then?"

The all arose and said, "Peace be upon you, Prophet, and the mercy and blessings of God." He responded, "And upon you all be peace. Sit down." They did so and then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the times for the prayers.

THE DELEGATION FROM KHUSHAYN.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Abū Tha‘laba al-Khushanī arrived as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was preparing his equipment to proceed to Khaybar. Abū Tha‘laba was present with him at the battle of Khaybar and thereafter some ten men of Banū Khushayn came and accepted Islam.

Al-Wāqidī went on to tell of the delegations from Banū Sa‘d, Hudhaym, Balī, Bahrā᾽, Banū ‘Udhra, Salāmān, Juhayna, Banū Kalb and al-Jarmiyīn. We have given above the *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Salama al-Jarmī given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Wāqidī then referred to the delegations of al-Azd, Ghassān, al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b, Hamdān, Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra, ‘Abs, that of al-Dārīyīn, and al-Rahāwīwīn, of Banū Ghāmid, al-Nakh‘, Bajīla, Khath‘am and Ḥadramawt. He made mention of Wā᾽il b. Ḥujr among these. He also referred to the four kings Jamd, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ and Abda‘a as among these. In the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad detail is given of their curse, with their sister al-‘Amarrada.[63] Al-Wāqidī related about them at length.

He also referred to the Azd of ‘Umān, and Ghāfiq, Bāriq, Daws, Thumāla, al-Jidār, Aslam, Judhām, Mahra, Ḥimyar, Najrān and Jayshān. Explication on these tribes would need to be very extensive; and we have already given above some material associated with this. What we have related heretofore is enough. Though God knows best.

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[62] See Vol. IV pages 98–9.

[63] A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the correct name should be their brother al-Ghamar.

THE DELEGATION OF AL-SIBĀʿ.

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Shuʿayb b. ʿUbāda related to me, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab as follows, 'While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated in Medina among his Companions, a jackal came, stood before him and howled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This is a delegate from the lions who has come to you. If you wish to impose some restriction upon him, they will not go beyond it to something else; however, if you wish, you could leave him and be wary of him and whatever he is able to take would be his sustenance."

"'They replied, "Messenger of God, we don't wish to give him anything." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then gestured to him with three fingers, meaning, "leave them alone" and it turned and ran away in fear.'"

The *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, "incomplete", with this line of transmission.

This jackal resembles the one referred to in the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad: "Yazīd" – he being Ibn Hārūn – "related to us, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥuddānī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, 'The jackal attacked a sheep. The shepherd went after it and took it from him. The jackal sat up on its tail and asked, "Don't you fear God, taking from me bounty to which God led me?" The shepherd exclaimed, "Amazing! A jackal sitting up on its tail and speaking to me like a human being!"

"'The jackal went on, "Would you like me to tell you something even more amazing than that? Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is in Yathrib telling people of what happened long ago."

"'The shepherd then led his herd away into the town; there he left them in a corral and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him about the jackal.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a call made for a general prayer meeting and went out and said to the bedouin, "Tell them." He did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "He spoke the truth, I swear by Him who has the soul of Muḥammad in His hand. Judgement Day will not come until animals speak to humans, and a man's strap on his whip and his sandal straps talk to him, and his thigh informs him of what his family does behind his back."'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Sufyān b. Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, from his father, from al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl. He characterized it as *ḥasan*, *gharīb*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good, unilateral and authentic". We know of this only from the *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl, whom scholars consider a trustworthy and reliable source. Yaḥyā and Ibn Mahdī consider him reliable.

I note that Imām Aḥmad also related this *ḥadīth*, giving a line of transmission quoting Abū al-Yamān, quoting Shuʿayb, he being the son of Abū Ḥamza, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Ḥusayn, quoting Mahrān, quoting Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī;

he gave this anecdote in full and with a more extensive line than the account given above.

I note that Imām Aḥmad also related it quoting Abū al-Naḍr, quoting ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, quoting Shahr, who said he heard it from Abū Saᶜīd.

This text is closer (to the above); but God knows best. This line of transmission accords with the criteria of the *ahl al-sunan*, but they did not promulgate it.

DIVISION

Material concerning the delegations of the *jinn*, "the spirits", at Mecca prior to the Hijra has been given above.[64]

We have examined this also with regard to the words of the Almighty, in *sūrat al-Aḥqāf* (XLVI, v.29): "And when we sent towards you a group of the *jinn* who listen to the Qur᾽ān". We gave commentary on those *aḥādīth* and ancient materials referring to this and gave the *ḥadīth* of Sawād b. Qārib who had been a monk but accepted Islam. We wrote of his channel, who would bring him information, as when he told him,

> "I was surprised at the *jinn* and their knowledge, and
> their gripping their baggage on their mounts
> Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing
> spirits are not like those that disbelieve.
> So head for the finest men of Hāshim, amidst their
> hills and rocks."

He went on to say,

> "I was surprised at the *jinn* and their perceptions, and
> their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts
> Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious
> of the spirits are not like the foul ones.
> So head for the finest men of Hāshim, and raise your
> eyes to their head."

He later continued,

> "I was surprised at the *jinn* and their knowledge, and
> their gripping their baggage on their mounts,
> Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for those that are
> evil are not like those who are good.
> So go to the finest men of Hāshim; the *jinn* who
> believe are not like those of them who disbelieve."

This and similar materials indicate the repeated arrival of the *jinn* to Mecca. We have sufficiently established that above; and all praise and credit be to God. Success and authority come through Him.

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[64] See Vol. I, page 245 *et seq.*

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī gave here a very strange *ḥadīth* – one indeed, that was either objectionable or fabricated. However, its source is a cherished one. And I wish to report it just as he did. It is strange to come from him.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*: “Chapter on the arrival of Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Lāqīs b. Iblīs to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his acceptance of Islam” as follows: “Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dā’ūd al-ʿAlawī, may God have mercy on him, informed us, quoting Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh b. Sahl al-Qāriʾ al-Marwazī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥammād al-Āmilī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Maʿshar, who quoted his father, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, as saying, ‘While we were seated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on one of the mountains of Tihāma, an old man holding a staff arrived. He greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who returned the greeting, and asked, “By the sing-song and prattling of the *jinn*, who are you?” He replied, “I am Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Lāqīs b. Iblīs.”

“‘The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked “There are only two fathers in your line from Iblīs (Satan); how long have you lived, then?”

“‘I’ve been living almost as long as the world itself. Back when Cain killed Abel, I was still a boy, learning to understand words, moving across the hills and ordering food to turn bad and breaking up families.”

“‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Evil was the work of both the blameworthy old man and the reprehensible boy!”

“‘The old man went on, “Spare me from destruction! I turn in repentance to God, Almighty and Glorious is He! I was with Noah in his mosque, along with those of his people who believe in him. I kept on decrying him for his call to his people until he wept and made me do so too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that; and I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

“‘“I said, ‘Noah, I was of those who took part in shedding the blood of that fortunate martyr Abel, son of Adam. Can you find forgiveness for me in yourself?’ He replied, ‘Hām, hurry and find good to perform before you suffer grief and remorse. I have read in what God has sent down to me that every worshipper who turns in repentance to God and communicates this will have God turn to him in forgiveness. Arise, perform the ablutions and make two prayer prostrations to God.’”

“‘Hām went on, “I did at once what he told me. He then called out to me, ‘Lift up your head; forgiveness of you has been revealed from heaven. And so I prostrated in worship to God.’”

“‘He continued, “I was also with Hūd in his mosque, along with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

"'"Also I was with Ṣāliḥ in his mosque with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, 'I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.'

"'"I used to visit Jacob, too; I was with Joseph in the secure place; and I used to meet Elijah in the valleys; I meet him now.

"'"I met Moses, son of ʿImrān, and he taught me from the Torah. He told me, 'If you meet Jesus, son of Mary, greet him for me.' I did meet Jesus, son of Mary, and greeted him from Moses. Jesus said, 'If you meet Muḥammad (ṢAAS), greet him for me.'

"'"The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) flowed abundantly in tears as he wept at this. Then he said, 'And may peace be upon Jesus for as long as the world exists. And may peace be upon you too, Hām, for your keeping to the faith.'"

"'Hām went on, 'Messenger of God, do with me as Moses did. He taught me from the Torah."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then taught him the words, "When the awesome event occurs" (*sūrat al-Wāqiʿa*; LVI, v.1), "And those who are sent forth" (*sūrat al-Mursalāt*; LXXVII, v.1), "What do they ask one another" (*sūrat al-Nabī*; LXXXVIII, v.1), "When the sun is covered over" (*sūrat al-Takwīr*; LXXXI, v.1), "Say: 'I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn'" (*sūrat al-Falaq*; CXIII, v.1), "Say: 'I seek refuge with the Lord of men'" (*sūrat al-Nās*; CXIV, v.1), and "Say: 'He, God, is One'" (*sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; CXII, v.1).

"'He then told him, "Tell us your needs, Hām. And don't stop visiting us."'"

ʿUmar concluded, "He shook hands with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in farewell and never returned to us. We don't know whether he is alive or dead."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state, "This Ibn Abū Maʿshar in the chain has had major *aḥādīth* related from him; however, the scholars in the traditions consider him weak."

But this *ḥadīth* is narrated from another and stronger line of transmission. God knows best.

THE YEAR 10 AH.

Chapter: On the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Khālid b. al-Walīd.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālid b. al-Walīd in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, or Jumādā al-Uwlā of 10 AH to Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb in Najrān.

"He ordered him to invite them to Islam for three days before attacking them. If they responded positively, he was to accept them, and if they did not, he was to attack them.

"Khālid went forth and when he reached them, he sent out riders in all directions inviting them to Islam, telling them, 'Accept Islam and you will be safe.'

"They did accept Islam and accepted what they had been asked to do. Khālid remained with them, instructing them in Islām, in God's Book and in the practices of His Prophet (ṢAAS), as the latter had ordered if they should accept Islam and not do battle.

"Khālid b. al-Walīd then wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as follows, 'In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. To Muḥammad, the Prophet, and Messenger of God, from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. I express to you praise for God, other than Whom there is no god. To proceed, Messenger of God, may God's blessings be upon you, you dispatched me to Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb and ordered me not to fight them for three days, to invite them into Islam and if they accepted I was to go and teach them the essentials of Islam, God's Book, and the practice of His Prophet; if they did not accept Islam, I was to fight them.

"'I did go to them and invited them into Islam for three days, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me. I sent riders out to them who said, "Banū al-Ḥārith, accept Islam and be safe." They did accept Islam and did not fight. I am staying among them telling them of what God has ordered them and forbidding them from what God forbad them. I am teaching them the essentials of Islam and the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) writes to me. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with His mercy and His blessings.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote back to him as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you. I express to you praise for God other than Whom there is no other god. To proceed: your letter came to me with your messenger informing me that Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb accepted Islam before you did battle with them, that they responded positively to the requirements of Islam of which you informed them, that they testified that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger, and that God has given them His guidance. Congratulate them, give them warning and return; and let their delegation come with you. Peace be upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'"

"Khālid did return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the delegation of Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb came with him. Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn Dhū al-Ghuṣṣa, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Madān, Yazīd b. al-Muḥajjal, ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurād al-Ziyyādī, Shaddād b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Qanānī and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḍibābī were among them. When they came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he saw them, he asked, 'Who are these men who seem to be Indians?'

"Someone told him, 'These men are Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb.' When they stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they greeted him and said, 'We bear witness that you are the Messenger of God, and that there is no god but God.'

He replied, 'I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that I am the Messenger of God.'

"He then said, 'You are the people who, if forced back, would promptly advance again.' They remained silent; none of them offered him any response. He said the same a second and a third time and still no one responded.

"Then he said it a fourth time, and Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Madān replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God; we are those who advance again if forced back.' He said this four times.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'If Khālid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not done battle, I would have cast your heads beneath your feet!'

"Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Madān said, 'In fact, I swear by God, we do not give praise to you or to Khālid.'

"'Whom do you praise, then?' he asked. He replied, 'We praise God who led us to you, Messenger of God.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'You speak the truth.'

"He then asked, 'How was it you overcame those you fought in the *jāhilīyya*?' They replied, 'We overcame no one.'

"'But you did,' he said. 'You did overcome those you fought.'

"They replied, 'We did overcome those we fought, Messenger of God, by uniting and not splitting up, and by never initiating any injustice with anyone.' 'You speak the truth,' he said and then appointed Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn as their commander."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "They then returned to their people for the latter part of Shawwāl or the early part of Dhū al-Qaʿda. After their delegation had left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched ʿAmr b. Ḥazm to give them instruction in the faith, to teach them the orthodox practice and the essential features of Islam, and to take from them their charitable donations. He wrote him a document specifying his charge and his orders to him."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote this document. We gave it above in matters relating to the delegation of the kings of Ḥimyar, quoting from al-Bayhaqī. Al-Nasāʾī related this in a text similar to that of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, but without a chain of authorities.

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF THE COMMANDERS TO THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN, INVITING THEM TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, CAME PRIOR TO THE ḤIJJAT AL-WADĀʿ.

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section "Chapter on the dispatch of Abū Mūsā and Muʿādh to Yemen prior to the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*."

He went on to state, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, quoting ʿAbd al-Mālik, from Abū Burda, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Mūsā and Muʿādh b. Jabal to Yemen. He dispatched each one of them to rule a province; Yemen has two provinces.

“‘He told them, “Be lenient, not harsh; encourage, rather than repress.” In one account the words he used were, “Co-operate with one another; do not conflict.”

“‘Each went off to do his work. They promised to visit and greet one another in their own territory and when close to that of the other. Muʿādh was once travelling on his land near that of his colleague Abū Mūsā and rode further on his mule to meet the latter. He found Abū Mūsā seated, with his people all around him. There was a man there with him whose hands had been tied up to his neck. Muʿādh asked Abū Mūsā, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, what's this about?” He replied, “This is a man who apostatized after accepting Islam.” Muʿādh told him, “Well, I'll not dismount until he is killed!” Abū Mūsā assured him, “But that's exactly why he was brought here. Do dismount.” Muʿādh insisted, “I'll not dismount until he is killed.” The order was given, and he was killed.

“‘Muʿādh dismounted and asked, “ʿAbd Allāh, how do you recite the Qurʾān?' He replied, “I do so at regular intervals and piece-by-piece. How do you, Muʿādh?' Muʿādh replied, “I sleep for the first part of the night, then get up, having slept for that portion I determined. Then I recite what God wrote for me I should. Thus I seek God's reward for both my sleeping and my being up praying.”'”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Isḥāq related to him, quoting Khālid, from al-Shaybānī, from Saʿīd b. Abū Burda, from his father, from Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen and asked him about the drinks made there. Abū Mūsā told him, “They make *al-bitʿ* and *al-mizr*.”

The narrator then asked Abū Burda, “What is *al-bitʿ*?” “It's an alcoholic drink made from honey. And *al-mizr* is an alcoholic drink made from barley,” he replied.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “All intoxicants are prohibited.”

Jarīr and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid related it, from al-Shaybānī, from Abū Burda. Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd b. Abū Burda.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, from Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Isḥāq, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣayfī, from Abū Maʿbad, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Muʿādh b. Jabal, when he dispatched him to Yemen, ‘You are going to people who have a scripture. When you reach them, invite them to testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God has enjoined upon them five prayers each day and night. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God obligates them to make a charitable contribution that will be taken from their rich and be returned to their poor. If they obey you in that, then refrain from (taking as tax payment) their best properties; be fearful of the curse of the oppressed, for there is no barrier between them and God.'”

The rest of the community of scholars promulgated this from various lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Rāshid b. Saʿd, from ʿĀṣim b. Ḥamīd al-Sakūnī, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside his mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, 'Muʿādh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine, and my grave.'

"Muʿādh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then turned towards Medina and said, 'Those persons who are foremost with me are the pious; whoever and wherever they may be.'"

Imām Aḥmad then related this from Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from Rāshid b. Saʿd, from ʿĀṣim b. Ḥamīd al-Sakūnī. That account states that when Muʿādh was dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside Muʿādh's mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, "Muʿādh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine and my grave."

Muʿādh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then said, "Muʿādh, don't weep. There are occasions for weeping; weeping comes from Satan."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Abū Ziyād b. ʿUbayd Yaḥyā al-Ghassānī, from Yazīd b. Quṭayb, who said that Muʿādh used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen and said, "You may well pass by my grave and my mosque. I have sent you to a people whose hearts are delicate; they will fight twice for the truth. You must fight along with those who obey you against those of them who disobey you. To the extent that wives will challenge their husbands, sons their fathers and brothers one another, they will be faithful to Islam. And so between the two sides you will create tranquillity and acquiescence."'"

In this *ḥadīth* there is evidence and indication that Muʿādh, may God be pleased with him, would not thereafter meet with the Prophet (ṢAAS). That is indeed how it came out; Muʿādh remained in Yemen until the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. And then, 81 days following the day of the major pilgrimage, came the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Then there is the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad in which he stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ẓabyān, from Muʿādh, that when the latter returned from Yemen, he said, "Messenger of God, I have seen men in Yemen who bow down to one another. Should we not bow down to you?" He replied, "If I were to order any human being to bow down to any other, I would order women to do so to their husbands."

Aḥmad related it from Ibn Numayr, from al-Aʿmash (who said), "I heard Abū Ẓabyān relate from one of the *anṣār*, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said, 'Muʿādh arrived from Yemen and said, 'Messenger of God, I have seen men . . .'"'" and he continued as above.

This *ḥadīth* revolves around a man who is obscure; reference to such a person could not be used as evidence, especially as other reliable authorities contradict him, by saying, "When Muʿādh arrived from Syria . . .". Aḥmad related this.

Aḥmad stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The keys to paradise are in bearing witness that there is no god but God.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabīb, from Muʿādh, (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Muʿādh, respond to something bad by something good; that will erase it. Treat people with honourable conduct.'"

Waqīʿ stated, "I found it in my book from Abū Dharr, he being the first auditor. Sufyān on one occasion quoted this tradition from Muʿādh."

Imām Aḥmad then stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, from Layth, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabīb, from Muʿādh, who said, "Messenger of God, give me instructions." He replied, "Fear God, wherever you may be." "Tell me more," he asked. He replied, "Respond to something bad by something good that will erase it." "Tell me more," he asked. "Treat people with honourable conduct," he replied.

Al-Tirmidhī related it in his collection from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Wakīʿ, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and stated that it was *ḥasan*, "good".

Our teacher stated in his exegesis, "Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān traced it from Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from al-Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb."

Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Ḥaḍramī, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) instructed me using ten phrases. He said, 'Do not associate anything with God, even though you might be killed or burned. Do not disobey your parents, even though they tell you to give up your property or your family. Do not deliberately forego any prescribed prayer. Whoever deliberately forgoes a prescribed prayer loses God's protection. Do not drink wine, for it is the cause of every vile deed. Beware of insubordination, for it incurs the wrath of God. Beware of flight from an advancing enemy, even if people are being destroyed. If death afflicts (your) people, you are of them, so stay firm. Expend upon your children from your assets and do not raise from them your staff in their upbringing. And inspire in them love of God, the Almighty and Glorious.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting Baqiyya, from al-Sarrī b. Yanʿam, from Shurayḥ, from Masrūq, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he told him, 'Beware of luxury; God's servants do not seek after luxury.'"

Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Hāshimī related to him, quoting Abū Bakr – meaning Ibn ʿAyyāsh – quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū Wā'il, from Muʿādh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to Yemen and ordered me to take one dīnār or its equivalent in *maʿāfir*, 'provisions', from each adult; he told me to take one mature cow for each forty cattle and one camel for each thirty cattle per annum. He ordered me to take one-tenth of the produce of land watered by rain and one-twentieth of the produce of land watered by buckets."

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu'āwiya, and al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq from al-Aʿmash in similar form.

The *ahl al-sunan* related it from various lines of transmission, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, from Muʿādh.

Aḥmad stated, "Mu'āwiya related to me, from ʿAmr and from Hārūn b. Maʿrūf, both of whom stated, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb related to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Salama b. Usāma, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam (who said) that Muʿādh stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to receive charitable payments from the people of Yemen. He told me to take a *tabīʿ*, 'one camel', for every thirty head of cattle."'" Hārūn explained, "The word *tabīʿ* means a young, mature camel, either male or female." "'"And for each forty head of cattle one *musinna*, 'a mature cow'."

"'"They proposed to me that I should take extra payment for between forty and fifty, between sixty and seventy, and between eighty and ninety. But I declined this, telling them, 'I will ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that.'

"'"When I returned, I told the Prophet (ṢAAS) about this and he told me to take one camel for thirty cattle and for every forty head I should take one mature cow. For sixty I should take two camels. For seventy, one mature cow and one camel. For eighty, two mature cows. For ninety, I should take three camels. For one hundred, one mature cow and two camels. For one hundred and ten, two mature cows and one camel. For one hundred and twenty, I should take three mature cows and four camels.

"'"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me not to take anything for intermediate figures; only if it amounted to a mature cow or a camel. He claimed that there was no tax on intermediate numbers."'"

This is a *ḥadīth* that is unique to Aḥmad. This suggests that he came back after his trip to Yemen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, the fact is that he did not see the latter after that, as is stated earlier in a *ḥadīth*.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that Maʿmar informed him, from al-Zuhrī, from Ubayy b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said, "Muʿādh b. Jabal was a handsome and generous young man, one of the finest of his people. Anything ever asked of him he would give, so that eventually he had a debt that foreclosed all his money. He told this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him to speak to his creditors, and this he did. But they would not reduce his debt at all; and if anyone should ever have had a debt excused because of the plea of another, it should have been Muʿādh after the appeal made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and immediately Muʿādh sold all his possessions and divided the proceeds between his creditors. Muʿādh had nothing left.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was going on the pilgrimage, he sent Muʿādh to Yemen. And so Muʿādh was the first to do business with that money.

"When he returned from Yemen to Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died. ʿUmar came to him and said, 'Will you obey me and pay this money over to Abū Bakr? If he gives it to you, you can then accept it.'

"Muʿādh replied, 'I'll not give it to him! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen to restore my fortune.'

"When Muʿādh refused, ʿUmar went to Abū Bakr and said, 'Send a message to this man and take it, then pay him.'

"Abū Bakr replied, 'I'll not do that; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only dispatched him to restore his fortune. I'll not take anything from him.'

"Next morning, Muʿādh went to ʿUmar and said, 'I see no alternative to doing what you said. I saw myself yesterday in a dream' – ʿAbd al-Razzāq thinks he said this – 'being dragged to hell-fire; and you had hold of my waistband!'

"He then hurried off to Abū Bakr with everything he had brought; he even took him his whip and he swore he had kept nothing hidden from him. Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'It is yours; I will take none of it.'"

Abū Thawr related this, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik. He related it as above, except for the words, "and in the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him as governor of a part of Yemen. Muʿādh remained there until the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then, in the caliphate of Abū Bakr, he returned and left again for Syria."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We have affirmed earlier that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed him in command of Mecca with ʿAttāb b. Usayd to give its people instruction, and also that he was present on the expedition to Tabūk; it is most likely that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen after that. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī then related the story of Muʿādh's dream, giving a line of transmission through al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAbd Allāh. In that account it is said that what Muʿādh brought (from Yemen) included slaves, and that he took them to Abū Bakr. When the latter gave everything back to him, Muʿādh took them back too. He then performed the prayer, and all the slaves prayed with him. When he was done, he asked them, "To whom did you pray?" "To God," they replied. "Then you are all manumitted to Him." And he did free them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū ʿAwn, from al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Akhū al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, from associates of Muʿādh from the people of Ḥims, from Muʿādh, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he asked, "How will you act if a case is brought to you for judgement?" He replied, "I will make a judgement according to what is in God's Book."

"And what if the case is not in God's Book?"

"Then in accord with the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," he replied.

"And what if it is not covered in the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?"

"I will *ajtahidu*,[65] 'strive hard', and spare no effort."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then struck me in the chest and said, 'Praise be to God, who made fit for the envoy of the Messenger of God that which pleases the Messenger of God!"

Aḥmad related this from Wakīʿ, from ʿAffān, from Shuʿba, with his line of transmission and his phraseology.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "We know it only from this line of transmission and in my opinion his chain of authorities is not continuous."

Ibn Māja related it from him by a different line, namely through Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Ḥassān – he having been crucified, as one of the liars – from ʿUbāda b. Nusī,[66] from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanam, from Muʿādh, in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Abū Ḥakīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, from Yaḥyā b. Maʿmar, from Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī, who said, "While Muʿādh was in Yemen, the case was brought before him of a Jew who had died and left a brother who was a Muslim.

"Muʿādh stated, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Islam brings increase, not loss." And he allowed him to inherit.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Burayda.

This ruling is narrated from Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, its narrator being Yaḥyā b. Muʿammar al-Qāḍī and a group of early authorities. Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh preferred that version.

The majority of scholars, however, including the four Imāms and their followers, oppose this group. They raise objections because of what is firmly established in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'An unbeliever may not inherit from a Muslim, nor a Muslim from an unbeliever.'"

What is shown here is that Muʿādh, may God be pleased with him, was a *qāḍī*, "a judge", in Yemen acting on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was a commander in the wars and one who distributed and received the charitable contributions, as the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās given above shows.

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[65] Use of *ijtihād* has, of course, been considered an essential function of jurists since the early days of Islam.

[66] According to a footnote in the Arabic printed text, he was a *qāḍī* of Tiberias who died in 118 AH.

He would stand out in front of the people and perform the five prayers with them. As al-Bukhārī stated, "Sulayman b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, (who said) that when Muʿādh went to Yemen, he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with them and recited, "And God took Abraham as a companion . . ." (*sūrat al-Nisā'ī*; IV, v.125). At that, one of the congregation said, "Abraham's mother was really pleased!"

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this.

Chapter on the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Khālid b. al-Walīd to Yemen, before ḥijjat al-wadāʿ, 'The Farewell Pilgrimage'.

Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān related to us, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Isḥāq, quoting his father, from Abū Isḥāq (who said), "I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us with Khālid b. al-Walīd to Yemen. He later dispatched ʿAlī to take his place. He told him, "Tell those of Khālid's men who wish to remain with you that they may; those who wish should return." I was among those who stayed with him. And I received a considerable number of *awqiyya* as booty."

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, quoting ʿAlī b. Suwayd b. Manjūf, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent ʿAlī to Khālid b. al-Walīd to collect the *khums*, 'the one-fifth booty payment'. I hated ʿAlī. Next morning ʿAlī took a bath.[67] I asked Khālid, 'Won't you just look at this!'

"When we returned to the Prophet (ṢAAS), I related that situation to him, and he asked, 'Burayda, you really hate ʿAlī?' 'Yes, I do,' I replied. He commented, 'Well don't hate him; he deserves more than that from the *khums*.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line; Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Jalīl, who said, "I was in a circle of people that included Abū Mijlaz and Burayda's two sons. ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda said, 'My father Burayda related to me as follows, "I used to hate ʿAlī more strongly than I had ever hated anyone. And there was one man of Quraysh whom I liked only because of his hatred for ʿAlī.

"'"That man was sent out with the cavalry and I went with him, solely because of his hatred for ʿAlī. We took some prisoners. He then wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'Send someone to us who will divide the booty.’ He dispatched ʿAlī to us. Among the best of the captives was a black slave-girl.

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[67] The text implies that he bathed after a sexual encounter with one of the slave-girls included in the *khumus* booty.

“‘“ʿAlī took the booty, divided it up and came out. When he did so, his head was wet. I asked, ‘Abū al-Ḥasan, what’s this?’ He replied, ‘Didn’t you see that black slave-girl included with the captives? I made the division and she became part of the *khums*. Then she became part of the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and so one of ʿAlī’s family. And I had sex with her.’

“‘“The man[68] had a message to send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So I said, ‘Dispatch me.’ And he did so, expressing his trust. (When in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), I began reading out the message, saying it was true. He (the Prophet) then took hold of my hand and the message and asked, ‘Do you hate ʿAlī?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Don’t hate him,’ he asked. ‘Whatever love you have for him, make it stronger. I swear by Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, the share of the *khums* due the family of ʿAlī is better than one black slave-girl.’

“‘“And following what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said to me, there was no one I loved more than I did ʿAlī.”

“‘ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda went on, “And I swear by the One and Only God, that the only narrator between myself and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was my father Burayda.’”

ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. ʿAṭiyya al-Faqīh Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Baṣrī is alone in giving this. Ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Ḥibbān both consider him reliable. However, al-Bukhārī stated, “Various charges, are, however, made against him.”

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, “Abān b. Ṣāliḥ related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Niyār al-Aslamī, from his uncle ʿAmr b. Shaʾs al-Aslamī, who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, who said, ‘I was with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib in the cavalry party the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out to Yemen. ʿAlī was somewhat rude to me, and I resented his behaviour.

‘When I returned to Medina, I complained about him in various meetings and to people I met. One day when I went to the mosque, I found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sitting there. When he saw me look into his eyes, he stared straight back at me until I sat down near him. He then said, “I swear, ʿAmr b. Shaʾs, you have done me harm!”

“‘“But we all belong to God and to Him do we return!” I exclaimed. “I take refuge in God and in Islam against ever harming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!’ He commented, “Whoever harms ʿAlī harms me!”’”

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a different line, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Abān b. al-Faḍl b. Maʿqil b. Sinān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Niyār, from his uncle ʿAmr b. Shaʾs. That account is similar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Isḥāq al-Muzakkī, relating from ʿUbayda b. Abū al-Safr who said, "I heard Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Isḥāq state, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ (who said) that, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Khālid b. al-Walīd to invite the people of Yemen into Islam.'"

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[68] That is, the unnamed leader of Burayda’s party.

Al-Barāʾ went on, "I was among those who accompanied Khālid b. al-Walīd. We stayed there six months inviting them into Islam, but they did not respond well to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib with orders to replace Khālid; those with Khālid who wanted to stay there with ʿAlī could do so.

"I was one of those who stayed with ʿAlī. When we approached the people there, they came out to us. We advanced and ʿAlī led us in prayer. He later positioned us in one line and went out ahead of us and read to them the message from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). At that all (Banū) Hamdān accepted Islam. ʿAlī then wrote a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling of their acceptance of Islam. When he read the message, he prostrated in prayer, then raised his head and said, 'Peace be upon (Banū) Hamdān! Peace be upon Hamdān!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī related this in an abbreviated form, from a different line, from Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū Sahl b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways, who quoted his brother, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Saʿd b. Isḥāq b. Kaʿb b. ʿUjra, from his aunt Zaynab, daughter of Kaʿb b. ʿUjra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to Yemen.

"I was one of those who accompanied him. When he had taken some camels as *ṣadaqa*, 'charitable payments', we asked him if we could ride them and rest our own, which we could see were tiring. He refused us, saying, 'You have only a share in them, just like all Muslims.'

"When ʿAlī had finished his mission and left Yemen to return home, he appointed a certain person in command of us. He himself then hurried off and joined in the pilgrimage. When he had completed his pilgrimage, the Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, 'Go back and rejoin your men.'

"In the meantime we had made to the commander ʿAlī had appointed over us the same request he had denied, and this man had agreed. When ʿAlī learned that the camels taken as *ṣadaqa* payment had been ridden, and saw how this had tired them, he summoned his deputy and berated him.

"(I told myself) 'I swear by God, when I reach Medina, I'll certainly make a report to him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), and tell him how rudely and harshly we have been treated! After our arrival in Medina, I went to him early one morning intending to fulfil my oath. I met Abū Bakr coming out from having been with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when he saw me he stopped and welcomed me, asking me various questions, as I did him. He asked, 'When did you arrive?'

'I got here yesterday,' I replied. He then went back with me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went inside and said, 'Saʿd b. Mālik b. al-Shahīd is here.' 'Invite him in,' he told him.

"So I entered and greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he did me. He came over to me and asked me various questions about myself and my family, and did so very kindly. I told him, 'Messenger of God, we suffered greatly from the ill-conduct and harsh treatment of ʿAlī.'

"He hesitated and I began enumerating the problems we had had with him and right in the middle of my comments he slapped me on the thigh; I was right next to him. He said, 'Saʿd b. Mālik b. al-Shahīd, tone down what you are saying about your brother ʿAlī! I swear by God, I well know how tough he is in God's cause!' I told myself, 'Saʿd b. Mālik, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! I'm sure to be in his bad books, no matter what! And I'll surely never make a negative reference to him again, confidentially or openly!'"

The chain of transmission for this is good and accords with the criteria of al-Nasāʾī; but none of the authors of the six major collections (of traditions) relate it.

Yūnus quoted from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as follows, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUmar related to me, from Yazīd b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna, who said, 'The army who were with ʿAlī in Yemen became upset that, having made their advance, he then put a deputy in command of them and hurried away to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"This deputy went ahead and dressed every man in a ceremonial robe. When they were on their way to him, ʿAlī came out to receive them and found them wearing their robes. He asked, 'What's all this then?' They replied, 'So-and-so dressed us in them.' He asked, 'What made you do this before coming to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), instead of letting him do as he wished?' And he took away their robes.

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they complained to him about that. These men had previously made a pact of peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he had only sent ʿAlī to collect the *jizya*, 'poll-tax', imposed upon them."

I note that this text is close to that of al-Bayhaqī. Namely, that ʿAlī went on ahead of them because of the pilgrimage, taking a *hadī*,[69] with him and having assumed the state of *iḥrām* for the pilgrimage, with the same intention as the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter ordered ʿAlī to maintain the state of *iḥrām*. In an account of al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, he (ʿAlī?) told him, 'I brought a *hadī* and assumed the *qirān* state for the *ḥajj*."[70]

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[69] An animal – a goat, sheep or, more usually, a camel – brought on the pilgrimage for sacrifice.

[70] The Muslim pilgrim is at liberty to assume a variety of states for the *ḥajj*, one of which is *al-qirān*. For further information see the Glossary and the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

What is implied here is that when there arose the controversy about that army, due to ʿAlī's having prevented them putting the *ṣadaqa* camels to work and then his having withdrawn from them the permission granted by his deputy. Even though ʿAlī could be excused for his actions, talk arose among the pilgrims about him. Therefore, though God knows best, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having completed the pilgrimage and its associated ceremonials, returned to Medina. Passing the stream at Khumm, he arose among the people and made an address. He acquitted ʿAlī of wrongdoing, emphasized his importance and his virtues to remove the negative impression of him held by many. A detailed account of this will follow, in its appropriate place, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, from ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Shabrama, who quoted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Nuʿm as having said that he heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī say, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib sent from Yemen to the Prophet (ṢAAS), in a leather bag a chunk of gold not yet refined from its ore.

"He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), divided it up between four persons: ʿUyayna b. Badr, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and Zayd al-Khayl. The fourth was either ʿAlqama b. ʿUlātha or ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl.

"One of his men said, 'But we had more right to it than they!' That remark reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he said, 'Don't you trust me! Even though I am the one trusted by the One in heaven, who delivers me news of heaven, morning and evening?'

"Thereupon a man arose who had sunken eyes, prominent cheekbones, a high forehead, thick beard, shaved head and who was wearing his waist-wrapper tucked up. He said, 'Messenger of God, fear God!' He responded, 'Confound you, am I not the most God-fearing man of all?' The man then walked away.

"Khālid b. al-Walīd then asked, 'Messenger of God, should I not behead him?' 'No,' he replied, 'he may well be one who prays.'[71] ʿAlī commented, 'But there are many who pray, yet speak with their tongues what is not in their hearts.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I have not been commanded to search the hearts of people, nor to cut open their stomachs.'

"He stared after the man as he walked away, and said, 'From the progeny of this man there will go out people who will recite the Book of God eloquently, but it will not pass beyond their throats. They will exit the faith like an arrow exiting from its target.' I think he also said, 'If I were alive at their time, I would execute them just as Thamūd were killed.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places of his work. Muslim relates it in the section on *zakāt*, "charitable payments", of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, along several lines of transmission from ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqāʿ.

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[71] The comment implies that he is, outwardly at least, a Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā related to him, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatched me to Yemen while I was still young.

"I said, 'You are dispatching me to a people among whom there will be cases (to decide), but I have no knowledge of making judgement.' He replied, 'God will guide your tongue and make your heart firm.'

"And I never had any doubts about judging between any two."

Ibn Māja related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to Yemen. I asked, 'Messenger of God, are you sending me out to people older than myself; I'm still young, and I have no knowledge of reaching judgement.'

"He then placed his hand on my chest and said, 'O God, make his tongue firm and guide his heart. ʿAlī, if you should have two rivals sit down with you, do not judge between them until you hear from the other what you heard from the first; if you act this way, it will be clear to you.'

"And since then I never had doubts about any case." Or the words used were, "And since then I never found any case difficult."

Aḥmad also narrated this, as did Abū Dā'ūd, from various other lines, from Shurayk. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Zāʾida. Both quoted from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanash b. al-Muʿtamir, said to be the son of Rabīʿa al-Kinānī al-Kūfī, from ʿAlī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said that several people had intercourse with a woman in the same period. ʿAlī asked two of them, "Do you find this appropriate?" "No," they replied. ʿAlī then approached the others and asked, "Do you find this appropriate?" They both replied, "No." He then said, "You are quarrelsome partners."

He went on, "I will cast lots between you. Whichever of you has his opponent win will receive two-thirds of the blood-wit, and I will award the child to him."

"This decision was reported to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'I know no more than what ʿAlī said.'"

Aḥmad also stated that Shurayḥ b. al-Nuʿmān related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam (who said) that before ʿAlī, while he was in Yemen, three men were brought who had shared (in the conception of) a child. He drew lots between them and awarded to the one to whom the arrow pointed two-thirds of the *diyya*, and awarded the child to him.

Zayd b. Arqam stated that he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and informed him of ʿAlī's decision, and that he laughed so loudly that his molars were visible.

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Musaddad, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, as did al-Nasāʾī, from ʿAlī b. Ḥujr, from ʿAlī b. Mushir. Both these scholars give their line of transmission from al-Ajlaḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khalīl.

Al-Nasāʾī, in his account from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Khalīl, quotes Zayd b. Arqam as stating, "I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a man from Yemen arrived and said, 'Three men went to ʿAlī in dispute over a child with whose mother they had each had intercourse in one period.' He went on to relate as above and concluded, 'And the Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed.'"

Both scholars – Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī, that is – also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Shaʿbī, from Abū Khalīl or Ibn al-Khalīl, from ʿAlī's words. The source gave an incomplete or improperly transcribed line of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated it, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Khayr, from Zayd b. Arqam. That account is similar to the above. Both Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī gave it from Ḥanash b. Aṣram; Ibn Māja gave it from Isḥāq b. Manṣūr. Both Ḥanash and Isḥāq quote ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ṣāliḥ al-Hamdānī, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Khayr, from Zayd b. Arqam.

Our teacher stated in his work *al-Aṭrāf*, "This 'ʿAbd Khayr' may well be ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khalīl; however, the narrator did not fully specify his name."

I note that if this identification is correct, it strengthens the *ḥadīth*, even though other (narrators) are better because they follow him. However, the al-Ajlaḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kindī in the chain is the subject of some dispute.

Imām Aḥmad accepts the use of casting lots to establish parenthood; this ruling is one of few in which he is alone.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, quoting Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen and we went out to a group of people who had dug a pit to trap lions. While they were actively engaged in doing this, one man fell in and grabbed hold of another man. The second took hold of another, and so on until there were four men in the pit. The lion wounded them all. Then a man rushed at it with a lance and killed it. But all the wounded died from their injuries.

"The heirs of the first man approached those of the second, who took up arms to do battle with them. ʿAlī arrived thereafter and asked, 'Do you really want to fight one another even while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is still alive! I will judge between you. If you accept my decision, then so be it. Otherwise, keep away from one another until you go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and then he can be the one to judge between you. Anyone who commits aggression after that will have no rights.

'Gather from the tribes who had dug the pit camels equivalent to one-quarter, one-third, one-half and one whole *diyya*.[72] To the first victim he awarded one-quarter of a *diyya*, since he had died, one-third of a *diyya* to the second, one-half of a *diyya* to the third and a full *diyya* to the fourth.

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[72] Presumably in this case the *diyya*, "the blood-wit", consisted of the then normal 100 camels of specified age and sex.

"They refused to accept this judgement and went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, 'Abraham's station' at the *kaʿba*, and told him the story. He said, 'I will judge between you.' One man then said, 'Messenger of God, ʿAlī has already reached judgement for us.' They recounted this to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted it."

Imām Aḥmad went on to relate this also from Wakīʿ, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanash, from ʿAlī.

BOOK ON THE ḤIJJAT AL-WADĀʿ, 'THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE', IN 10 AH.

It is also known as the *ḥijjat al-balāgh*, "the message pilgrimage".

It is known as "the farewell pilgrimage" because during it the Prophet (ṢAAS), said goodbye to the people and performed no pilgrimage after it. It is also named *ḥijjat al-Islām*, "the Islam pilgrimage", because the Prophet (ṢAAS) left on no other occasion from Medina to make the pilgrimage, though he had performed pilgrimages a number of times before the prophethood and thereafter.

It is said that the obligation to make the pilgrimage was revealed that year; it is also said that this was in 9 AH, or in 6 AH, or even before the Hijra, though this last is unlikely.

It is called *ḥijjat al-balāgh*, "the message pilgrimage" because in it the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave, both in word and deed, the message to the people concerning God's laws for the pilgrimage. All the bases and fundamentals of Islam, without exception, were made clear by the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he explained and laid out for them the prescribed law for the pilgrimage, God revealed to him as he stood there at Mt. ʿArafāt, "Today I have perfected your faith for you, fulfilled my grace upon you and favoured you with Islam as a religion" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.3).

Clarification of all this will follow.

The purpose here is to relate the manner of the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The early transmitters differ considerably in this, depending upon the information they each received; this is especially true of those sources who lived after the Companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them.

We, thanks be to God and through His help and the success He grants, will relate those accounts given by the Imāms in their works; we will co-ordinate them in such a manner as to please and instruct those who contemplate them, while interpreting the various accounts, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

The community and the scholastic authorities, both early and later, have demonstrated very great interest in the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The scholar Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, may God have mercy upon him, devoted a complete volume to the "farewell pilgrimage". While most of this is excellently done, he did fall into certain mistakes, and we will clarify these in the appropriate places. And in God help is to be sought.

Chapter: Information on the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS), made only one full pilgrimage from Medina, having previously departed for three ʿumra, 'lesser', pilgrimages.

This is as both al-Bukhārī and Muslim related from Hudba, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made four *ʿumra* pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-Qaʿda, except for the one that was during his performance of his (major) pilgrimage."

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this from ʿUmar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Abū Hurayra to the same effect.

Saʿd b. Manṣūr stated, from al-Darāwardī, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three *ʿumra* pilgrimages: one in *shawwāl* and three in Dhū al-qaʿda."

Ibn Bukayr related similarly from Mālik, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three *ʿumra* pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-qaʿda.

Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Dā'ūd – meaning al-ʿAṭṭār – from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made four *ʿumra* pilgrimages: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, that from al-Jiʿrāna, and that coincident with his (major) pilgrimage."

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Dā'ūd al-ʿAṭṭār, and al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan*, "good".

This issue is examined above relative to the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna.[73] It will also be examined in the section on those who stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made the *qirān* pilgrimage simultaneously. And help is to be sought from God.

The first *ʿumra* was that of al-Ḥudaybiyya from which he was blocked. Thereafter came the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, which others name the *ʿumrat al-qiṣās*, "the retaliation pilgrimage", and still others the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*, "the cause pilgrimage". Thereafter came the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, on his return from al-Ṭāʾif, when he divided up the spoils from the battle of Ḥunayn. We have examined all this in the appropriate places above. The fourth was the *ʿumra* he performed along with his major pilgrimage.

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[73] See above, Vol. III, page 496 *et seq.*

We will examine the disagreements between some over his making an *ʿumra* with this pilgrimage – whether it was *mutamattiʿan*,[74] wherein he performed the *ʿumra* prior to the *ḥajj*, or was prevented from being discharged (from the *iḥrām*) by his having brought along a sacrificial animal, or whether this *ʿumra* was as a *qārin*, that is performed simultaneously with his major pilgrimage. We will similarly relate those *aḥādīth* that suggest this, as well as those that say it was performed *mufridan*, that is separate from the major pilgrimage, where he engaged in it after having completed the latter. This is what is maintained by those who consider the *ʿumra* as *ifrād*, that is as a specifically separate pilgrimage, a view widely known to be associated with al-Shāfiʿī.

This will be clarified when we discuss the *iḥrām*, the ritual consecration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and whether it was *mufridan*, *mutamattiʿan* or *muqārin*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAmr b. Khālid related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on nineteen military expeditions and that he performed one full pilgrimage after his Hijra.

Abū Isḥāq said, "And there was another, at Mecca."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr and they both promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Al-Bukhārī and Isrāʾīl added a third source, from Abū Isḥāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabīʿī, from Zayd.

Regarding the comment of Abū Isḥāq to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed another pilgrimage while at Mecca, if what he implies is that he only performed one pilgrimage there, as is the apparent meaning of his statement, then he is far from correct.

The Prophet (ṢAAS), after the declaration of his mission, would attend the pilgrimage ceremonies and invite people to God, asking for assistance in announcing the words of his Lord, since Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. This went on until God led to him the community of the *anṣār* who met with him on the night of *al-ʿAqaba*, that is the evening of the animal sacrifice at the meeting at *al-ʿAqaba*, for three successive years. Eventually, in the final year, they pledged allegiance to him, on the second night at *al-ʿAqaba* of their third meeting with him. Thereafter came the Hijra to Medina. We have detailed all this in its appropriate place. And God knows best.

In the *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh is quoted as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for nine years without making a pilgrimage. He then made an announcement to the people that there would be a pilgrimage. A large number of people gathered in Medina, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth four or five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda. When he was at

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[74] The *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* is when the pilgrim does not bring an animal for sacrifice, and assumes the *iḥrām* state only for the *ʿumra*. Thereafter, to perform the *ḥajj* proper, the pilgrim re-establishes the *iḥrām* state and is required to slaughter a *hadī*.

Dhū al-Ḥulayfa he performed the prayers. He then mounted his camel and it stood up with him. When it moved off with him into the desert,[75] he called out *labbayka*! "I am at Your service!" At this we recited the *al-talbiyya*,[76] thinking only of the pilgrimage."

This *ḥadīth* will be given in full. It is in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim; the above is the phraseology given by al-Bayhaqī, from a line through Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Chapter: On the date of the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS), from Medina on the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ.

This followed his appointment of Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha al-Sāʿidī in command of Medina. Others give the name of Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī, both names being given by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When Dhū al-Qaʿda of 10 AH arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made preparations to leave on the pilgrimage, and ordered his people to do so too.

"ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the pilgrimage five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda.'"

This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Mālik related this in his work *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣ ārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿĀʾisha. Imām Aḥmad related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra.

It is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in the *sunan* of al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja and the *muṣannaf* of Ibn Abū Shayba, from various lines of transmission, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, intent solely on making the *ḥajj*." This *ḥadīth* will be given in full hereafter.

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[75] The word used is *al-baydāʾ*, "desert". However, some interpret this word in this context to refer to a place by that same name; see page 153 *et seq.*

[76] The word used is the verb *ahalla*. It means in this context to recite the following, which is known as the *al-talbiyya*:

Labbayka Allāumma labbayk
Labbayka lā sharīka laka labbayk
Inna al-ḥamda wan-niʿmata laka wa al-mulk
Lā sharīka lak

This translates as:

I am at Your service, O God,
I am at Your service.
I am at Your service; You have no associate; I am at your service.
Praise and blessings are Yours. And all power is Yours.
And You have no associate.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ᶜUqba, quoting Kurayb, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) started out from Medina after he had dressed and oiled his hair, put on his *izār*, his loose waist-wrapper, and his *ridā᾿*, his loose upper wrapper. He forbad only the wearing of such garments that had been stained with saffron that might scent the skin. Arising in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he mounted his camel and rode on till he reached al-Baydā᾿. He reached Mecca five days after the commencement of Dhū al-Ḥijja."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Regarding the statement that the departure was five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaᶜda, if he is referring to being at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa in the morning, then Ibn Ḥazm is correct in claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) left Medina on Thursday and spent the night of Friday at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. Thus he would have been there in the morning of Friday, that being the 25th of Dhū al-Qaᶜda.

If Ibn ᶜAbbās means by his reference to the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having been on the fifth day of Dhū al-Qaᶜda, following his having dressed and oiled his hair and put on his upper and lower pilgrimage garb, as ᶜĀ᾿isha and Jābir stated, and that they left from Medina five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaᶜda, then Ibn Ḥazm's statement is improbable and unacceptable and should be replaced by another. That would be applicable only to Friday, if the month of Dhū al-Qaᶜda were complete.

It is not possible for the departure to have been on Friday, according to what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, "Mūsā b. Ismāᶜīl related to us, quoting Wahayb, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'While we were with him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer of four *rakaᶜāt* in Medina, and the *al-ᶜaṣr* prayer of two *rakaᶜāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent the night there and next morning mounted his camel and rode it away to al-Baydā᾿, gave praise to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, invoked His greatness and then spoke the *talbīyya* for the pilgrimage and an *ᶜumra*.'"

Both Muslim and al-Nasā᾿ī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas b. Mālik, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, with four *rakaᶜāt* at Medina and the *al-ᶜaṣr* prayer, with two *rakaᶜāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

Aḥmad stated that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān, from Muḥammad – meaning Ibn al-Munkadir – and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, with four *rakaᶜāt* at Medina and the *al-ᶜaṣr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two.

Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū Nuᶜaym, from Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – and Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā᾿ī promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ᶜUyayna, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) performed with us the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, with four prostrations in Medina and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, with two prostrations, at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent that night at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa until morning. When he mounted his camel and it stood up, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir al-Taymī, from Anas b. Mālik al-Anṣārī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with us in his mosque in Medina the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with four. He then performed with us the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two – in safety and having no fear – about the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*."

Aḥmad was alone in giving this from these two lines of transmission; both accord with the criteria established for a *ḥadīth* being considered *ṣaḥīḥ*.

This absolutely precludes the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having occurred on the Friday.

Nevertheless, it is not possible for his departure to have taken place on Thursday, as Ibn Ḥazm stated, because that day would have been the 24th of Dhū al-Qaʿda. For there is no dispute over the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja having been a Thursday, because of what is established both by sequencing and by consensus, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stood upon Mt. ʿArafāt on Friday, that being unquestionably the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

If his departure had been on Thursday, the 24th of Dhū al-Qaʿda, then there would definitely have remained six days of that month, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. These total six days.

Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀʾisha and Jābir all stated that he left with five days remaining of Dhū al-Qaʿda. And it is impossible for that to have been Friday, according to the *ḥadīth* of Anas. Therefore, it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina on Saturday and that the narrator thought that the month was of complete length.[77] It so happened, however, that that year it was shorter, the Wednesday having been dropped and Dhū al-Ḥijja having begun on the night of Thursday. This is substantiated by what is given in Jābir's narration – that the departure was five or four days before the end (of Dhū al-Qaʿda).

This determination made by this calculation is unavoidable and incontrovertible. But God knows best.

Chapter: A description of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Medina to Mecca for the pilgrimage.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, quoting Anas b. ʿIyād, from ʿUbayd Allāh – he being Ibn ʿUmar – from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would leave down Shajara Street and enter by al-Muʿarras Street. And that whenever he left for

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[77] That is, of 30 days.

Mecca, he would pray at the al-Shajara mosque and on his return he would pray at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, in the centre of the valley, where he would spend the night until morning.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "I found in my book the statement from ʿAmr b. Mālik, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Hishām, from ʿAzra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) set off on the pilgrimage mounted on a tattered saddle beneath which was a piece of cloth. And he said, '(It is to be) a pilgrimage devoid of eye service or reputation-seeking.'"

Al-Bukhārī commented upon this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection stating, "And Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from ʿAzra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, who said, 'Anas rode away on the pilgrimage on a decrepit old saddle, and he was not stingy. He related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had departed for the pilgrimage on a mount that had been his baggage transport.'"

Al-Bazzār related it similarly along with al-Bukhārī, as commentary and with its line of authority truncated at its beginning.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave a full line of authority for it in his *sunan* collection. He stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muqriʾ informed us, quoting Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Qāḍī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ..." And he proceeded to give the *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, in his *musnad* gave it from a different line – from Anas b. Mālik. He stated, "ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd related to us, quoting al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ, from Yazīd al-Raqāshī, from Anas, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage on a worn-out saddle and cloth worth' – or 'not worth' – 'four dirhams. And he said, "O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service."'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this in his work *al-Shamāʾil* from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, all three of them quoting from al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ.

This line of transmission is weak as regards Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāshī; he is not viewed as an acceptable narrator by the *imāms*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim related to him, quoting Isḥāq b. Saʿīd, from his father, who said, "I set out with Ibn ʿUmar and a Yemeni group passed by us. Their saddles were of leather and the muzzles of their camels were made of woven grass. ʿAbd Allāh commented, 'Anyone wanting to see a group similar to that going with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions on their way to the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* should look at that party.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Hannād, from Wakīʿ, from Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abū Ṭāhir al-Faqīh, Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Isḥāq, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, and Abū

Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr all said, "Abū al-ʿAbbās – he being al-Aṣamm – related to us, quoting Saʿīd b. Bashīr al-Qurashī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī – a man of Yemen, one of their freed-men – from Bishr b. Qudāma al-Ḍibābī, who said, 'My eyes saw my beloved Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned among the people on ʿArafāt mounted on a red camel he had, Qaṣwāʾ, with a piece of *būlānī* cloth beneath him. He was saying, "O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service, competitiveness or reputation-seeking." And the people were saying, "This is the Messenger of God."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs related to us, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from his father, (who said) that Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr said, 'We set out with the Prophet (ṢAAS) to make the pilgrimage. When we reached al-ʿArj,[78] the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted. ʿĀʾisha sat down beside him, and I sat next to my father. The baggage camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of Abū Bakr were one and the same, being conducted by a slave of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr sat waiting for the latter to appear with it. Eventually, he did appear, but he had no baggage camel with him. Abū Bakr asked, "Where's your camel?" He replied, "I lost it yesterday." Abū Bakr commented, "Just one baggage camel and you lost it!" And he began striking him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, "Just look at that *muḥrim* pilgrim and how he behaves!"'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it thus, from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Razama. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. All three gave ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs as its first narrator.

And then there is the *ḥadīth* related by Abū Bakr b. al-Bazzār in his *musnad* collection. He stated that it was related to him by Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān, quoting Ḥamza al-Zayyāt, from Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Abū Saʿīd, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage with his Companions on foot, from Medina to Mecca. They had gathered their garments up and tied them around their waists and their pace was a mixture of jogging and walking."

This is an objectionable *ḥadīth* and its line of transmission is weak. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt is a weak source and his teacher was a person whose traditions were not accepted. Al-Bazzār stated, "This is related only from this line; we nevertheless consider its line of transmission to be *ḥasan*, 'good'. The implication here is that they were on an *ʿumra* pilgrimage, if the *ḥadīth* is sound, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only went on one *ḥijja* pilgrimage, and he rode, though some of his Companions went on foot."

I observe that the Prophet (ṢAAS) never once went on a pilgrimage on foot, not at al-Ḥudaybiyya, not that of *al-qaḍāʾ*, nor that from al-Jiʿrāna, nor the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.

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[78] A halt on the road from Medina to Mecca.

The circumstances and fame of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were such that his having done this could not have been unknown to people. In fact, this *ḥadīth* is objectionable, highly unlikely, and bizarre. But God knows best.

DIVISION

It is shown above that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr*, "noon", prayer of four *raka῾āt* and then rode from there to al-Ḥulayfa, in the al-῾Aqīq valley, where he performed an *῾aṣr*, "late afternoon", prayer of two *raka῾āt.*

It is indicated that he came to al-Ḥulayfa during the day time, at late afternoon, and that there he performed the *al-῾aṣr* prayer in shortened form. That place is some three miles from Medina. He later performed the *al-maghrib* prayer and stayed there overnight.

Next morning he prayed there with his Companions and told them that during the night he had received revelation on which he would depend in determining his state of *iḥrām.*

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to us, quoting Zuhayr, from Mūsā b. ῾Uqba, from Sālim b. ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar, from ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), (who said) that he had received a revelation in al-Mu῾arras (Street) at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and he had been told, 'You are in a sacred valley.'"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ῾Uqba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting al-Walīd and Bishr b. Bakr, both of whom stated, "Al-Awzā῾ī related to us, quoting Yaḥyā, quoting ῾Ikrima, (who said) that he heard Ibn ῾Abbās (say) that he heard ῾Umar saying, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-῾Aqīq, "Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, 'Pray in this blessed valley, and say, "(Let it be) an *῾umra* within a *ḥijja.*"'"'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not.

It is obvious that the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that prayer be performed in Wādī al-῾Aqīq and that this constituted a command to remain there until he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. This is because the instruction only came to him during the night and he informed them after the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. Only the *al-ẓuhr* prayer was to remain, and so he ordered them to perform it there and to institute the state of *iḥrām* thereafter.

This is why he stated, "Tonight I received a visitation on behalf of my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. (The Messenger) said, 'Pray in this holy valley, and say, "It is an *῾umra* within a *ḥijja.*"'"

On the basis of the above, an argument has been made in favour of performing the *῾umra* with the *ḥijja*, and this is one of the strongest indications of this. Elucidation of this will come shortly hereafter.

What is implied here is that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was ordered to remain in the al-ʿAqīq valley until the *al-ẓuhr* prayer; he obeyed this and did remain there. That morning he visited each of his wives, nine in number. They had all set out with him. He did remain there until he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. This will be shown in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then dressed his sacrificial animal in ceremonial decorations, mounted up and recited the *talbiyya*.

Imām Aḥmad, similarly, stated, "Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ashʿath – he being Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik – from al-Ḥasan, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer and then mounted his camel. When he was above al-Baydāʾ, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; al-Nasāʾī did so from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, from Ashʿath to the same effect, and from Aḥmad b. al-Azhar, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Ashʿath, in a more complete version.

This *ḥadīth* gives a refutation of Ibn Ḥazm, in that the latter claimed that the above (departure) occurred early in the day.

His view is that reliance should be placed upon the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī through Ayyūb, from "a man", from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and next morning performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer there, and mounted his camel that took him to al-Baydāʾ, where he recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*, after which he performed the pilgrimage.

However, in the line of transmission for this there is one narrator who is an unidentified man; it seems clear that this was Abū Qilāba. But God knows best.

Muslim stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥārithī related to him, quoting Khālid – meaning Ibn al-Ḥārith – quoting Shuʿba, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir, who said that he heard his father quote ʿĀʾisha as saying, "I would perfume the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would then make the rounds to his wives. Next morning, he would adopt the *iḥrām* state, sprinkling himself with perfume."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAwāna. (Al-Bukhārī), Muslim, Misʿar and Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī, all four of them, (also) gave it from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir.

In an account of Muslim, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir quotes his father as saying, "I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar about a man putting on perfume and adopting the *iḥrām* state. He replied, 'I don't like to adopt the *iḥrām* state sprinkling myself with perfume; I would much rather anoint myself with aloes-wood perfume rather than do that!' ʿĀʾisha commented, 'But I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he adopted the *iḥrām* state. He would then make the rounds to his wives and after that would become *muḥrim*.'"

This wording related by Muslim requires the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to put on perfume before he went around to his wives, this being more pleasant for himself and something they liked. Then, after he had washed himself following *janāba*, "sexual discharge", and preparatory to adopting the *iḥrām* state, he would put on another perfume for the *iḥrām*.

This is how al-Tirmidhī and al-Bayhaqī related it, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād, from his father, from Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit, from his father, who said that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disrobe to recite the *talbiyya* and wash himself.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan gharīb*, "good and unilateral".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Zakariyyā' b. ʿAdī informed him, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to adopt the state of *iḥrām*, he would wash his head with marshmallow plant and potash[79] and then lightly oil it."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, may God have mercy on him, stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, from ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwa (who said that) he heard his father say, "I heard ʿĀ'isha say, 'I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for both his *iḥrām* and *iḥlāl* states'. I asked her, 'What perfume did you use?' 'The very best perfume,' she replied."

Muslim related this, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, and al-Bukhārī quoted it from a *ḥadīth* of Wahb, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his brother ʿUthmān, from his father ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "I would perfume the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for the *iḥrām* when he would adopt that state, as well as for the *iḥlāl*, prior to his circumambulating the *kaʿba*."

Muslim stated that ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrwa related to him that he heard ʿUrwa and al-Qāsim, who both related that ʿĀ'isha stated, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with my own hands, using *dharīra*[80] on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, for both his states of *iḥlāl* and *iḥrām*."

Muslim also related, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with these two hands of mine both for his *iḥrām* when he adopted that and for his *iḥlāl* state before he circumambulated the *kaʿba*."

Muslim stated that Aḥmad b. Manīʿ and Yaʿqūb al-Dawraqī both related to him, that Hushaym related to them, quoting Manṣūr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

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[79] The Arabic words given are *al-khatamī* and *al-ʿushnān*; the Arabic printed edition suggests in a footnote that these words referred to "two varieties of plants".

[80] A footnote in the Arabic printed text defines this as a kind of perfume and goes on to quote al-Nawawī as saying that it is of Indian origin.

al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who stated, "I would put perfume on the Prophet (ṢAAS), before he would adopt the *iḥrām* or the *iḥlāl* state, as well as on the day of the slaughter of the sacrificial animals. I would use a perfume that had musk in it."

Muslim stated that both Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to him, saying, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'It is as if I can still see the shine of the musk on the partings in the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he recited the *talbiyya*."

Then Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī and others, from al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It is as if I can see now the shine of the musk in the hair parting of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in the *iḥrām* state."

Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Muslim did so from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash. Both of these gave it from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, quoting ʿĀʾisha.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Ashʿath informed him, from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine of the perfume at the roots of the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in a state of *iḥrām*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine in the parting of the hair of the Prophet (ṢAAS), after several days, he being in an *iḥrām* state."

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, quoting ʿAṭā b. al-Sāʾib, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I saw the perfume in the parting of the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after three days, he being in an *iḥrām* state."

These accounts show that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wore perfume after washing. For if the perfume had been applied before the washing, it would have been removed by it and not a trace of it would have remained, especially three days after his adoption of the *iḥrām* state.

A group of the early authorities, including Ibn ʿUmar, express their disapproval of using perfume while in the *iḥrām* state.

We have related this *ḥadīth* through Ibn ʿUmar, from ʿĀʾisha. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān – in Baghdād – informed him, quoting Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-ʿAmr, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that was of fine, expensive quality when he adopted the *iḥrām* state."

This line of transmission is *gharīb*, "unilateral", but it is from sound sources.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then braided (the hair of) his head so that it would better retain the perfume and protect it from retaining the dirt and dust.

Mālik stated, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that Ḥafṣa, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, "Messenger of God, how is it that some people have freed themselves from the *iḥrām* of the *'umra*, while you have not?" He replied, "I have braided my hair and put necklaces on my sacrificial animal; I shall therefore not adopt the *iḥlāl* state until I have made the sacrifice."

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) promulgated this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; it has many lines of transmission back to Nāfi'.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim related to him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Qawārīrī, quoting 'Abd al-A'lā, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) braided his (hair on his) head using honey."

The chain of authorities for this is excellent.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then made a sign signifying that his *hadī* was for the sacrifice and hung that sign around its neck; the animal was with him at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

Al-Layth stated, from 'Aqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *tamattu'* at the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. He then selected an animal for sacrifice and led that *hadī* forth with him from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

This *ḥadīth*, given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, will be quoted hereafter in full, along with commentary upon it, if God so wills it.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related, quoting Mu'ādh b. Hishām – he being al-Dastuwā'ī – quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he called for his (sacrificial) camel to be brought and that he made a sign on the right surface of its hump, pressed out some of its blood and hung a pair of shoes around its neck. He then mounted his riding camel.

The *ahl al-sunan* narrated this through various lines from Qatāda.

This shows that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed this marking and neck decoration with his very own hands on this sacrificial camel, while others undertook the marking and decorating of the other sacrificial animals. For he had with him a large number of animals for sacrifice, 100, or close thereto. He himself sacrificed by his own hand 63 animals and allowed 'Alī to slaughter the remainder.

In a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, it is said that 'Alī brought to the Prophet (ṢAAS) animals from Yemen for the sacrifice.

In the text of Ibn Isḥāq it is said that he shared his sacrificial animals with ʿAlī. But God knows best. Others state that on the day of the slaughter, he and ʿAlī sacrificed 100 animals.

In this case, he would have brought them with him from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; although he could have purchased them thereafter while he was in the *iḥrām* state.

Chapter: the place from which the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya*; the differing views on this expressed by the sources. And the likely truth regarding this.*

REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) ADOPTED THE IḤRĀM FROM THE MOSQUE AT DHŪ AL-ḤULAYFA AFTER THE PRAYER.

Hereabove there has been given the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī from that of al-Awzāʿī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar, who stated, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-ʿAqīq, 'Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, "Pray in this holy valley and say, '(Let it be) an *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja*.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled *Chapter on the recitation of the talbīyya at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa*.

He goes on to state, "ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh as follows, and also ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to us, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh as follows, saying that he heard his father say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbīyya* from at the mosque.'" This meant the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

The community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, related this, from various lines, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Also there is an account given by Muslim, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim and Nāfiʿ and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, all three quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. He related as above, but added, "And he said, 'Labbayka, labbayk! "At Your service, O God, at Your service!"'"

In one account given by both scholars through Mālik, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoted Sālim as saying, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated, 'Regarding this *bayḍāʾ*[81] of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he actually only recited the *talbīyya* from near the mosque!'"

A statement fully contradicting this is also related from Ibn ʿUmar, as will come in the next section. Namely, the report cited in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a line through Mālik, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from ʿUbayd b.

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[81] An elevated position from which, according to some sources, the Prophet (ṢAAS) began chanting the *talbiyya*.

Jurayḥ, from Ibn ῾Umar. Therein he relates a *ḥadīth* in which ῾Abd Allāh stated, "Regarding the recitation of the *talbīyya*, I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite it before his mount set off with him."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya῾qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Khuṣayb b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazarī, from Sa῾īd b. Jubayr, who said, "I asked ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Abbās, 'Abū al-῾Abbās, 'It's strange that the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should differ over his recitation of the *talbīyya*, over when he made it obligatory.'

"He replied, 'I know better than anyone about that. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed just one *ḥijja*; that's why they differ.

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to make the pilgrimage. After performing the prayer, of two *raka῾āt* in his mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, it was while in his seat that he made it obligatory. He recited the *talbīyya* for the pilgrimage when he had completed his two *raka῾āt*; people heard him do this and remembered it. He then mounted up, and when his camel stood, he recited the *talbīyya*. Various people knew he did so; that was because they were arriving in groups. These people heard him make the recitation when his mount stood upright; they said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbīyya* once his mount had stood upright."

"'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on. And when he was at a point overlooking al-Baydā᾿, he recited the *talbīyya*. Various people knew he did this and so they concluded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbīyya* once he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā᾿." But, I swear by God, in fact it was while he was in his chapel that he made it obligatory; he recited the *talbīyya* when his camel stood up with him, and he also made the recitation when he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā᾿.'"

There are those who accept the statement of ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Abbās that the Prophet (ṢAAS), did recite the *talbīyya* in his chapel after he had completed his two *raka῾āt*; al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā᾿ī both related this from Qutayba, from ῾Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb, from Khuṣayf, in a similar account.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized that *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan gharīb*, "good and unilateral"; we know of no one except ῾Abd al-Salām who related this. He stated this, even though the account had been related previously by Imām Aḥmad, through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, back to him (Khuṣayf). Similarly, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Qaṭī῾ī, from ῾Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, from his father. He then stated, "Khuṣayf al-Jazarī is not a strong source. And al-Wāqidī related it, with a line of transmission of his own, from Ibn ῾Abbās." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "However, it is not purposeful to follow al-Wāqidī; the accounts relating to this subject from ῾Umar and others have firm and strong supports. But God, Almighty is He, knows best."

I comment that if this *ḥadīth* is authentic, what it contains provides a synthesis between these accounts that differ and it also provides excuse for those who related what was contrary to the actual facts. However, there is some weakness in its line of transmission. Moreover, statements have also been attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar that contradict what is related above from them, as we will show and interpret.

Thus there are the reports of those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed a prayer of four *rakaʿāt* in Medina then another of two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent the night and was there next morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; when he mounted his camel and it stood upright, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan*, along various lines of transmission, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from ʿUbayd b. Jurayj, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "Regarding the recitation of the *talbiyya*, I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite it until his mount set off with him."

Both scholars promulgated in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from an account of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would mount his camel at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and he then recited the *talbiyya* when it stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section: *Chapter of those who recited the talbiyya when their camels stood upright.*

He went on, "Abū ʿĀṣim related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood upright bearing him."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Mushir, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his foot in the stirrup and his mount stood up bearing him, he recited the *talbiyya* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa."

Muslim is alone in relating this through this line. Both scholars related it from a different line, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ.

Al-Bukhārī went on to head a section: *Chapter on reciting the talbiyya facing towards the qibla.*

He went on, "Abū Maʿmar stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, who said, 'When Ibn ʿUmar prayed in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he ordered his mount to be brought. It was saddled and he mounted it. When it stood up bearing him, he would face the *qibla*. He would then ride on, reciting the *talbiyya* until he reached the *ḥaram*, "the sacred precincts of Mecca". He would then cease the recitation until he reached Dhū Ṭuwā,[82] where he would spend the night until morning. After performing the morning prayer, he would take a bath; he claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done this.'"

He then stated, "Ismāʿīl agreed with him, quoting Ayyūb, concerning the taking of a bath."

Al-Bukhārī also included this *ḥadīth* in his section on the pilgrimage, from Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. In his line of transmission, the *ḥadīth* comes from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ismāʿīl, he being Ibn ʿUliyya.

Muslim related it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Ismāʿīl, and also from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, and others, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, each of these three deriving it from Ayyūb, from Abū Tamīma al-Sakhtīyānī. Abū Dā'ūd related it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿUliyya.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Sulaymān Abū al-Rabīʿ related to him, quoting Fulayḥ, from Nāfiʿ, who said, "When (ʿAbd Allāh) Ibn ʿUmar was about to proceed to Mecca, he would put on a scentless pomade. He would then go to the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, perform the prayer, then mount up. When his camel stood upright, bearing him, he declared himself to be in the *iḥrām* state. He then said, 'This is what I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Muslim narrated as follows from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, from his father, who said, "Regarding this 'al-Baydāʾ' of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he actually only recited the *talbiyya* from near by the tree, when his camel stood up there bearing him."

This *ḥadīth* gives a combination between the first narrative of Ibn ʿUmar and these accounts about him. Namely, that the declaration of the *iḥrām* state was made at the mosque, but after he had mounted his camel and it had stood up bearing him at *al-Baydāʾ*, this word here meaning "the open land". And that was prior to his arrival at the place known as al-Baydāʾ.

Al-Bukhārī stated thereafter, in another section, that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting Kurayb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), proceeded out from Medina after he had combed and oiled his hair and after he and his Companions had put on their *izār*, 'upper body wraps', and their *ridāʾ*, 'waist-wraps'. He did not forbid the wearing of any kind of material for these garments except those treated with saffron, since they might leave scent on the skin. When he reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he mounted his camel and rode it to al-Baydāʾ, where he and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* and placed garlands around the necks of the camels for sacrifice. This occurred five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda. He proceeded on to Mecca, reaching there four days into Dhū al-Ḥijja. He then circumambulated the *kaʿba* and made the *saʿi*,[83] 'the passage'. He did not declare his state of *iḥrām* ended, since he had a sacrificial camel and had placed a garland on it. He then dismounted at the heights of Mecca at al-Ḥajūn, still being in the *iḥrām* state for the pilgrimage. He did not again approach the *kaʿba*, after having circumambulated it, until he returned from Mt. ʿArafāt. At that time he told his Companions to circumambulate the *kaʿba* to pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, to cut their hair short and to conclude their state of *iḥrām*. This applied only to those who had not brought sacrificial camels and had not placed garlands around the necks of the animals. Those accompanied by their wives were then allowed to approach them, and to use perfume and wear their normal clothing."

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[82] A location near Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Bahz b. Asad, Ḥajjāj, Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, and ʿAffān b. Muslim, all of whom quoted Shuʿba as stating, "Qatāda informed me as follows, 'I heard Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj al-Ajrad – he being Muslim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī – quote Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, then called for his sacrificial camel. He stripped off the hair from the surface of its right hump and blood flowed from it. He then garlanded it with two sandals and asked that his riding camel be brought. When it bore him off to above al-Baydāʾ, he recited the *talbiyya* for the pilgrimage."'"

He related this also from Hushaym, who said, "Our men, including Shuʿba, informed us . . ." He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* in similar form.

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Rawḥ, Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī and Wakīʿ b. Jarrāḥ, all of them quoting Hishām al-Dastawāʾī, from Qatāda, in similar form.

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from this same line and the *ahl al-sunan* also quote it in their books.

These various lines of transmission quoting Ibn ʿAbbās as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up bearing him, are more secure and sound than the account of Khuṣayf al-Jazarī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr. But God knows best.

This is also true of the account that affirms and explains that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbīyya* when his mount proceeded on ahead of the other camel; this implies probability that what he meant was that he declared himself in the *iḥrām* state at the mosque when his mount arose bearing him. The account relating his riding on his mount gives more information than the other. But God knows best.

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[83] This rite is a necessary part of both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. It consists of *al-saʿi*, "walking" or "moving", seven times between the hillocks al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. This commemorates the frenzied running of Abraham's wife Hagar seven times from one of these hills to the other hoping to catch sight of a caravan that might provide water for her child Ismāʿīl. Ultimately the well *zamzam* miraculously appeared at her son Ismāʿīl's feet.

The account of Anas relating to that is free from objections, as is that of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, through Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, from his father, from Abū al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, from Jābir, in his lengthy *ḥadīth* that will be related hereafter. It is to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his mount arose bearing him. This account, too, is unexceptionable. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī related through al-Awzāʿī as follows, "I heard ʿAṭā᾽ say, on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the recitation of the *talbiyya* by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa when his mount stood up bearing him."

Regarding the *ḥadīth* that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār related, from Abū al-Zinād, from ʿĀ᾽isha, daughter of Saʿd. She said, "Saʿd stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he set off along the al-Farʿ road, recited the *talbiyya* as his camel bore him away. When he took another route, he recited the *talbiyya* when he overlooked al-Bayḍā᾽.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq; it has strange and objectionable aspects. But God knows best.

These various lines of authority indicate the certainty or the high probability that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted the *iḥrām* state after the prayer and after mounting his camel and it had begun to move away. In his account Ibn ʿUmar adds, ". . . while facing the *qibla*, 'towards the *kaʿba*'."

Chapter: On a discussion and examination of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage, whether as the ḥajj al-ifrād, the al-tamattuʿ, or the al-qirān.[84]

Accounts indicating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-ifrād.

The account of ʿĀ᾽isha, "mother of the Believers", concerning this.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī stated that Mālik informed him, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, quoting his father, who quoted ʿĀ᾽isha as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Muslim related this from Ismāʿīl, from Abū Uways and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik. Imām Aḥmad related this from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Mālik.

Aḥmad stated that Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā related to him, quoting al-Munkadir b. Muḥammad, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

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[84] These terms refer to the three different ways the pilgrimage may be performed. The *ḥajj al-ifrād* is when the pilgrim assumes the *iḥrām* state with the intent of performing only the *ḥajj* and not the *ʿumra* at the same time. The *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* is when the pilgrim has no *hadī*, "sacrificial animal", and assumes the *iḥrām* state only to perform the *ʿumra*. Having completed the *ʿumra*, the pilgrim acquires a *hadī* and resumes the *iḥrām* state to perform the *ḥajj*. The *ḥajj al-qirān* is when a pilgrim has a *hadī*, assumes the *iḥrām* state once only and performs both the *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj* in sequence.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from ʿAlqama, from his father, quoting his mother, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha. All three accounts quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Aḥmad is alone in quoting ʿĀʾisha from these lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to him, "I studied under Mālik b. Anas (the following *ḥadīth*) from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*.'"

He (Aḥmad) went on to state that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal, an orphan in the care of ʿUrwa, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Ibn Māja related this from Abū Muṣʿab, from Mālik, in this way.

Al-Nasāʾī related it from Qutayba, from Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*."

Aḥmad also stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some of us recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, others of us did so for the *ʿumra*, while some did so both for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. Those who did so for the *ʿumra* declared their *iḥrām* state at an end when they had circumambulated the *kaʿba* and had traversed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Those who did so for the *ḥajj* or for the *ʿumra* did not declare their *iḥrām* state concluded until the *yawm al-naḥr*, the day when the sacrificial animals were slaughtered."

Al-Bukhārī related it thus from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, al-Quʿaynī and Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways, (all) quoting from Mālik. Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik.

Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, while others did so for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*; yet others did so for the *ʿumra*."

Muslim related it from Ibn Abū ʿUmar, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna in similar form.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* of Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad, from ʿAlqama b. Abū ʿAlqama, from his mother, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave instructions to the people on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. He said, 'Those who wish to perform an *ʿumra* prior to the *ḥajj* should do so.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* and did not perform the *ʿumra*."

This *ḥadīth* is very strange. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is alone in giving it. Its line of transmission is not bad, but one phrase in it is completely unacceptable, namely, "and he did not perform the *ʿumra*".

If by this it is meant that he did not perform the *ʿumra* either along with the *ḥajj* or prior to it, then the statement agrees with those who say he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. If it means that he did not perform the *ʿumra* at all, neither before, with or after the *ḥajj*, then I am unaware of any scholar who would support it. Moreover, this would contradict authentic statements of ʿĀʾisha and others to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did perform four *ʿumra*, all of them in Dhū al-Qaʿda, except for that performed along with his *ḥijja*.

Discussion of this will follow in detail in the section discussing the *ḥajj al-qirān*. But God knows best.

The same applies to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar, quoting Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ʿUrwa informed him that ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, and he led his *hadī* with him. (Some) people with him recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and led their sacrificial animals; other people recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and did not lead sacrificial animals."

ʿĀʾisha went on, "I was among those who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and I did not lead a *hadī*.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived (in Mecca), he said, 'Those of you who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and led a *hadī* should circumambulate the *kaʿba* and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; nothing for which you have declared the *iḥrām* will be permitted until you have completed the *ḥajj* and sacrificed your animal on the day for the slaughter. Those of you who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and did not lead with you an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate the *kaʿba*, pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; you may then shorten your hair and declare your *iḥrām* concluded. You may then recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and lead an animal for sacrifice. Those unable to do this may fast for three days on the *ḥajj* and for seven days when you return to your family.'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave priority for the *ḥajj* that he feared he might miss, and postponed the *ʿumra*."

This is one of the *aḥādīth* unique to Imām Aḥmad; some of its phraseology is objectionable. For some of it there is testimony in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar is not considered one of the prime companions of al-Zuhrī, especially when others, as in some of the phraseology of his text here, contradict him.

The quotation, "He gave priority to the *ḥajj* that he feared he might miss and postponed the *ʿumra*" does not fit with the beginning of the *ḥadīth* that states, "he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*."

If what he meant is that he recited the *talbiyya* for both together, then gave priority to the performance of the *ḥajj* and thereafter, having finished it, recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, as is maintained by those who say he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*, then that accords with our view here.

If what is meant is that he postponed the *ʿumra*, after having declared himself in the *iḥrām* state for it, then this is a view held by no scholar known to me. If the account means that he found performing the *ḥajj* enough to dispense with those of the *ʿumra*, and that the *ʿumra* was combined into the *ḥajj*, then the statement supports those who maintain that he performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*. These latter give preference to those who relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave precedence to the *ḥajj*, to the performance of the *ḥajj*, that is, even though he also purposed that of the *ʿumra*. These scholars maintain, "All sources saying he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* also narrate his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*." This will be shown hereafter. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

The Account of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh supporting his having performed the ḥajj al-ifrād.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* on his pilgrimage."

The line of transmission for this is excellent and conforms with the criteria of Muslim.

Al-Bayhaqī related this from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* on his pilgrimage for the *ḥajj* with no *ʿumra* along with it."

This addition is very strange. The account of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is more appropriate. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim an account is related through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, who said, "We recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*; we did not know of the *ʿumra*."

Ibn Māja narrated, from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from al-Darāwardī and Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, who both quoted Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad from his father, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*." This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī, quoting Ḥabīb – al-Muʿallim, that is – from ʿAṭāʾ, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*; none of them had a sacrificial animal with him, except for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and Ṭalḥa."

He proceeded to quote the rest of the *ḥadīth*, which is given in full in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, as will be given, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Muththanā, from ῾Abd al-Wahhāb.

The Account of ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar regarding the ḥajj al-ifrād.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā῾īl b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting ῾Abbād – meaning Ibn ῾Abbād – quoting ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar, from Nāfi῾, from Ibn ῾Umar, who said, "We recited the *talbiyya* with the Prophet (ṢAAS) for the *ḥajj* alone."

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Awn, from ῾Abbād b. ῾Abbād, from ῾Ubayd Allāh b. ῾Umar, from Nāfi῾, from Ibn ῾Umar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* alone.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Ḥasan b. ῾Abd al-῾Azīz and Muḥammad b. Miskīn, both of whom said that Bishr b. Bakr related to them, quoting Sa῾īd b. ῾Abd al-῾Azīz b. Zayd b. Aslam, from Ibn ῾Umar, who said that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*" – meaning as a *mufrid*.

The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major scholars) did not promulgate it.

The Account of Ibn ῾Abbās for the ḥajj al-ifrād.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. ῾Ubāda, from Shu῾ba, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-῾Āliyya al-Barā᾿, from Ibm ῾Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and arrived (in Mecca) four days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja. He performed the *subḥ* prayer with us in al-Baṭḥā᾿ and then said, 'Those who wish to make it an *῾umra* should do so.'"

He then stated, "Muslim narrated it, from Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār, from Ibn Rawḥ."

It has been given above, from an account of Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-A῾raj, from Ibn ῾Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. Thereafter his sacrificial camel was brought, and he stripped the hair from the right surface of its hump. His riding camel was then brought and he mounted it. When it bore him away and he was overlooking al-Baydā᾿, he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*.

This is also included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated that al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā῾īl related to him, quoting Abū Hishām, quoting Abū Bakr b. ῾Ayyāsh, quoting Abū Ḥusayn, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad, from his father, who said, "I performed the pilgrimage with Abū Bakr, and he *jarrada*.[85] And also with ʿUmar, and he *jarrada*. And also with ʿUthmān, and he *jarrada*."

Al-Thawrī traced this from Abū Ḥusayn.

We have only referred to this here because it is apparent that these Imāms, may God be pleased with them, would only have done this from having been taught. What is meant here by the verbal noun of *jarrada* is performing the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. But God knows best.

Al-Dārquṭnī stated that Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Qāsim b. Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad b. Makhlad related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muʾāwiya al-Razzāz, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) appointed ʿAttāb b. Usayd in charge of the pilgrimage and he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. He then placed Abū Bakr in charge (of it) in the year 9 AH, and he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage in the year 10 AH and performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died and Abū Bakr succeeded; he dispatched ʿUmar and he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Abū Bakr then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Abū Bakr died, and ʿUmar succeeded. He dispatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf on the pilgrimage and he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. He (ʿUmar) then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Then ʿUthmān was besieged and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās took charge (of the pilgrimage) for the people and performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

In the line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* there is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī; he is ḍaʿīf, "a weak source". However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is testimony (in favour of this *ḥadīth*) with a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'authentic'."

REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) PERFORMED THE ḤAJJ AL-TAMATTUʿ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Layth, quoting ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* on 'the farewell pilgrimage', along with the *ʿumra*. He recited the *talbiyya* and led his *hadī* on from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and thereafter for the *ḥajj*. There were some people who had sacrificial animals and led them forward to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; some of them did not have animals for sacrifice.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he addressed the people, saying, 'Those of you who brought an animal for sacrifice is not released from his state of *iḥrām* for anything he has so declared until he completes his *ḥijja*. Those who have not brought an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate the *ka῾ba* and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then they should shorten their hair and declare their *iḥrām* completed. They should then declare the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and make sacrifice. Those who have no sacrificial animal should fast for three days, or for seven if they return to their families.'

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[85] Ibn Kathīr goes on to tentatively suggest that the word means "to perform the *ḥajj al-ifrād*".

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka῾ba* when he arrived in Mecca. He first saluted the corner,[86] then jogged for three circuits of the seven and walked for four. Having completed the circuits of the *ka῾ba*, he performed two *raka῾āt* at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*,[87] 'Abraham's station'; he then completed the prayer and left. He proceeded on to al-Ṣafā and circumambulated both it and al-Marwa. He did not declare *ḥalāl* anything he had previously declared *ḥarām* until he had completed his *ḥijja*, and he slaughtered his camel at the day for the sacrifice. He thereafter performed the circumambulation of the *ḥajj* around the *ka῾ba*. Those who had brought animals for sacrifice did as the Messenger (ṢAAS) had done."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, quoting ῾Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ῾Urwa b. al-Zubayr (who said that) ῾Ā᾽isha told him of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu῾* at the *῾umra* and on to the *ḥajj* and that the other people did as he had. This is similar to what Sālim b. ῾Abd Allāh informed me, from ῾Abd Allāh, concerning the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, while Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd related it from ῾Abd al-Malik b. Shu῾ayb, from al-Layth, from his father. Al-Nasā᾽ī related it from Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak al-Makhramī, from Ḥujayn b. al-Muthannā; all three quoted al-Layth b. Sa῾d, from ῾Aqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from ῾Urwa, from ῾Ā᾽isha. They did so as Imām Aḥmad, may God have mercy upon him, recounted it.

This *hadīth* is one that is problematical, relating to all the three accounts (of the *ḥijja*).

Regarding the *ḥadīth* account of his performing the *ḥajj al-ifrād*, in this there is substantiation for the *῾umra* being performed either before the *ḥajj* or along with it.

Regarding the account of the special nature of the performance of the *ḥajj al-tamattu῾*, (this *ḥadīth*) is problematic because he (the source) recounted that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not relieve himself of the *iḥrām* following his procession between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. And this is not the case with those performing the *ḥajj al-tamattu῾*.

Those who claim that he was unable to declare the state of *iḥrām* at an end by the fact of his having led a camel to sacrifice substantiate this view by reference to a statement attributed to Ḥafṣa. She asked, "Messenger of God, why do some people declare the *iḥrām* concluded, while you did not after your *ʿumra*?" He replied, "I had braided my hair and had garlanded my sacrificial camel; I could not declare my *iḥrām* completed until I had performed the sacrifice."

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[86] In which is embedded the meteorite "black stone".

[87] The place where the Prophet Abraham stood for prayer. An edifice is built over a stone brought by Ismā῾īl when they were building the *ka῾ba*. Pilgrims stop here and perform a prayer of two *raka῾āt* after their completion of the circumambulation of the *ka῾ba*.

Their account is implausible, because the *aḥādīth* affirming his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* refute this statement and deny his having recited the *talbiyya* first at the *ʿumra* and then, having passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. This is not reported in this way by anyone with a line of transmission that could be categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan* or *ḍaʿīf*.

Regarding the statement in this *ḥadīth*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* on 'the farewell pilgrimage', along with the *ʿumra*, if what is meant by this is *al-tamattuʿ* specifically, this being the declaration of the conclusion of the *iḥrām* state after the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, then this is not so. For the *ḥadīth* contains material refuting this. Moreover, in the affirmation of his having made the *ḥajj al-qirān* there is material contradicting this.

If what is meant here is *al-tamattuʿ al-ʿām*, or the general enjoyment (of a concession), then that would certainly include the *ḥajj-al-qirān*; and this is what is meant here.[88]

The statement, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and then for the *ḥajj*." If by this is meant that he "set off" by pronouncing the word *ʿumra* before the word *ḥajj*, by saying, "I am at Your service, O God; an *ʿumra* in *ḥajj*."[89] This is clear and does not deny (the possibility that it was to be a (*ḥajj*) *al-qirān*.

If by it is meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* first, and then added to it the *ḥajj* much later, but before his performing the circumambulations, then it also constituted *ḥajj al-qirān*.

If by it he meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and then, having completed its activities, whether he did or did not declare his state of *iḥrām* concluded by the leading up of a sacrificial animal, as some claim, but in fact recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* after finishing the actions for the *ʿumra* and before his departure for Minā, then this is a view not expressed by any of his Companions, as we have shown above. Those who maintain this are refuted by this lack of testimony and by the fact that it is contradicted by the *aḥādīth* that exist to affirm his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*, as will be shown, and also, indeed, by those *aḥādīth* that have come down that substantiate his having performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*, as shown above. But God knows best.

It is clear – though God knows best – that this *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, is also narrated from a different path, from Ibn ʿUmar, when he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* at the time when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He was told, "People are disputing over (these two groups); now if only you would postpone your *ḥajj* for this year." He replied, "I would in that case do as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did."

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[88] Ibn Kathīr is here using the *tamattuʿ* in its literal sense in the second instance.

[89] *ʿumra wa ḥajj* should here be understood as *fī al-ʿumra wa al-ḥajj*.

He was referring to the occasion when he was blocked at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. He declared himself in a state of *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and then, when he overlooked al-Baydāʾ, said, "I consider both to be one." Then he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* along with it (the *ʿumra*). The narrator believed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done this; it was all the same whether he had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and then for the *ḥajj*. They therefore related it thus, but there is controversy over this, as we will show.

Explanation for this exists in the *ḥadīth* that ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb narrated, as follows, "Mālik b. Anas and others informed me that Nāfiʿ had related to them that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar went forth on the pilgrimage during the period of civil disorder. He said, 'If I should be blocked from access to the *kaʿba* we would do as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done.' He left and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and travelled on until he arrived at a point above al-Baydāʾ. He then turned to his Companions and said, 'I consider both to be nothing but one; I testify to you that I am committing myself to performing the *ḥajj* along with the *ʿumra*.' He continued on until he reached the *kaʿba*, which he circumambulated. He performed the passages between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa seven times and did not add thereto. He considered that that was sufficient. He also brought an animal for sacrifice."

The author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection (al-Bukhārī) promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. And both scholars gave it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ. ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it from ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfiʿ in similar words. In that account it ends by saying, "That was what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did."

Also there is al-Bukhārī's account in which he quotes Qutayba, quoting Layth, from Nāfiʿ, who said, "Ibn ʿUmar wanted to perform the pilgrimage when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He (Ibn ʿUmar) was told, 'People are engaged in a conflict; we are afraid they will block you.' He replied, 'There is indeed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a good model for you. I shall therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to the *ʿumra*.'

"He proceeded until he was up above al-Baydāʾ. Then he said, 'I consider the *ḥajj* and the *umra* to be one; I testify to you all that I have committed myself to a *ḥajj* along with my *ʿumra*.' He brought an animal for sacrifice that he had purchased at Qudayd. He added nothing else to that, and he did not declare permissible anything for which he had declared his *iḥrām*. He did not shave, nor did he cut his hair short until it was the day for the sacrifice. He then slaughtered his animal and shaved. He considered that he had completed the circumambulations for both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* by his first circumambulation."

Ibn ʿUmar concluded, "It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUliyya, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Ibn ʿUmar, came into the latter's house at which was Ibn ʿUmar's ride (for the pilgrimage). ʿAbd Allāh said, "I am uneasy and feel that there may be some conflict between the people that may prevent your access to the *kaʿba*. What will you do then?'

"Ibn ʿUmar replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left (on the pilgrimage) and the Quraysh disbelievers prevented his access to the *kaʿba*. If that happens to me, I will do as he did. You had a good model in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And I will therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to a *ḥajj* along with my *ʿumra*.' He proceeded on and performed for both one circumambulation."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from Ibn al-Nuʿmān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb b. Abū Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī, from Nāfiʿ. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* drawn from both of these, from Ayyūb.

Ibn ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, imitated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in remaining uninvolved with the enemy's blockade and in sufficing with one circumambulation for both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. That was because he had first declared himself in the *iḥrām* state for an *ʿumra*, for that to be part of the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*. He feared there would be a blockade and so combined both, inserting the *ḥajj* before the *ʿumra* and before the circumambulation, and it thus became a *ḥajj al-qirān*.

What he said was, "I consider both to be nothing but one." By this he meant, "There is no difference between a person being blocked from the *ḥajj* or from the *ʿumra* or from both." And when he reached Mecca, he accomplished both sufficiently by his first circumambulation – as he clearly stated in the first text we gave. In that he stated, "He considered that he had completed the circumambulation for both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* by his first circumambulation."

Ibn ʿUmar stated, "It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted." By this he meant that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had accomplished both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* sufficiently by one circumambulation – that is, between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

This gives evidence that Ibn ʿUmar spoke in favour of the *ḥajj al-qirān*.

Therefore al-Nasāʾī narrated, from Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ayyūb b. Mūsā, from Nāfiʿ that "Ibn ʿUmar combined together the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* and performed one circumambulation".

Al-Nasāʾī then narrated it from ʿAlī b. Maymūn al-Raqqī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya, and Ayyūb b. Mūsā and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, all four of whom quoted Nāfiʿ as saying that, "Ibn ʿUmar came to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*. He then became concerned that he might be blocked from the *kaʿba*." And he proceeded to relate the *ḥadīth*, and his including the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*, the result being his performing the *ḥajj al-qirān*.

The implication of this is that when some narrators heard the statement of Ibn ʿUmar, "And I will therefore do as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did", and his other statement, "It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted", they believed that the latter had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, then did so for the *ḥajj*, combining the latter with the former prior to the circumambulation, and so they related the *ḥadīth* with this understanding.

But Ibn ʿUmar did not mean this, but implied what we have indicated above. God, however, best knows what is correct.

Moreover, supposing that he did recite the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* first and combined the *ḥajj* with it prior to the circumambulation, this would then constitute *ḥajj al-qirān*, not a case of *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ al-khāṣ* (in the technical sense), it thus being evidence for those who support the idea of the superiority of the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Also there is the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in which he stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, quoting Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān, who said, "During the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), we performed the *al-tamattuʿ*.[90] Then revelation came in the Qur'ān (about the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*) and a man said whatever he wished."

Muslim narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Hammām, from Qatāda.

What is implied here is that it is the *mutʿa* that is more general than the *al-qirān* and the *al-tamattuʿ* of the *ḥajj*.

This is shown by what is narrated by Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba and Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shikhīr, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*, and he went on to narrate all the *ḥadīth*.

Most of the early authorities apply the term *al-mutʿa* to the *al-qirān*. As al-Bukhārī stated – that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-Aʿwar, from Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with them both, had a disagreement, while they were at ʿUsfān, over the *al-mutʿa*. ʿAlī said, 'Is what you want to put an end to something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' When he saw that (to be the case) ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib recited the *talbiyya* for both (the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*) together."

Muslim related this also from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. In that version, ʿAlī said, "I would never abandon a practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of anything anyone said."

Muslim related this also from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaqīq. (In that version) ʿAlī said to him, "Don't you realize that it was only with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that we performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*?" He replied, "Indeed yes; but we were afraid."

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[90] It should be remembered that *al-tamattuʿ* applies to what is temporary and is synonymous with the term *mutʿa*. The narrator is referring to this connotation in the foregoing tradition. The "man" to whom he alludes is ʿUmar, who subsequently forbad the practice.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, from Shuʿba, and from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh, from his father, from Shuʿba, from Muslim b. Mikhrāq al-Qurrī, who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, while his Companions did so for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his state of *iḥrām* terminated, nor did those of his Companions who had brought an animal to be sacrificed. The rest of them did (declare their state of *iḥrām* terminated)."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī narrated it in his *musnad* collection, as did Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, from Shuʿba, from Muslim al-Qurrī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. Those of them who did not have a *hadī* for sacrifice (then) declared their state of *iḥrām* terminated, while those who did bring a *hadī* did not declare this." The *ḥadīth* proceeds.

If we consider both accounts authentic, then the conclusion favours the *ḥajj al-qirān*. If we decline acceptance of both, its probative value would be suspended. If we give preference to the account of Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection concerning the *ʿumra*, where it is stated on the authority of ʿAbbās that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS) declared the *iḥrām* of the *ḥajj* (*al-ifrād*), then this would argue in favour of the *ḥajj al-qirān*, especially since evidence supporting this will be given from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar and Muʿādh b. Muʿādh, from Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This is an *ʿumra* that we have considered a *mutʿa*; those not having brought a *hadī* may consider their *iḥrām* fully concluded. The *ʿumra* has entered into the *al-ḥajj* until Judgement Day."

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Ādam b. Abū Iyyās and Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, both quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Jamra, who said, "I declared my intent to perform the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*, but people advised against this. So I asked Ibn ʿAbbās and he told me to do so. After that I seemed to see in my sleep a man say to me, 'It is a *ḥajj mabrūr*[91] and a *mutʿa*[92] that is accepted.' I told Ibn ʿAbbās of this (dream) and he said, *Allāhu Akbar*! 'God is most Great!' A practice of Abū al-Qāsim, God's peace and blessings be upon him!"

By the term *mutʿa* used here, the word *qirān* is really meant.

Al-Quʿaynī and others stated, quoting Mālik b. Anas, from Ibn Shihāb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who is quoted as saying that he heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, that year when Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān made the *ḥajj*, making reference to the performing of the *tamattuʿ* of the *ʿumra* leading to the *ḥajj*. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, "No one would do that unless ignorant of God's instruction!" Saʿd replied,

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[91] That is, one that accords with the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and is therefore supposed to be acceptable to God.

[92] Some editions of the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī give the word *ʿumra* instead of the *mutʿa* given here.

"Cousin, what you say is quite wrong!" Al-Daḥḥāk went on, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to forbid it." Saʿd responded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did it, and we did it along with him."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it, as did al-Nasāʾī, from Qutayba, from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated, from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, quoting Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, "I asked Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ about the performance of the *tamattuʿ* of the *ʿumra* leading to the *ḥajj*. He replied, 'I did it along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And at that time he' – meaning Muʾāwiya – 'was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh' – meaning Mecca."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, and of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Marwān al-Fazārī, all four of them quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, who said, "I heard Ghunaym b. Qays say, 'I asked Saʿd about the *mutʿa*, and he replied, 'We did perform it; and at that time he was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh.'' "

In the account of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, the *ḥadīth* ends, "meaning Muʾāwiya".

All of this has to do with the application of the term *al-tamattuʿ* to something more general than the *al-tamattuʿ al-khāṣ*. That is, it assumes the declaration of the *iḥrām* state for the *ʿumra*, then completing it and thereafter again declaring the *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj*, and it is (also more general) than the *ḥajj al-qirān*. In fact, what Saʿd said about it was evidence for the term *al-tamattuʿ* being applied to the performance of the *ʿumra* pilgrimage in the months of the *ḥajj*. This relates to them having gone on the pilgrimage while Muʾāwiya was still an unbeliever, in Mecca, applying either to the *ʿumra* at al-Ḥudaybiyya or the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ* – this being more likely. Regarding the *ʿumrat al-jiʿrāna*, Muʾāwiya had accepted Islam along with his father (Abū Sufyān) the night of the conquest of Mecca. We have narrated how he had cut short the hair of the Prophet (ṢAAS), using an iron arrow head on one of his *ʿumra* pilgrimages; that was, undoubtedly, the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna. But God knows best.

Accounts of the pilgrimage as narrated by those who maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-qirān, along with the relevant aḥādīth.

The Account of the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him.

It is given above how al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-ʿAqīq, 'Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. He told me, "Pray in this blessed valley and say, '(Let it be) an *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja*'."'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ al-Maqburī in Baghdād, who quoted Aḥmad b. Sulaymān as saying, "It was narrated to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad while I listened, as follows, 'Abū Zayd al-Harawī related to me, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, quoting ʿIkrima, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Gabriel, may peace be upon him, came to me while I was at al-ʿAqīq. He said, "Pray two *rakaʿāt* in this blessed valley. And say, 'An *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja*'. For the *ʿumra* has entered within the *ḥajj* until Judgement Day."'"'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Abū Zayd al-Harawī."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim related to him, quoting Sayyār, from Abū Wāʾil, who said that there was a man who had been a Christian, named al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad, who wanted to engage in the *jihād*. He was told, "Begin by making the pilgrimage." So he went to al-Ashʿarī who told him to declare his intention of making the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* together. He did so. While he was reciting the *talbiyya*, Yazīd b. Sūḥān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa passed by. One of them said to the other, "This fellow wanders further astray than his people's donkeys!" The young man overheard this and it annoyed him. And so when he reached Mecca, he went to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and related that to him. ʿUmar told him, "You have been led aright, in the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS)." (The narrator continued) "On another occasion I heard him use the words, 'You have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Abū Wāʾil, from al-Ṣabī Ibn Maʿbad, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In that version, the latter said, "The two men said nothing (of importance); you have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS)."

He also narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil. And also from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū Wāʾil, and from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbdu b. Abū Lubāba, from Abū Wāʾil, who said, "Al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad said, 'I had been a Christian, but accepted Islam. I declared my intention to make a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*, and Yazīd b. Ṣūḥān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa heard me while I was reciting the *talbiyya* for them both. They commented, "This fellow wanders further astray than his people's donkeys!" After their words, I felt as if a mountain had been loaded on me! So I approached ʿUmar and told him. He then went to them and berated them. After that he came to me and said, "You have been well-guided to the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."'"

"ʿAbdu stated, 'Abū Wāʾil commented, 'I and Masrūq used to go often to that man al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad, and ask him about this.'"

The lines of transmission for this are excellent and accord with the criteria for the designation *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic". Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā᾽ī and Ibn Māja related it from various lines, from Abū Wā᾽il Shaqīq b. Salama, who narrated it.

Al-Nasā'ī stated, in the chapter on the pilgrimage in his *ḥadīth* collection, that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq related to him, quoting his father, from Jamrat al-Sukkarī, from Muṭarrif, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from ‘Umar, who said, "I swear by God, I forbid you performing the *mut‘a*; (although) it is certainly in God's Book, and although the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed it."

The chain of transmission for this is excellent.

An Account relating to the two Commanders of the Believers, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, quoting Shu‘ba, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "‘Alī and ‘Uthmān were together at ‘Usfān. ‘Uthmān was forbidding the performance of the *mut‘a* or the *‘umra*. And so ‘Alī said, 'Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' ‘Uthmān replied, 'Enough of that!'"

This abbreviated form is the manner in which Imām Aḥmad narrated this.

Both scholars of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "While they were at ‘Usfān, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī differed over the *mut‘a*. ‘Alī asked, 'Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' When ‘Alī saw that (that ‘Uthmān was forbidding the *mut‘a*) he recited the *talbiyya* for both."

The phraseology given by al-Bukhārī is similar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, from Shu‘ba, from al-Ḥakam, from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "I witnessed ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, while ‘Uthmān was forbidding performance of the *mut‘a* and that both be combined. When ‘Alī saw (this attitude) he recited the *talbiyya* for both, saying, 'At Your service, O God, for an *‘umra* and a *ḥajj*.' He (‘Alī) went on, 'I'm not one to abandon a practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), because of what anyone says.'"

Al-Nasā᾽ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, and from a *ḥadīth* of al-A‘mash, from Muslim al-Baṭīn, from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, quoting Shu‘ba, from Qatāda, who said, "‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq stated, '‘Uthmān was forbidding the *mut‘a* and ‘Alī was recommending it. And so ‘Uthmān said to ‘Alī, "You are doing so and such!" ‘Alī replied, "You know that we performed the *mut‘a* along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." "Yes," (replied ‘Uthmān) "but we were afraid (then).""'"

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

This constitutes recognition from ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with him, of what ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, told him. And it is well known that ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, declared the *iḥrām* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* by reciting the *talbiyya* in the same manner as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿAlī had brought an animal for sacrifice and the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered him to maintain his *iḥrām* state. The Prophet (ṢAAS) allowed ʿAlī to share in his own *hadī*, as will be shown.

Mālik narrated in his work *al-Muwaṭaʾ* from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, that al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad went in to see ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at al-Suqyā while he was preparing leaves and crushed grain to feed his young camels. Al-Miqdād told him, "This ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān is forbidding that the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* be combined." ʿAlī left, his hands bearing traces of the camel food mash. (The narrator commented), "And I'll not forget the sight of the mixture on his hands!" When ʿAlī went in to ʿUthmān, he asked, "Are you forbidding that the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* be combined?" ʿUthmān replied, "That's my view." At that ʿAlī left in anger, saying, "At Your service, O God, for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra* together!"

Abū Dā'ūd stated in his work the *Sunan* that Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, quoting Yūnus, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, "I was with ʿAlī when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him Governor of Yemen." And he went on to relate the arrival of ʿAlī.

(The tradition goes on to state) ʿAlī said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'How have you done?' I replied, 'I have only recited the *talbiyya* (in the manner) of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I have brought a *hadī* and I have combined (both the *ʿumra* and the *ḥijja*)."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn with his line of transmission which accords with the criteria of the two scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim). The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī explained it away by the fact of this phraseology not being in the (long) text of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir.

There is some dispute over this explanation, because the performance of the *ḥajj al-qirān* is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, as will be shown shortly. If God, Almighty is He, wishes.

Ibn Hibbān narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina and I left from Yemen. I said, 'I am at Your service, O God, with the same invocation made by the Prophet (ṢAAS)." The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* combined."

The Account of Anas b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him.

A group of the *tābiʿūn*, "the first generation scholars", related it; we will quote from them in alphabetical order.

BAKR B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MUZANĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, quoting Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī, who said, "I heard Anas b. Mālik relate as follows, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* combined. I related that to Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "He recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* alone." I then met Anas and told him what Ibn ʿUmar related. He said, "You think of us as mere boys! I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "At Your service, O God, for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*."'" ʿAl-Bukhārī related it from Musaddad, from Bishr b. al-Faḍl, from Ḥamīd. Muslim promulgated it from Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, from Hushaym. And also from Umayya b. Bisṭām, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd, from Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī.

THĀBIT AL-BUNĀNĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Thābit, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "At Your service, O God, for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥijja* combined."

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is alone in quoting it on this line.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ashʿath, from Anas b. Mālik (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Mecca. They recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them, after they had circumambulated the *kaʿba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, to declare their *iḥrām* concluded and to make an *ʿumra*. It seemed as if the people were shocked by that. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Had I not brought a *hadī* I would have declared my *iḥrām* concluded.' The people then did declare their *iḥrām* concluded and performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Ḥasan b. Qazaʿa related to him, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Ashʿath, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, (who said), "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*. And when they arrived in Mecca, they circumambulated the *kaʿba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to declare their *iḥrām* concluded, but they were afraid to do so. He therefore said, 'Declare your *iḥrām* concluded. If I did not have a *hadī*, I would declare my *iḥrām* concluded.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of no one except Ashʿath b. ʿAbd al-Malik who narrated this from al-Ḥasan."

ḤUMAYD B. TĪRUWAYH AL-ṬAWĪL.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā related to him, from Ḥumayd (who said), "I heard Anas say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "At Your service, with a *ḥajj*, and an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*."'"

This line of transmission is two-thirds in accord with the criteria of the two scholars. They did not promulgate it. And none of the authors of the books (of *aḥādīth*) gave it from this line of transmission. However, Muslim did narrate it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Hushaym, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Isḥāq and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb and Ḥumayd (who said that) they heard Anas b. Mālik say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both combined. (He said) 'At Your service for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿmur b. Yusr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought many animals for sacrifice and said, 'At Your service, with an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.' I was there at the right flank of his camel."

Aḥmad was also alone in giving it from this line of transmission.

ḤUMAYD B. HILĀL AL-ʿADAWĪ AL-BAṢRĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his *musnad* that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas b. Mālik, and it is reported from Salama b. Shabīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, and Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Anas, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa, and his knee was touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*."

This line of transmission is excellent and strong and conforms to the criteria for the designation *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic"; they (the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) did not include it.

Al-Bazzār explained this by saying that the person reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* was Abū Ṭalḥa. He said, "And the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not contradict him."

This explanation is controversial and unnecessary, because that (fact of the Prophet (ṢAAS) having recited the *talbiyya*) comes by various routes from Anas, as above and to follow. Moreover, (grammatically) it is more correct for the pronoun to be related to the closer of the two persons mentioned, which in this instance constitutes very strong evidence. But God knows best.

In the account of Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Anas, will come a clear refutation of this explanation.

FROM ZAYD B. ASLAM.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tanūkhī narrated, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*.

"Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jarawī related it to us, as did Muḥammad b. Miskīn. They both said, 'Bishr b. Bakr related (it) to us, from Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Anas.'"

I note that this line of transmission meets the criteria for *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic", but they (the authors of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated it in a more simple text. He stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī related to him, that Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb related to them, quoting al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd, quoting his father, quoting Shu‘ayb b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, from Zayd b. Aslam and others, who said that, "A man came to Ibn ‘Umar and asked, 'With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya*?' Ibn ‘Umar replied, 'He recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, and (the man then) left.'

"The man then came to him the following year and asked, 'With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya*?' Ibn ‘Umar asked, 'Didn't you come to me last year?' 'Yes', the man replied, 'but Anas b. Mālik claims that he performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*.' Ibn ‘Umar commented, 'Anas b. Mālik (was then so young that he) used to go in to see the women when their heads were uncovered! I was right underneath the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), its saliva actually touching me, and I heard him reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*.'"

FROM SĀLIM B. ABŪ AL-JA‘D AL-GHAṬAFĀNĪ AL-KŪFĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Manṣūr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja‘d, from Anas b. Mālik, who gave a line of transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *‘umra* and said, "At Your service, for an *‘umra* and a *ḥijja* together."

(This *ḥadīth* may be classified as) *ḥasan*, "good"; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Abū ‘Awāna, quoting ‘Uthmān b. al-Mughīra, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja‘d, from Sa‘d, the freed-man of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, who said, "We went forth with ‘Alī, and when we reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, ‘Alī said, 'I wish to combine the *ḥajj* with the *‘umra*. Those who wish should speak as I do.' He then recited the *talbiyya*. He said, 'At Your service for a *ḥijja* and an *‘umra*.'"

The narrator went on, "And Sālim said, 'Anas b. Mālik stated to me, "I swear by God, my leg was actually touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was reciting the *talbiyya* for them both together."'"

This line of transmission is also excellent; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

This text refutes the explanation by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār of the *ḥadīth* given by Ḥumayd b. Hilāl quoting Anas, as referred to above. But God knows best.

FROM SULAYMĀN B. TARKHĀN AL-TAYMĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb b. ʿArabī related to him, quoting al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who said that he heard his father quote Anas b. Mālik as saying, "I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both together."

Al-Bazzār then said, "The only person relating this from al-Taymī is his son al-Muʿtamir. And only Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb al-ʿArabī heard this from him."

I note that this meets the criteria for the category *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic". They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

FROM SUWAYD B. ḤUJAYR.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Qazaʿa Suwayd b. Ḥujayr, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa. The knee of Abū Ṭalḥa was almost knocking against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was reciting the *talbiyya* for both."

This line of transmission is excellent. Aḥmad is alone in giving it. They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it. In it there is a clear refutation of the view of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār.

FROM ʿABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD ABŪ QILĀBA AL-JARMĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa while he rode beside the Prophet (ṢAAS). My leg was actually touching the stirrup of the latter, and I heard him reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*."

Al-Bukhārī narrated to him, from various lines, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer in Medina with four *rakaʿāt* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two *rakaʿāt*. He then spent the night there, and in the morning mounted his camel. When it bore him out above al-Baydāʾ, he praised and glorified God and spoke the words *Allāhu Akbar*! 'God is most Great!' He then recited the *talbiyya* for both together, the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. And the people with him recited the *talbiyya* for both together."

In another account from him, he (Anas) said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa while they were reciting the *talbiyya* for both together, the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*."

And in another account, from Ayyūb, from "a man", Anas is quoted as saying, "He spent the night there. Next morning he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, then mounted his camel. When it bore him to al-Baydā᾽, he recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*."

FROM ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ṢUHAYB.

I have given his account above, with that of Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl from him, given by Muslim.

FROM ʿALĪ B. ZAYD B. JUDʿĀN.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Ḥakīm, from Sharīk, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for both together."

This tradition is *gharīb*, "unilateral", from this line, and none of the compilers of the canonical collections included it; though it does meet their criteria.

FROM QATĀDA B. DAʿĀMA AL-SADŪSĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Maʿnī related to him, saying, "Hammām b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Qatāda, who said, 'I asked Anas b. Mālik, "How many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the pilgrimage?" He replied, "One *ḥijja*; and he also performed the *ʿumra* four times – that at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that in Dhū al-Qaʿda from Medina, that from al-Jiʿrāna in Dhū al-Qaʿda when he divided up the booty from the battle of Ḥunayn, and that along with his *ḥijja*."'"

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) included it from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām b. Yaḥyā.

FROM MUṢʿAB B. SULAYM AL-ZUBAYRĪ, THEIR FREED-MAN.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting Muṣʿab b. Sulaym, who said that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra*."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

FROM YAḤYĀ B. ISḤĀQ AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Isḥāq and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb and Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, who said that they heard Anas say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* together. He said, 'At Your service, for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*! At Your service for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*!'"

It has been shown above that Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Hushaym.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that ʿAbd al-Aʿlā related to him, from Yaḥyā. from Anas, who said, "We went forth to Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And I heard him say, 'At Your service for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.'"

FROM ABŪ ASMĀʾ AL-ṢAYQAL.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr and that Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū Asmāʾ al-Ṣayqal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "We went forth, shouting (the *talbiyya*) for the *ḥajj*. And when we reached Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to make it into an *ʿumra*. He said, 'If I had known before hand what I came to learn, I would have made it into an *ʿumra*; but I had brought the *hadī* and have combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from Hannād, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Abū Isḥāq, from Abū Asmāʾ al-Ṣayqal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both."

FROM ABŪ QUDĀMA AL-ḤANAFĪ; HIS NAME IS ALSO GIVEN AS MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUBAYD.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from Abū Qudāma al-Ḥanafī, who said, "I asked Anas for what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had recited the *talbiyya*. He replied, 'I heard him seven times recite the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥijja*.'"

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this. The line of transmission is excellent and strong. And to God go all praise and credit, and through Him come success and security.

Ibn Hibbān narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, that Anas b. Mālik said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined between the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*, and the people did so with him."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave some of these same quotations from Anas b. Mālik and then went on to offer an explanation that is controversial.

He concludes, "It was Anas who was in doubt (regarding the *ḥijja* of the Prophet), but not the others apart from him. It is likely that he had (merely) heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) instruct others how they should recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj al-qirān*, and not that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did so himself. But God knows best."

He went on, "This is also narrated from others than Anas b. Mālik, but there are questions over its reliability."

I observe that the apparent controversiality of this statement will not be hidden from anyone who contemplates it. It might well be best, therefore, to disregard it, for it creates doubts about the memory of a Companion from whom others, in substantial numbers, have narrated this tradition, as shown above. And opening up this issue would lead to major difficulty. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

THE ḤADĪTH OF AL-BARĀ᾿ B. ῾ĀZIB ON THE ḤAJJ AL-QIRĀN.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed him, quoting ῾Alī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, quoting Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Yaḥyā, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Zakariyyā᾿ b. Abū Zā᾿ida, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā᾿ b. ῾Āzib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three *῾umra* pilgrimages, and all were in Dhū al-qa῾da." ῾Ā᾿isha said, "He knew he had performed four *῾umra* pilgrimages, including that along with which he made the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is not correct." I observe that this will also follow with a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ* and goes back to ῾Ā᾿isha in similar words.

The Account of Jābir b. ῾Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Dā'ūd informed him, and that Muḥammad b. Ja῾far b. Rumays, and al-Qāsim b. Ismā῾īl Abū ῾Ubayd, and ῾Uthmān b. Ja῾far al-Lubbān and others said that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī related to them, quoting Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ja῾far b. Muḥammad, from his father, who quoted Jābir b. ῾Abd Allāh, as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj* three times – twice before he left on the Hijra and once with which he combined an *῾umra*."

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa῾īd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī himself narrated this as did Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa῾īd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Sufyān. He then stated, "It is *gharīb* coming from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān; we know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. I saw that ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān – meaning al-Dārimī – narrated this *ḥadīth* in his works from ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād. I asked Muḥammad (b. Ismā῾īl al-Bukhārī) about this, but he did not know of him. I noticed also that he did not consider him reliable. Instead, he said it was narrated from al-Thawrī, from Abū Isḥāq, from Mujāhid only in a *mursal* form."

In the work *al-Sunan al-Kabīr* of al-Bayhaqī, Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī is quoted as stating, "I asked Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī about this *ḥadīth*. He replied, 'This *ḥadīth* is in error; this was in fact related as *mursal* from al-Thawrī.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "When Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb narrated, he would be mistaken; or he might make an error about something."

Ibn Māja narrated it from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dā'ūd al-Khuraybī, from Sufyān. This is a line not followed by al-Tirmidhī or al-Bayhaqī, nor probably al-Bukhārī, when he spoke about Zayd b. Ḥubāb, thinking him to have been alone in relating it. However, this was not so. But God knows best.

A DIFFERENT LINE OF TRANSMISSION FROM JĀBIR.

Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Ibn Abū ʿUmar related to him, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya, from Ḥajjāj, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* together. And he performed one circumambulation for both.

He then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'." In one version he used the word *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Ibn Hibbān narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Jābir. He quoted him as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed only one circumambulation for the *ḥajj* and for his *ʿumra*."

I note that the Ḥajjāj mentioned above is Ibn Arṭāt; several of the *imāms* spoke about him. However, he narrated from a different line – from Abū al-Zubayr, and also from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his *ḥadīth* compendium that Muqaddam b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting his uncle al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Muqaddam, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived (in Mecca), combined the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* and led a *hadī* for sacrifice. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Those who have not brought a *hadī* may make it into an *ʿumra*."

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of these words being attributed to Jābir only from this chain of transmission."

Al-Bazzār is alone in giving it in his compendium from this line; its chain of transmission is *gharīb*, "unique". It is not to be found in any of the six (canonical) books from this line. God knows best.

The Account of Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj – he being Ibn Arṭāt – from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Abū Ṭalḥa informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*."

Ibn Māja narrated, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Muʾāwiya, with the same chain of transmission and terminology. He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*."

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt is considered a somewhat weak source; God knows best.

The Account of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Dā'ūd – meaning Ibn Suwayd – quoting ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zarrād, quoting al-Nazzāl b. Sabara, the companion of ʿAlī say, "I heard Surāqa say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, "The *ʿumra* has entered into the *ḥajj* until the Day of Judgement."'"

He (Surāqa) said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*."

The Account of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that he performed the ḥajj with the ʿumra, this constituting the ḥajj al-qirān.

Imām Mālik quoted Ibn Shihāb, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who said that he heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and also al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, the year that Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān went on the *ḥajj*, recall the performance of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥajj*. Al-Ḍaḥḥāq stated, "Only anyone who was ignorant of God's command would do that." Saʿd responded, "Cousin, what you said is wrong!"

Al-Ḍaḥḥāq said, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to forbid it." Saʿd stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed it, and we did it with him."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī both related it from Qutayba from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'authentic'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, quoting Sulaymān – meaning al-Taymī – quoting Ghunaym, who said, "I asked Abū Waqqāṣ's son about the *al-mutʿa* and he replied, 'We did perform it, while this fellow was still a disbeliever in al-ʿUrsh (Mecca)'" – meaning Muʾāwiya.

He related it that way, in an abbreviated form.

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī, and from Shuʿba, Marwān al-Fazārī, and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. All four quote from Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, quoting Ghunaym b. Qays, quoting Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, regarding the *al-mutʿa*. Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated, "We did perform it while this fellow was at that time an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh." In his account Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd added the words, "meaning Muʾāwiya".

ʿAbd al-Razzāq related it from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both of whom quoted from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, "I asked Saʿd about the performance of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥajj*. He replied, 'I performed it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while this fellow was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh'" – referring to Mecca and to Muʾāwiya.

This second *ḥadīth* has a more authentic chain of transmission. However, we have quoted it merely for added support rather than reliance. The first account has an authentic line of transmission; this second is more direct in its intent. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrat al-Miṣrī related to him, quoting Saʿīd b. Sulaymān, quoting Yazīd b. ʿAṭāʾ, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* because he knew that he would not perform a pilgrimage after that year."

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās on this subject.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Dā'ūd – meaning al-Qaṭṭān – from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that of al-Qaḍāʾ, the third from al-Jiʿrāna, and the fourth that was performed along with his *ḥijja*."

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it through various lines from Dā'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Makkī, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās. Al-Tirmidhī referred to it as *ḥasan gharīb*. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, as *mursal*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it through Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ, and Shihāb b. ʿAbbād, both of whom quoted Dā'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār, who related it. His account used the words, "and the fourth that he combined with the *ḥijja*".

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stated, "No one except Dā'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quotes this *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās."

Moreover, al-Bayhaqī narrated that al-Bukhārī stated, "Dā'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is entirely truthful. However, he may be subject to criticism."

It has been given above how al-Bukhārī narrated through Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting ʿUmar, as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, in Wādī al-ʿAqīq, 'An apparition came to me from my Lord who said, "Pray in this sacred valley and say, 'An *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja.*'"'" Perhaps it is this that Ibn ʿAbbās relied upon in what he narrated. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad – meaning al-Zubayrī – related to him, quoting Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* out of fear that he would be blocked from the *kaʿba* and that he said, "If not a *ḥijj*, then an *ʿumra.*"

This *ḥadīth* is strange in both its line of transmission and in its content; Imām Aḥmad is alone in narrating it.

(Imām) Aḥmad said of this man Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith: "He was confused in his narration of *aḥādīth.*" He categorized him as a weak source, as did also al-Nasāʾī and Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, in one account.

Regarding the content, his statement that "the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* out of fear that he would be blocked from the *kaʿba*", who is it who could have so blocked him? God had already firmly established Islam for him and had conquered the Holy City. And it had been proclaimed on the plain at Minā during the (pilgrimage) season the previous year that, "after this year no unbeliever shall perform the pilgrimage and no naked person shall circumambulate the *kaʿba*". On the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, moreover, there were with him close to some 40,000 persons. His statement regarding "fear that he would be blocked from the *kaʿba*" is therefore strange.

Yet this is no more strange than the statement of the Commander of the Believers ʿUthmān to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib when the latter told him, "You well know that we performed the *ḥajj* (*al-qirān*) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," to which ʿUthmān responded, "Yes; but we were afraid".

I do not know to what this fear could be ascribed, or what could have been its source. Perhaps he accepted the statement as (having been) that of a Companion, and interpreted it according to his own understanding. What he stated is indeed "authentic and to be accepted". But his theory is not infallible and it is thus only applicable to the narrator. It is not applicable to others. This, however, does not necessitate the rejection of the tradition that such a person has narrated.

This also applies to the statement of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, provided that its line of transmission is authentic. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Ḥajjāj related to him that Shuʿba related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, who stated that he heard Muṭarrif quote ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn as having said, "I am going to narrate a *ḥadīth* to you through which God may perhaps give you benefit. This is, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined a *ḥijja* with an *ʿumra* and he did not forbid it up to his death. And no revelation came down stating it to be *ḥarām*, 'prohibited'. He used to greet me; but when I was cupping, he kept aloof from me. When I ceased doing this, he came back to me."

Muslim narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Muḥammad b. Bashshār, from Ghundar, and from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh, from his father. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Khālid b. al-Ḥārith. All three sources quote from Shuʿba, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba and Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shakhīr, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined a *ḥajj* with an *ʿumra.*

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated, "The *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Muṭarrif, is *ṣaḥīḥ*. As for his *ḥadīth* from Qatāda quoting Muṭarrif, in fact Baqiyya b. al-Walīd narrated it thus from Shuʿba. Ghundar and others narrated it from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda."

I note that al-Nasāʾī also narrated it in his *al-Sunan* textbook, from ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās, from Khālid b. al-Ḥārith, from Shuʿba. In one version it is derived from Saʿīd, instead of from Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn. But God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn, who stated, "We performed *al-tamattuʿ* in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and no revelation came down declaring it *ḥarām*, 'prohibited'. And he did not forbid it up to the time of his death."

The Account of al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhilī.

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Imām Aḥmad, stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿImrān b. ʿAlī Abū Muḥammad, from al-Rayy, whose origins were in Iṣfahān, related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Ḍarīs, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from al-Hirmās, who said, 'I was mounted behind my father and I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) mounted on a baggage camel, saying, "At Your service for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra* together."'"

This meets the criteria of the *sunan* texts, but they (their compilers) did not promulgate it.

The Account of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ᶜUmar, 'The Mother of the Believers', may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mālik, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, from Ḥafṣa, to the effect that she asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Why is it you do not declare your state of *iḥrām* ended after performing the *ᶜumra*?" He replied, "I braided my hair and placed a garland on my *hadī*, and so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I make sacrifice."

Both scholars promulgated it in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜUmar. Al-Bukhārī added Mūsā b. ᶜUqba to these two, while Muslim added Ibn Jurayj. All of these accounts quoted from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar.

In the versions of these two, Ḥafṣa is quoted as saying, "Messenger of God, how is it that the people declared their *iḥrām* concluded following the *ᶜumra*, while you did not after your performance of the *ᶜumra*?" He replied, "I placed a garland on my *hadī* and braided my hair. And so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I make sacrifice."

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Shuᶜayb b. Abū Ḥamza related to him as follows, "Nāfiᶜ stated, 'ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar used to say, 'Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), informed us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his wives to declare their state of *iḥrām* concluded, that year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāᶜ*. One woman asked him, 'What prevents you from declaring your *iḥrām* concluded?' He replied, 'I braided my hair and placed a garland on my *hadī*. And so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I sacrifice my *hadī*.'"'"

Aḥmad also stated that Yaᶜqūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, from Abū Isḥāq, quoting Nāfiᶜ, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar, from Ḥafṣa, daughter of ᶜUmar, who stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his women to declare their *iḥrām* concluded at the *ᶜumra*, they asked, 'What prevents you, Messenger of God, from declaring yours concluded along with us?' He replied, 'I brought a *hadī* and matted my hair, and I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I sacrifice my *hadī*.'"

Aḥmad then narrated it from Kathīr b. Hishām, from Jaᶜfar b. Barqān, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, from Ḥafṣa.

This *ḥadīth* implies that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged fully in an *ᶜumra* and did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded after it. It is learned from the above accounts relating to the performance of the *ḥajj al-ifrād* that he had also recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj*. The sum total of that was that he was engaged in a *ḥajj al-qirān*, as is also stated in the above accounts to that effect. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿĀʾisha, 'The Mother of the Believers', may God be pleased with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* and recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Those who have a *hadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* along with the *ʿumra*. And they should not declare their state of *iḥrām* concluded until they have finished both.' When I reached Mecca, I was undergoing my menstrual period. So I did not circumambulate the *kaʿba*, nor did I pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. I complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, 'Let down your hair and comb it; recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and leave the *ʿumra*.' And I did this.

"When I had completed the *ḥajj*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr to al-Tanʿīm, and I performed the *ʿumra*. He said, 'This is in place of your *ʿumra*.'"

She went on, "Those who had recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* circumambulated the *kaʿba*, passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and then declared their *iḥrām* concluded. They performed another circumambulation after returning from Minā. Those who had combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* only performed one circumambulation."

Muslim narrated it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī.

He then narrated it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, and I recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*. I had not brought a *hadī*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, 'Those having a *hadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* with their *ʿumra*; they should not declare their *iḥrām* concluded until they complete them both.'"

The account proceeds as above.

The purpose of giving this *ḥadīth* is to draw attention to his words, "Those having a *hadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* with an *ʿumra*."

It is well known that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had brought a *hadī*; and so he was the first and the foremost to whom (the foregoing command) applied. For whatever general statement a speaker pronounces also applies to him.

(This *ḥadīth* is given here) also because she stated, "Those who had combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* performed only one circumambulation." This means between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim quoted her as saying that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa." And so it is known from this that he had combined between the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who said, "The *hadīs* were with the Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ῾Umar and those men of means."

She also related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded after the two pilgrimage ceremonies, and that he did not perform the *ḥajj al-tamattu῾*. She recalled that she had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to have her perform the *῾umra* from al-Tan῾īm. She said, "Messenger of God, you go off and perform a *ḥajj* and an *῾umra* while I perform only a *ḥajj*." And so he dispatched her with her brother ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr and had her perform the *῾umra* from al-Tan῾īm.

It is not related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *῾umra* after his *ḥijja*, and he did not perform the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. It is thus established that he in fact performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*, because it is a general consensus that he did perform the *῾umra* on the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*. But God knows best.

It is related above how the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Zakariyyā᾽ b. Abū Zā᾽ida, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barā᾽ b. ῾Āzib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *῾umra* three times, all in Dhū al-Qa῾da." And ῾Ā᾽isha commented, "It is well known that he performed the *῾umra* four times, including that *῾umra* along with which he performed the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in (his work) *al-Khilāfiyyāt* that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Iṣbahānī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Sharīk, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnus, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Isḥāq, from Mujāhid, who said, "Ibn ῾Umar was asked, 'How many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the *῾umra*?' He replied, 'Twice.' ῾Ā᾽isha commented, 'Ibn ῾Umar knew that he performed the *῾umra* three times, apart from the *῾umra* he combined with the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "This line of transmission is not bad. However, it does contain *irsāl*.[93] Mujāhid did not actually hear directly from ῾Ā᾽isha, according to some of the scholars expert on *aḥādīth*.

I note that Shu῾ba categorized it as objectionable. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, however, considered it well-established. God knows best.

It is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr and ῾Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others, quoting ῾Ā᾽isha (as saying) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought a *hadī* with him the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*. (It tells) of her performing the *῾umra* from al-Tan῾īm, how he unexpectedly ran into her on his way to the people of Mecca, how he stayed overnight at al-Muḥaṣṣab, and how he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at Mecca and then returned to Medina.

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[93] A term referring to the attribution of an account to a person who could not have heard it first hand from the person being quoted.

All this shows that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform an *ʿumra* after that *ḥijja* of his; and I know of no Companion who communicated that he did so.

It is well known that he did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies. Nor does anyone narrate that, after circumambulating the *kaʿba* and his passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he shaved or cut his hair short or declared his *iḥrām* concluded. In fact, all agree that he persisted in his *iḥrām*. And it is not reported that he recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* when he went to Minā, and it is thus known that he did not perform the *ḥajj al-tammattuʿ*.

They are also in agreement that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, that he did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies, that he did not announce his state of *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj*, and that he did not perform the *ʿumra* after the *ḥajj*, but kept to the *ḥajj al-qirān*. All this is difficult to refute. But God knows best.

Moreover, the account of his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* is further substantiated because of that which is left out or has been refuted in the statements of those who maintain that he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* or the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*. The (*al-qirān*) reports must therefore be given priority as is prescribed in the principles of jurisprudence.

From Abū ʿImrān comes the account that he performed the *ḥajj* with his freed-man. He stated, "I came to Umm Salama and asked, 'Mother of the Believers, I have never performed the *ḥajj*. With what should I begin it, the *ʿumra* or the *ḥajj*?' She replied, 'Begin with whichever you wish.'"

His account continues, "I then went to Ṣafiyya, 'the mother of the Believers', and when I asked her, she replied as Umm Salama had done. I went again to Umm Salama and informed her what Ṣafiyya had said. She commented, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "O family of Muḥammad, let those of you who make the pilgrimage recite the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra* in a *ḥijja*."'"

Ibn Ḥibbān related this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Ibn Ḥazm narrated it in (reference to) the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū ʿImrān, from Umm Salama.

DIVISION

If it be said, "You have narrated from a group of Companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Then you narrated from these very persons, as well as from others, that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*. How can these be reconciled?"

The answer is, "The narrative of those who related that he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* implies that he performed the activities of the *ḥajj* individually, while the *ʿumra* entered into that performance in intent, in deed and in time."

This shows that he was satisfied with the circumambulation of the *ḥajj* and his procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) being for it and for that (the *ʿumra*), as is the practice of the majority of scholars in the *ḥajj al-qirān*. This conflicts with Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy upon him, in that he maintained that the person performing the *ḥajj al-qirān* makes two circumambulations and makes the procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) twice. He relied in this conclusion upon what was quoted from ῾Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, even though there are questions raised about the line of transmission of the *ḥadīth* back to him.

As for those who narrate his having performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu῾* and then narrate his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*, we have dealt with this issue above. Namely, the term *al-tamattu῾* as used by the early authorities was more general in meaning than the *al-tammatu῾* of the *al-ḥijja* and the *ḥajj al-qirān*. In fact, they apply it to performing the *῾umra* in the months for the *ḥajj*, even when not in conjunction with the *ḥajj*, as Sa῾d b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated; "We performed the *tamattu῾* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at a time when this fellow" – meaning Mu᾿āwiya – was an unbeliever in al-῾Ursh" – meaning Mecca.

In this he was referring to one of two *῾umras* – either that of al-Ḥudaybiya, or the *῾umrat al-qaḍā᾿*. Regarding the *῾umra* from al-Ji῾rāna, Mu᾿āwiya had by then already accepted Islam, since it came after the conquest of Mecca. And the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾* was after that, in the year 10 AH. This is clear and obvious. But God knows best.

DIVISION

If it be said, "What is your response to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī in his *musnad* text: 'Hishām related to us, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā᾿ī, whose name was Ḥaywān b. Khālid, that Mu᾿āwiya said to a number of the Companions of the Messenger of God "Do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad the use of a tiger's skin as a saddle blanket?" "Why yes, by God," they replied. "I testify to that," he went on. "And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?" "Yes, by God," they replied. "And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad that the *ḥajj* and the *῾umra* be combined together?' "No, by God," they replied. He said, "By God, this too is with those (statements)."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ῾Affān related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā᾿ī, who said, "I was amongst a group of Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Mu᾿āwiya's home when the latter said, 'I adjure you by God, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad riding mounted upon the skins of tigers?' 'Indeed yes, by God,' they replied. 'And do you know that he forbad the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?' 'Yes indeed, by God,' they replied. 'And do you know that he forbad the *al-mut῾a*?' – meaning the *ḥajj al-mut῾a*. 'No, by God,' they replied."

(Imām) Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja῾far related to him, quoting Sa῾īd, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā᾿ī, that he witnessed Mu᾿āwiya being with a group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that Muʾāwiya asked them, "Do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad riding mounted on the skins of tigers?" "Yes indeed," they replied. "And do you know that he forbad the wearing of silk?" he asked. "Yes indeed, by God" they replied. "And do you know that he forbad drinking from a vessel of gold or silver?" "Yes indeed, by God", they replied. "And do you know that he forbad combining a *ḥajj* with an *ʿumra*?" "No, by God," they replied. "By God, it is with those (statements),' he said."

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it thus, from Qatāda. And his account adds (Muʾāwiya's statement) "But you have forgotten."

Ashʿath b. Nizzār, Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba and Hammām also related it thus, from Qatāda as its initial narrator. And Maṭar al-Warrāq and Buhays b. Fahdān narrated it from Abū Shaykh, in reference to the *ḥajj al-mutʿa.*

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated it along various lines from Abū Shaykh al-Hunāʾī; it is a *ḥadīth* with a fine line of transmission.

From it the account of Muʾāwiya, may God be pleased with him, forbidding combining the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* seems strange. Perhaps the *ḥadīth* originally referred to forbidding the *mutʿa.*[94] The narrator thought the *mutʿa* of the *ḥajj* was meant, whereas it was the *mutʿa* relating to women. Yet those Companions narrate no *ḥadīth* forbidding it.

Or the prohibition may have related to the *iqrān*[95] of dates, as in the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar, but the narrator believed it to refer to the *al-qirān* in the *ḥajj.* That was not the case.

Or perhaps Muʾāwiya, may God be pleased with him, said, "Do you know that such-and-such was forbidden" without the person making known the prohibition being named, and then the narrator attributed this to the Prophet (ṢAAS), imagining this. For the person who forbad the *mutʿa* of the *ḥajj* was actually ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, and his forbidding it was not actual prohibition, as we have shown above. He actually forbad it so that it should be performed separately from the *ḥajj*, on a different trip, in order to increase visits to the *kaʿba.*

The Companions, may God be pleased with them, were in great awe of him; they generally did not dare to contradict him. His son ʿAbd Allāh would disagree with him and he would be told, "Your father used to forbid it." And he would respond, "I was afraid a rock would fall from the sky upon you! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed it. Is the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be emulated, or that of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?"

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[94] The term here refers to the controversial early practice of "temporary marriages", to which this word also referred.

[95] A note to the Arabic printed text states that the word also meant "eating two dates in one mouthful".

Similarly, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him, used to forbid it, and ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib opposed him, as is told above. ‘Alī said, "I will not give up a practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of a statement made by one of the people."

‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn stated, "We performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and no revelation came rendering it *ḥarām*. And he did not forbid it before his death."

This was promulgated by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated about Sa‘d that he expressed opposition to Mu᾿āwiya's disapproval of the *ḥajj al-mut‘a*. He stated, "We performed it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while this fellow was still an unbeliever in al-‘Ursh." By this he meant Mu᾿āwiya who was, at the time, an unbeliever in Mecca.

I note that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did indeed perform the *ḥajj al-qirān* according to the *aḥādīth* we have quoted above to that effect. And there was a period of only 81 days between the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘* and the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Approximately 40,000 witnessed, in word and deed, his performance of the *ḥijja*. If he had forbidden combining the *ḥajj*, which people had witnessed him perform, then it would not have been just one of the Companions who would have refuted it but a group of those who had either heard this or not heard this from him.

All this shows that this cannot be correct as reported from Mu᾿āwiya, may God be pleased with him. But God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ḥaywa, quoting Abū ‘Īsā al-Khurāsānī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim al-Khurasānī, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (who said) that one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) went to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and testified that he had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while suffering from the illness from which he died, forbid the performance of the *‘umra* prior to the *ḥajj*.

This line of transmission is not devoid of controversy. Moreover, if this Companion was narrating this from Mu᾿āwiya, then the matter is as discussed above; this was in regard to the *mut‘a*, and not the *ḥajj al-qirān*. If, however, he was narrating this from someone else, then it is problematical in general, but not specifically regarding the *qirān*. But God knows best.

Accounts substantiating those stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the state of iḥrām and did not initially specify a ḥajj or an ‘umra, and then thereafter rendered it specific.

It is narrated from al-Shāfi‘ī that this is preferable; however, it is a statement that is weak.

Al-Shāfiʿī, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Sufyān informed him, quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, Ibrāhīm b. Maysara and Hishām b. Ḥujayr, all of whom heard Ṭāwūs say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina without specifying a *ḥajj* or an *ʿumra*, waiting for a divine decree. The decision did come down to him while he was between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then he ordered those of his Companions who had recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and had not brought *hadīs* with them to make it into an *ʿumra*. He stated, 'If I had known earlier what I now do, I would not have brought the *hadī*. However, I have matted my hair and I did bring my *hadī*, and the only time when I can declare my *iḥrām* concluded is after sacrificing my *hadī*.'

"Surāqa b. Mālik then approached him and asked, 'Messenger of God, make a decision for us as if born today. Is the *ʿumra* of ours for this year or for ever?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'No; it is for ever; the *ʿumra* has entered into the *ḥajj* on until Judgement Day.'

"ʿAlī arrived from Yemen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'For what have you recited the *talbiyya*?' One of the two of them then said, '*Labbayka*! "At Your service!"' With the recitation of the *talbiyya* of the Prophet (ṢAAS).' The other then said, 'At Your service, for the *ḥijja* of the Prophet (ṢAAS)!'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, going back no further than to Ṭāwūs; there is oddity in it.

It is a cardinal principle of al-Shāfiʿī, may God have mercy upon him, not to accept a *ḥadīth* that is *mursal* merely by itself, unless supported by another *ḥadīth*. Unless, that is, it derives from one of the major *tābiʿūn*, "the authorities of the second generation", as he stated in his *risāla*, "his treatise". This is because in most cases they relate such *aḥādīth* only from the Companions. But God knows best.

This *mursal ḥadīth* is not of that category. In fact, it contradicts those *aḥādīth* given before, whether relating to the *ḥajj al-ifrād*, the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* or the *ḥajj al-qirān*. These *aḥādīth* are authentic and have full lines of transmission, as given above. They have precedence over it. And since they affirm a matter denied by this *ḥadīth* that is *mursal*, and an affirmation takes precedence over a negation if otherwise equal, then how should it be here, where a *ḥadīth* with a full line of transmission is (classified as) *ṣaḥīḥ* and (the other account) is classified as *mursal* and could not substantiate an issue because of its broken line of transmission? But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, quoting Muḥādir, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), without making reference to either a *ḥajj* or an *ʿumra*. When we arrived, he ordered us to declare our state of *iḥrām* concluded. When it was the night of al-Nafr,[96] Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy began to menstruate. The Prophet (ṢAAS), exclaimed, '*Ḥalqā ʿaqrā*! "With a shaven head and menstruating!" 'I can only see her impeding you all.' He then asked (her), 'Did you make a circumambulation the day of the sacrifice?' 'Yes,' she replied. He then said, 'Then you may leave.' She said, 'Messenger of God, I did not recite the *talbiyya* (for the *ʿumra*).' He said, 'So make an *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm.'"

The narrator continued, "And so her brother accompanied her. She said, 'And we met Mudlij, and he said, 'You're (to assume the state of *iḥrām*) from so-and-so.'"

This is how al-Bayhaqī narrated this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad, said to be the son of Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlī, from Muḥāḍir b. al-Muwarriʿ. His version, however, states, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), making reference only to the *ḥajj* . . ."

This is similar to the *aḥādīth* attributed to her quoted above.

However, Muslim narrated from Suwayd b. Saʿīd, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), making reference to neither a *ḥajj* nor to an *ʿumra*."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim included it, from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, quoting ʿĀʾisha as saying, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thinking only that it was for the *ḥajj*."

This is highly authentic, and very firmly founded. But God knows best.

In another account from this line, she stated, "We went forth reciting the *talbiyya*, but not referring either to a *ḥajj* or to an *ʿumra*."

It is likely that they used not to mention that along with the *talbiyya*. They had designated it as *ḥāl al-iḥrām*, "the state of *iḥrām*", as in the *ḥadīth* of Anas: "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'At Your service, O God, for a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*.'" Anas went on to comment, "And I heard them shouting for both together."

Also there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from Abū Naḍra, quoting Jābir, and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who both said, "We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shouting vigorously for the *ḥajj*." This *ḥadīth* is problematic. But God knows best.

An Account of the recitation of the talbiyya made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Mālik informed him, from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that the *talbiyya* spoken by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was:

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[96] During the pilgrimage, the day of the departure from Minā to Mecca.

"*Labbayka Allāhumma, Labbayk*! *Labayka, Lā sharīka laka*! *Labbayk*! *Inna al-ḥamda wa al-niʿmata laka, wa al-mulku lak. Lā sharīka lak.* 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service; You have no associate! At Your service! Praise and grace are Yours! Power is Yours! You have no associate!'"

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar would make an addition to this: "*Labbayka laka wa saʿdayk*! *Wa al-khayru fī yadayka*!, *Labbayka*! *Wa al-raghbā'u ilayka wa al-ʿamal.* 'At Your service, and at Your pleasure! And all good is in Your hands! At Your service! And all joy, and all good are in Your hands! At Your service! And all aspirations are to You, and (all) work!'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, and Muslim did so from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, both quoting Mālik.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād narrated to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and from Nāfiʿ, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He recited the *talbiyya*, saying, "At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service; You have no associate; at Your service. Praise and grace are Yours. And power is Yours. You have no associate."

They said, "ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'This is the *talbiyya* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' Nāfiʿ said, 'ʿAbd Allāh would add along with this, "At Your service! At Your service! At your service, and at Your pleasure! Good is in Your hands, and aspirations are to You, and so is work."'"

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿUbayd Allāh, quoting Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "I learned the *talbiyya* from (the mouth of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." And he went on to narrate as the others had stated in their *aḥādīth.*

Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā narrated to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar quoted to me his father as having stated, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having matted his hair, recite the *talbiyya*, saying, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise, grace and power are Yours; You have no associate.' He added nothing to these words.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to perform two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. When the camel stood up bearing him at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he recited the *talbiyya* in those words.'

"ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to recite the *talbiyya* as had the Prophet (ṢAAS), using those words. He would say, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service, and Your pleasure. Good is in Your hands. At Your service! Aspirations are to You, and so is work.'"

This is the phraseology of Muslim. The *ḥadīth* of Jābir gives the *talbiyya* as in that of Ibn ʿUmar; it will be given in full shortly. Muslim related it separately.

Al-Bukhārī stated, after giving it through Mālik, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, as is given above. He stated, "Muḥammad b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Sufyān, from al-A'mash, from 'Umāra, from Abū 'Aṭiyya, who quoted 'Ā᾿isha as saying, 'I well know how the Prophet (ṢAAS) would recite the *talbiyya*. He would say, "At Your service, O God! At Your service! At Your service; You have no associate. Praise and grace are Yours."'"

Abū Mu᾿āwiya gave it from al-A'mash. Shu'ba stated that Sulaymān informed him that Khaythama quoted Abū 'Aṭiyya from 'Ā᾿isha.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Sulaymān al-Thawrī, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-A'mash, from 'Umāra b. 'Umayr, from Abū 'Aṭiyya al-Wādī, quoting 'Ā'isha. His account is the same as that narrated by al-Bukhārī.

Aḥmad narrated it from Abū Mu᾿āwiya, and 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr did so from al-A'mash, the same as was narrated by al-Bukhārī. He (Aḥmad) also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ja'far and Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Shu'ba, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-A'mash, giving it as had al-Bukhārī. Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī narrated it the same in his text from Shu'ba.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl narrated to him, quoting al-A'mash, from 'Umāra b. 'Umayr, from Abū 'Aṭiyya, who said, "'Ā᾿isha stated, 'I well know how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would recite the *talbiyya*.'"

Abū 'Atīyya went on to state, "I then heard her recite the *talbiyya*. She said, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise and grace are Yours, and Power. You have no associate.'"

He is alone in adding in this text the words, "and Power. You have no associate".

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Salāma, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Part of the *talbiyya* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the words, 'At Your service, O God of the truth.'"

Al-Nasā᾿ī narrated it from Qutayba, from Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Salama and Ibn Māja, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted Wakī', from 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Al-Nasā᾿ī stated, "I know of no one except 'Abd al-'Azīz who gave its line of transmission from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl."

Ismā'īl b. Umayya narrated it as *mursal*.

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Sa'īd b. al-Qaddaḥ informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥumayd al-A'raj, from Mujāhid, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would express in the *talbiyya* 'At Your service, O God!'" And he went on to state the *talbiyya*.

He stated, "Eventually, one day when the people were standing away from him, it was as though he was delighted by his circumstances and he added to it, saying, 'At Your service! The (real) life is that of the hereafter!'"

Ibn Jurayj went on, "I considered that to have been the day on Mt. ʿArafāt."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal* from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Aḥmad Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma, quoting Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī, quoting Maḥbūb b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Dā'ūd, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address at ʿArafāt and that when he had said, "At Your service, O God, at Your service!" he went on to say, "The only good is that of the afterlife!"

This line of transmission is *gharīb*; its line of transmission does meet the criteria of the *sunan* texts, but the compilers of these did not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Gabriel ordered me to raise my voice in the *talbiyya*; it is one of the rites of the *ḥajj*."

Aḥmad was alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Abū Hurayra, from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as above.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that al-Thawrī informed him, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥantab, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from Zayd b. Khālid, who said, "Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'Order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *ḥajj*.'"

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Wakīʿ, from al-Thawrī. Similarly Shuʿba narrated it, as did Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Gabriel came to me and said, "Muḥammad, order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *ḥajj*."'"

Our teacher Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his work *al-Aṭrāf* that Mu'āwiya also related the above from Hishām; and Qabīṣa (gave it) from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from his father, from Zayd b. Khālid.

Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related it to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sāʾib b. Khallād, from his father, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as saying, "Gabriel came to me and said, 'Order your Companions to raise their voices in reciting the *talbiyya*.'"

Aḥmad stated, "I studied it under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Mālik. And Rawḥ related to us, quoting Mālik – meaning Ibn Anas – from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazam, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sāʾib al-Anṣārī, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as saying, 'Gabriel came to me and ordered me to order my Companions – or those with me – to raise their voices in reciting the *talbiyya* or in the *iḥlāl*'" – meaning of one of the two.

Al-Shāfiʿī narrated it thus from Mālik. And Abū Dāʾūd narrated it from al-Qaʿnabī, from Mālik. Imām Aḥmad also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja did so from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "And Ibn Jurayj narrated that, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr wrote to me giving mention of it. And he did not refer to Abū Khallād in his line of transmission.'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on, "What is authentic is the account of Mālik and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿAbd al-Malik, from Khallād b. al-Sāʾib, from his father, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), similarly."

Al-Bukhārī and others gave it in the same form. Imām Aḥmad is quoted in the *musnad* text of al-Sāʾib b. Khallād b. Suwayd Abū Sahla al-Anṣārī, as follows, "Muḥammad b. Bakr related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, and Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj as saying, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm wrote to me, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sāʾib al-Anṣārī, from his father al-Sāʾib b. Khallād, that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Gabriel came to me and said, 'God orders you to order your Companions to raise their voices with the *talbiyya* or the *iḥlāl*.'"'"

He (Imām Aḥmad) stated, "I do not know which of us, whether myself or ʿAbd Allāh, or Khallād gave it as 'in the *iḥlāl* or the *talbiyya*.'"

This is the wording of Aḥmad in his *musnad* text. Our teacher gave it thus in his work *al-Aṭrāf*, from Ibn Jurayj, as in the account of Mālik and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. But God knows best.

THE ḤADĪTH OF JĀBIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, ON THE ḤIJJA OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

It represents by itself an independent rite that we consider more appropriate to give here, since it includes the *talbiyya* and other matters, as has been mentioned heretofore and as follows.

We will report its various lines of transmission and phraseology. Then we will follow it with testimonials from the various *aḥādīth* to the same effect. And to God one turns for help.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father, who said, "We came to Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh while he was with Banū Salama. We asked him about the *ḥijja* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Jābir related to us that the latter stayed in Medina for nine years without making the pilgrimage. He then had an announcement made to the people that he would be a pilgrim that year.

Jābir went on, "A great mass of people came to Medina, all hoping to imitate the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to do as he did. He went forth five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, and we left with him. When he reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, went into labour with Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr. She sent a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking what she should do. He replied, 'Wash, then put in place a folded cloth, then recite the *talbiyya*.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to where his camel came to a point overlooking al-Baydāʾ; there he recited the *talbiyya* and the *tawḥīd*, saying, 'At Your service, O God! You have no associate; at Your Service. Praise and grace are Yours, along with power; You have no associate.'

"The people recited the *talbiyya*, adding words such as *dhā al-maʿārij*, 'He who possesses ladders.'[97] The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard (this), but said nothing to them.

"I looked as far as I could ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there were people riding and walking. And it was the same behind him, and to both of his sides.

"He was right there among us; to him the Qurʾān would be revealed, and he knew how to interpret it. Whatever he did, we knew.

"We left, with our only intention being to make the *ḥajj*. When we reached the *kaʿba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the 'black stone', jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the *maqām Ibrāhīm*. Behind it he performed two prayer *rakaʿāt*. He then recited, 'and use Abraham's station as a place for prayer' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.125)."

Aḥmad stated, "And Abū ʿAbd Allāh" – meaning Jaʿfar – "added, 'and he recited verses affirming the Oneness of God, and the verse, "Say, O you unbelievers" (*sūrat al-Kāfirūna*; CIX, v.1).

"'He then saluted the stone and went off to al-Ṣafā. There he recited, 'al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.158).

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[97] To heaven, that is.

" 'He then stated, 'We will begin with that which God began.' And he scaled al-Ṣafā and, gazing out at the *kaʿba* spoke the words, 'God is Most Great', and then 'There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God alone! He has fulfilled His promise, and proved His promise true. And he *hazama*, 'defeated' – or *ghalaba*, 'overcame' – the factions by Himself.' He then prayed and repeated these words.

" 'Thereafter he came down until his feet were in the *wādī*,[98] when he proceeded at a jog until, having ascended, he walked and proceeded on until he reached al-Marwa. He scaled it until he stood facing out to the *kaʿba* and spoke the same words there as he had upon al-Ṣafā. When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he said, 'O people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *hadī*, and would have made it an *ʿumra*. Those who do not have *hadīs* with them should declare their *iḥrām* concluded, and make it into an *ʿumra*.' And all the people declared their *iḥrām* concluded.

" 'Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum asked, while down in the lowest part of the valley, 'Messenger of God, is this for this year (alone) or for ever?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intertwined his fingers and replied, 'For ever.' He repeated this five times. He then said, 'The *ʿumra* has entered into the *ḥajj* until Judgement Day.' "

Jābir went on, "ʿAlī arrived from Yemen with a *hadī*. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had brought a *hadī* from those in Medina. Fāṭima had put on jewellery, colour-dyed clothing and had decorated her eyes with mascara. He (ʿAlī) criticized her for that and she replied, 'My father ordered me to do it.' He said, 'Bring me the head kerchief.' (Jaʿfar commented: 'This word "he said" was not a reference to Jabir's speech' [but to ʿAlī's])

"So ʿAlī left, upset, to enquire from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), about what Fāṭima had said. ʿAlī said, 'Fāṭima dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on mascara, saying her father told her to do so.' He (the Messenger of God, ṢAAS), replied, 'She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. I did tell her to do this.' "

Jābir went on, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) asked ʿAlī, 'With what intent did you recite the *talbiyya*?' He replied, 'I said, "O God, I recite the *talbiyya* with the same intent as Your Messenger." ' He added, 'I have a *hadī* with me.' 'Then you should not declare your *iḥrām* concluded,' he told him."

Jābir went on, "The number of *hadīs* brought by ʿAlī from Yemen and by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 100. The latter sacrificed by his own hand 63, and he then gave ʿAlī (permission) to sacrifice the remainder. He allowed him to share in his own *hadī*. He then ordered that meat be removed from each sacrificed animal and it was placed in a cooking pot. They both then ate the meat and drank the gravy.

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[98] Between Ṣafā and Marwa is a short strip where Hagar, unable to see her son Ismāʿīl, ran. Running at this site is now recommended as a part of the performance of the *saʿī*, as was the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), according to the foregoing tradition.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, 'I have made sacrifice here; and all Minā is a place for sacrifice.' He then stood upon Mt. ʿArafāt and said, 'I have stood here; and all ʿArafāt is a station.' He then halted on al-Muzdalifa and said, 'I have stood here, and all Muzdalifa is a station.'"

This is how Imām Aḥmad gave this *ḥadīth*; its ending is much abbreviated.

Imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj narrated it in the *al-Manāsik* ("rites of pilgrimage") section of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, both of whom narrated it from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

He gave us information of the different additions from the text of Aḥmad and Muslim, up to the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ʿAlī, "She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. What was it you said when you declared your intention to make the *ḥajj*?" ʿAlī replied, "O God, I am reciting the *talbiyya* for that which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited it." He went on, "I have a *ḥadī* with me." "Then do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded," he told him. The total number of *hadīs* that ʿAlī brought from Yemen and were brought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 100.

"And all the people declared their *iḥrām* at an end and shortened their hair except for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and those who had brought *hadīs* with them.

"When it was the *yawm al-tarwiyya*[99] they made their way to Minā and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted his camel and performed the *al-ẓuhr*, *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib*, *al-ʿishāʾ*, and *al-fajr* prayers there. He then remained there a little while until the sun came up and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.[100]

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he was remaining at al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām,[101] as Quraysh used to do in the *jāhiliyya* period. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went across to ʿArafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted.

"When the sun had begun to decline, he called for his camel Qaṣwāʾ and it was saddled for him. He then went on down into the centre of the valley where he made an address to the people. He said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.

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[99] The rite of "making provisions of water", performed on the eight day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the day preceding the "standing" at ʿArafāt.

[100] A location close to ʿArafāt.

[101] The station at Muzdalifa to the east of Mecca. The Quraysh, as opposed to all the other tribes, spent the ninth day of the *ḥajj* at this station as an indication of their superior status. They expected the Prophet to so the same, but he proceeded to ʿArafāt along with the other tribes.

"'I declare that everything relating to the *jāhiliyya* is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood (feuds) of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibn Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith,[102] brought up as a foster-child in Banū Saʿd and killed by Hudhayl. Also the interest charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

"'Fear God (in your treatment of) women. You have taken them in God's trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God's word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

"'I have left amongst you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray thereafter: God's Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?' They responded, 'We will bear witness that you did convey (the message), that you gave good advice and did your duty.' He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, 'O God, I bear witness! O God, I bear witness!' (He said this) three times.

"He had a call to prayer made and then arose and performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. Thereafter, he performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer; he made no other prayer between them both.

"After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode his camel to the *mawqif* (ʿArafāt), making the chest of his mount face towards the rocks. He positioned Mt. al-Mashāt ahead of him and faced the *kaʿba*. He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky had dissipated somewhat, and the sun-disk had set. Usāma b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qaṣwāʾs bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand he was making a gesture that said, 'People! 'Go easy! Go easy!' Whenever he passed over hilly terrain, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

"When he came to Muzdalifa he prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* with a single *adhān* and two *iqāmas*;[103] between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then lay down until the dawn came. He performed the *al-fajr* prayer until morning arrived, with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*. He then mounted al-Qaṣwāʾ and proceeded to the *mashʿar al-ḥarām* (at Muzdalifa). He faced the *qibla*, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His Oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong.

"He proceeded on before the sun rose, mounting al-Faḍl b. al-Abbās behind himself; this was a man with fine hair, a pale complexion and dignified mien. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved forward, several women in howdahs passed by, at a gallop. When al-Faḍl began looking towards them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand over the former's face. Al-Faḍl moved his hand over to the other side, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved it back over to the other side of al-Faḍl's face. Al-Faḍl then moved his face away from the other side, looking.

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[102] He was a cousin of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

[103] The *iqāma* follows somewhat after the *adhān*, the call to prayer, and indicates the imminent beginning of the prayer ceremonies.

"When he reached the *wādī* Muḥasir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at *al-Jamrat al-kubrā*[104] and he went on to the *jamra*, the stone pile at the tree. He cast seven pebbles at the stone mound, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the *wādī*.

"He then proceeded on to the sacrifice site, where he slaughtered 63 sacrificial camels by his own hand. He then allowed ʿAlī to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own *hadī*. He ordered that a piece of the meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode off and proceeded to the *kaʿba*. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer in Mecca, and went over to Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who were distributing the water at *zamzam*. He said, 'Draw water, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not that people would usurp this right from you (by wanting to do the same in emulation of my *sunna*) I would certainly have joined you in drawing water.' They handed him a bucket and he drank from it."

Muslim then narrated it from ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ, from his father, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir. He recounted it in similar words.

He proceeded to relate the story of Abū Sayyāra, to the effect that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), used to (perform the *ḥajj*) with those of the *jāhiliyya* riding on a mule. And that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I made sacrifice here, and all Minā is a place for sacrifice. And so make sacrifice on your journeys. I have stood here, and so all ʿArafāt is a station. And I have stood over here, and all Jamʿ[105] is a station."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in full from al-Nufaylī, ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, Hishām b. ʿAmmār and Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. No doubt some of these added a word or a point. All four quoted from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Jaʿfar, his account being similar to that of Muslim. We have referred above to some of his additions to it.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī also narrated it, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from Jaʿfar. Al-Nasā'ī narrated it also, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, in part, from Ibrāhīm b. Hārūn al-Balkhī, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, in part.

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[104] It is said that Satan tried to mislead Ismāʿīl at three different places during his trek with his father Abraham towards the place of sacrifice. A part of the pilgrimage rites is the standing at the "pillars of Satan" in commemoration of that event.

[105] Another name for al-Muzdalifa.

An Account of those places in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed while travelling from Medina to Mecca on his ʿumra and his ḥajj.

Al-Bukhārī's text has a section headed *Chapter on the mosques on the way from Medina, and the places where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed prayers.*

He stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to us as follows, 'Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, who said, "I saw Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh searching out places on the route, and praying in them. He would relate that his father used to pray in them, and that the latter had seen the Prophet (ṢAAS), pray in those places." Nāfiʿ related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, may God be pleased with both, that he used to pray in those places. I questioned Sālim and I know only that he agreed with Nāfiʿ about all these places. However, they did differ over a mosque at Sharaf al-Rawḥā'."

He (Fuḍayl) went on, "Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir said, 'Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated to us, from Nāfiʿ, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa when he performed the *ʿumra* and on his *ḥijja*, beneath an acacia tree at the place of the mosque that is there. Whenever he was returning from a military expedition, or a *ḥajj* or an *ʿumra*, and his path would pass through there, he would descend to the centre of the *wādī*. When he appeared at the *wādī*, he would make his mount kneel at the plain that was on its eastern edge. He would dismount and rest there, and not at the mosque that was at a rock, nor at the palm trees near which the mosque stood. There was a deep *wādī* nearby in which ʿAbd Allāh would pray. At its bottom there were piles of sand near which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would pray. The flood from the plain ultimately buried that location where ʿAbd Allāh would pray.'"

(The account went on to state that) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to Nāfiʿ that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would pray at the site of the small mosque, other than the one at the Sharaf al-Rawḥāʾ. ʿAbd Allāh would point out the place where the Prophet (ṢAAS) would pray, and say, "Over there at your right when you stand praying in the mosque." That mosque is at the right edge of the road when you are proceeding to Mecca. The distance between it and the bigger mosque is approximately a stone's throw.

(The account goes on that) Ibn ʿUmar would pray towards the sand hillock which was at the end of al-Rawḥāʾ. The side of that hillock would end at the edge of the road, below the mosque which lies between it and the beginning point of the open land, if on your way to Mecca. A mosque had been built there, but ʿAbd Allāh did not pray in that mosque. He would leave it on his left and his rear and pray in front of it, facing towards the sand hillock itself. ʿAbd Allāh would leave al-Rawḥāʾ and not perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer until he reached that place, where he would pray. If he should be coming from Mecca and pass by it an hour before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, or at the end of the period before dawn, he would dismount to rest until he could pray the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer there.

(The account went on that) ʿAbd Allāh (Ibn ʿUmar) related to him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would dismount beneath a large *sarḥa* tree below al-Ruwaytha, at the right of the road and opposite it, in a place where there was a broad, level gulley which comes out at a hillock a little below the mail-station of al-Ruwaytha, some two miles away. Its top had broken off and it has bent at its centre; it stands on a track in which there are many deposits of sand.

(The account states that) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar told Nāfiʿ that the Prophet (ṢAAS) also prayed at the side of a hillock at the back of al-ʿArj, on the way to Haḍba; at that mosque there are two or three graves. Over them stand stone markers, to the right of the road, at some *salam* trees. It was between those trees that ʿAbd Allāh would pass from al-ʿArj, after the sun had begun to decline after noon; he would perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer in that mosque.

(The account states that) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar also related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped at some trees to the left of the road at a rivulet below Harshā; that stream adjoins the extremity of Harshā, roughly an arrow's cast away from the road. ʿAbd Allāh would pray at the tree closest to the road; it was also the tallest tree.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar also told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go down into the stream that is very close to Marr al-Zahrān, before Medina, when he would descend from al-Ṣafrūwāt. He would go down to the bed of the stream, to the right side of the road if you are headed for Mecca, there being only a stone's throw between that place and the road.

(Nāfiʿ also stated) that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū Ṭuwā and spend the night there. Next morning he would perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer when he arrived in Mecca. The place where he would perform that prayer was at some rough hillocks; this was not at the mosque that had been built there, but lower down on some rough hillocks.

(The account proceeds to state that) ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿUmar) related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approached the two gaps in the mountain that stands between him and al-Jabal al-Ṭawīl, facing the *kaʿba* and constructed the mosque that was built there to the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. The prayer-place of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was below it upon the black (hillocks). "You move some ten arms' lengths away from the hillocks and then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that stands between you and the *kaʿba*."

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, is alone in reporting this *ḥadīth* in full and with this line of transmission. However, Muslim narrated it from the point, at its end, where it states, "that ʿAbd Allāh b.ʿUmar related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū Ṭuwā" to the conclusion of the *ḥadīth*. He gives a line from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Musayyabī, from Anas, from ʿIyyāḍ, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it in full, from Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭāriq, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar in similar form.

Many – or most of – these places (named) are not known today, because the names of most of them have been changed by the bedouin who are there. Ignorance has overcome most of them.

The reason al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, gave them in his work was so that a person might find his way to them for contemplation or sightseeing. Or perhaps most or many of them were known in al-Bukhārī's time. God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Chapter: The entry of the Prophet (ṢAAS) into Mecca, may God the Almighty and Glorious, honour it well.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. ᶜAbd Allāh, quoting Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwā. When morning came, he entered Mecca." Ibn ᶜUmar would do this.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saᶜīd al-Qaṭṭān and added, "until he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer". Or his words were "until morning came".

Muslim stated that Abū al-Rabīᶜ al-Zahrānī related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiᶜ that Ibn ᶜUmar never came to Mecca without spending the night at Dhū Ṭuwā until morning came and he washed himself. He would then enter Mecca later that morning. He would relate that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would do this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb.

Both (these scholars) give it from a different line, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, to the effect that when he entered close to the sanctified area, he would refrain from reciting the *talbīyya* until he had spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwā. And he narrated as above.

We have given above the account given by both scholars through Mūsā b. ᶜUqba, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would spend the night at Dhū Ṭuwā until morning came. When he reached Mecca he would perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. Moreover, it was at some rough hillocks that he would pray. And that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would face towards the two crevices of the mountain that stood between him and the Jabal al-Ṭawīl, towards the *kaᶜba*, and that he kept (the place) where the mosque was (later) built at the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. (The *ḥadīth* states) that the prayer place of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was below it upon the black hillocks and that he would move some ten arms' lengths away from the hillocks, then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that, "stood between you and the *kaᶜba*".

Both scholars included this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

The outcome of all this is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his journey to Dhū Ṭuwā, a place near Mecca adjacent to the sanctuary, he refrained from reciting the *talbiyya* because he had arrived at his objective. He stayed there overnight until morning, then performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at that place they described – between the two gaps of the Jabal al-Ṭawīl over from there.

Whoever has contemplated by sight these places referred to knows them very well and can visualize the spot where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer.

He then bathed in order to enter Mecca. He then mounted and entered in full view, in daytime, from the high pass at al-Baṭḥāʾ. It is also called "Kadā" because people see it and it looks down upon them. He entered Mecca the same way the day of its conquest, as we related above.

Mālik stated, from Nāfiʿ, who quoted Ibn ʿUmar as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass and left by the lower.

Both scholars included this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Nāfiʿ's *ḥadīth.*

They both give it also through ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, quoting Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass at al-Baṭḥāʾ, and left from the lower pass.

Both scholars relate a similar *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, quoting ʿĀʾisha.

When his gaze fell upon the *kaʿba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke the words narrated by al-Shāfiʿī in his *musnad* collection, as follows. Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Saʿīd b. Sālim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, that when he saw the *kaʿba*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised his hands and said, "O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, respect and awe. And favour those who venerate and revere it and all those who make the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* pilgrimage to it, according them honour, respect, glory and reverence."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is incomplete. It has one witness, with a (tradition) that is *mursal*, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Shāmī, from Makḥūl, who said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and saw the *kaʿba*, he would raise both hands and say, *Allāhu Akbar*, "God is most Great!". Then he would state, "O God, You are peace, and peace comes from You. Greet us, therefore, our Lord in peace! O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, awe and reverence. And favour those who make the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* to it, augmenting their respect, honour, glory and reverence."'"

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Saʿīd b. Sālim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, "It was related to me from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'Hands should be raised (after) prayer when one sees the *kaʿba*, and upon al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, as well as in the evening with the throng upon ʿArafāt, at both monuments where stones are cast, and in the presence of a deceased person.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā narrated this, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, as well as from Nāfiʿ, quoting Ibn ʿUmar. One of his *aḥādīth* is *mawqūf*, while the other is *marfūʿ* to the Prophet (ṢAAS), without reference to the deceased person.

Ibn Abū Laylā stated, "This (tradition)is not strong."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) entered the mosque through the Banū Shayba gate.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that it was related to him from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, who said, "The person in a state of *iḥrām* may enter from wherever he wishes."

He went on to say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) entered through the Banū Shayba gate and left through the Banū Makhzūm gate to al-Ṣafā."

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is very *mursal*."

Al-Bayhaqī gives evidence for the preferability of entering the *kaʿba* from the Banū Shayba gate by giving an account through Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, (who said), "Ḥammād b. Salama related to me, as did Qays b. Sallām, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khālid b. ʿUrʿura, from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, who said, 'When the *kaʿba* collapsed, following (the reign) of Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. When they wished to position the (black) stone, they argued over who should place it there. They agreed that the first person to enter through that gate should do so. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who came in through the Banū Shayba gate. He asked for a cloth, placed the stone in its middle, then told (a representative of) each sub-tribe to take hold of one of its sides, and they raised it up. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took it and positioned it.'"

We have given this in full in the chapter on the rebuilding of the *kaʿba* prior to the mission. Evidence for the preferability of entering through the Banū Shayba gate in this way is controversial. But God knows best.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CIRCUMAMBULATIONS MADE BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣbagh b. al-Faraj related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said that he told the following to ʿUrwa, "ʿĀʾisha told me, 'The first thing the Prophet (ṢAAS) did when he arrived (in Mecca) was to perform the ablutions. He then circumambulated; it was not an *ʿumra*. Then Abū Bakr and ʿUmar performed the *ḥajj* as he had done. Following that, I performed the *ḥajj* with Abū al-Zubayr. He began first with a circumambulation; then I saw the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* do as he had. My mother told me that she, her sister, al-Zubayr and various others had recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*. After they had touched the corner (of the *kaʿba* with the "black stone") they declared their *iḥrām* concluded.'"

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. He also narrated it elsewhere from Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā. Muslim narrated it from Hārūn b. Saʿīd. All three accounts quote from Ibn Wahb.

Her statement, "it was not an *ʿumra*", shows that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between both rites (of the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*).

Moreover, the first thing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did was to salute the "black stone", before the circumambulation, as Jābir stated, "until when he reached the *kaʿba* with him, he saluted the 'corner', jogged for three circumambulations and walked four".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, from ʿUmar, (who said) that when he reached the (black) stone, he kissed it and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

Muslim narrated this from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Ibn Abū Numayr, all quoting from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, who said, "I saw ʿUmar kiss the stone and say, 'I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayda and Abū Muʾāwiya narrated to him, both saying, "Al-Aʿmash related to me, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, who said, 'I saw ʿUmar go to the stone and say, "I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage; had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so." He then approached and kissed it.'"

This text requires that he made his statement and then kissed it thereafter, contrary to the text given by the compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ and Yaḥyā related to him as follows, the wording being from Wakīʿ, from Hishām, from his father, who said that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went to the stone and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so." Hishām's father went on, "He then kissed it."

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its line between ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr, quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the corner (stone), "I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute you, I would not have done so." And he did salute it.

Then he (ʿUmar) stated, "We had nothing to do with geomancy. We did, however, see the unbelievers using it, and God destroyed them." He went on, "It is something that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did and we do not want to give it up."

This shows that the salutation (of the stone) came after the statement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Sinān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Warqāʾ, quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said, "I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss the stone and say, 'Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated that Ḥarmala related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus – he being Ibn Yazīd al-Aylī – and ʿAmr – he being Ibn Dīnār (who narrated the *ḥadīth*) – and Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-Ablī related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim, quoting his father as saying, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kissed the stone and then said, 'I swear by God, I know that you are a stone. And had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

In his account, Hārūn added, "ʿAmr stated, 'And Zayd b. Aslam related the same to me, from his father Aslam' – meaning from ʿUmar – 'as above.'"

This is clear in stating that the kiss preceded the statement. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that ʿUmar kissed the stone and then stated, "I know you are a stone. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

This is how Imām Aḥmad narrated it.

Muslim included it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said that) ʿUmar kissed the stone, then stated, "I am kissing you even though I well know you are a stone. But I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you."

Muslim then stated that Khalaf b. Hishām and al-Muqaddamī related to him, as did Abū Kāmil and Qutayba, all quoting from Ḥammād. Khalaf stated, "Ḥammād b. Zayd related to us, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sarjis, who said, 'I saw al-Aṣlaʿ' – meaning ʿUmar – 'kiss the stone and say, "By God, I am kissing you even though I well know that you are a stone and that you can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."'"

In the account of al-Muqaddamī and Abū Kāmil, the words are, "I saw al-Uṣayliʿ".[106]

Muslim is alone in giving this; al-Bukhārī does not.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Abū Muʿāwiya, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sarjis. Aḥmad also narrated it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal.

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[106] The word is a diminutive form of al-Aṣlaʿ, 'the bald-headed', ʿUmar, that is.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, from Sufyān, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Suwayd b. Ghafla, who said, "I saw ʿUmar kiss the stone and say, 'I well know that you are a stone that cannot bring harm nor advantage, but I saw Abū al-Qāsim,[107] may God's peace and blessings be upon him, saluting you."

Aḥmad then narrated it from Wakīʿ, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. He added, "And he kissed it and embraced it."

Muslim related it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, without additions. And from a *ḥadīth* of Wakīʿ with the following addition, "He kissed and embraced the stone and said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saluting you.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb bent down over the corner and said, "I well know that you are a stone; had I not seen my beloved, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), kiss you and salute you, I would not have saluted nor kissed you." He then recited, "In the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) you had a fine example" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.21).

This line of transmission is excellent and strong; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not include it.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān al-Qurashī related to him, from the people of Mecca. He said, "I saw Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar kiss the stone and he prostrated over it. Then he said, 'I saw your maternal uncle Ibn ʿAbbās kiss it and prostrate himself over it. And Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss it and prostrate over it. And ʿUmar then said, 'Had I not seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"'"

This line of transmission is also good. But the major authorities did not include it; except, that is, for al-Nasāʾī, who gave a line from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Ḥanẓala b. Abū Sufyān, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar. He related it in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this *ḥadīth* from ʿUmar in his *musnad* collection, from Yaʿlā b. Umayya and Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, through Hishām b. Ḥashīsh b. al-Ashqar, who quoted ʿUmar.

We gave all the above with their various lines of transmission, differences in wording and interpretations and explanations in the book we compiled of *aḥādīth* traced to the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. And all praise and credit go to God.

In sum, this tradition is narrated by various lines from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. They provide conclusive proof for most of the *imāms* relating to this issue.

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[107] An honorific for the Prophet (ṢAAS).

In this account, it is not stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prostrated over the stone, except, that is, for the purport of the account of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, from Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān; and it is not fully clear in its line of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, however, narrated it through Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I saw Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Jaʿfar kiss the stone, prostrate over it and then say, 'I saw your maternal uncle, Khālid Ibn ʿAbbās, kiss it and prostrate over it. And Ibn ʿAbbās said, "I saw ʿUmar kiss it and prostrate over it. He then said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) act like this, and so I did it.'"'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān, quoting al-Ṭabrānī, quoting Abū al-Zinbāʿ, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Juʿfī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Yamān, quoting Sufyān b. Abū Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrate over the stone."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Only Yaḥyā b. Yamān related it from Sufyān."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from al-Zubayr b. ʿArabī, who said, "A man asked ʿUmar's son about the salutation of the stone. He said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute it and kiss it. He said, "What if (in the process) I am jostled or overwhelmed by the crowd?" Ibn ʿUmar replied, "Abandon such talk! I did indeed see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute it and kiss it!"'"

Although al-Bukhārī gave this, Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "I never omitted saluting thse two corners, in hard times or easy, ever since I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute them both."

(ʿUbayd Allāh continued) "I asked Nāfiʿ, 'Did Ibn ʿUmar walk between the two corners?' He replied, 'He only walked so that it would be easier for his salutation.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Prophet (ṢAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī (south-west) corner and the stone in each circumambulation.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father, who said, "The only corners of the *kaʿba* I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) salute were the two Yamānī[108] corners."

Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd.

In one account from him, it is related that he said, "I don't think that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have neglected to salute both Shāmī corners except for the fact that they were not completed on the foundations (set by) Abraham."

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[108] That is, the two corners on the side closest to Yemen. The other two are known as the "Shāmī" corners and are closest to Syria – al-Shām, that is.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "And Muḥammad b. Bakr said that he was informed by Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ who said, 'And who would avoid touching anything from the *kaʿba*!'"

Muʾāwiya used to salute the corners and so Ibn ʿAbbās told him, "These two corners are not saluted." He replied, "No part of the *kaʿba* is to be left out. Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute them all."

Al-Bukhārī, may God Almighty have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this.

Muslim stated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, that Abū al-Ṭāhir related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said) that Qatāda b. Daʿāma related to him that Abū al-Ṭufayl al-Bakrī related to him that he heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, "I only ever saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute the two Yamānī corners." Muslim is alone in giving this.

The account related by Ibn ʿUmar agrees with what Ibn ʿAbbās stated – that the two Shāmī corners were not saluted because they were not completed on the foundations (set by) Abraham. This was because Quraysh could not meet the expense, and they put the stone outside of the *kaʿba* when they built it. This is explained above.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) wished that it had been built and completed on the foundations of Abraham. But he was concerned over the fact that the people had so recently been in the *jāhiliyya* period, and that they would have resented it (the omission).

During the rule of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he demolished the *kaʿba* and rebuilt it according to the directions given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as related by his (ʿAbd Allāh's) aunt, the Mother of the Believers', ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

If Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute all the corners, then it was after their rebuilding on the foundations of Abraham; then this would have been fine. And this is certainly the preponderant view.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī corner and the stone during each circumambulation."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yaḥyā.

Al-Nasāʾī stated that Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī narrated to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Yaḥyā b. ʿUbayd, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sāʾib, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, between the Yamānī corner and the stone, 'O our God, bring us good on earth, and also good in the hereafter; save us from the torture of hell-fire'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.201).

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Musaddad, from ʿIsā b. Yūnus, from Ibn Jurayj.

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān narrated to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from

Jābir, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he entered the mosque and saluted the stone. He then passed on to his right, jogged for three circumambulations and walked four. He thereafter went to the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, 'Abraham's station', and said, 'And adopt *maqām Ibrāhīm* as a place to pray.' He performed two *rakaᶜāt* with the *maqām* between himself and the *kaᶜba*. He then, after two *rakaᶜāt* went to the stone and saluted it. After that he left for al-Ṣafā. I think he said, 'Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God.'"

This is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan* and *ṣaḥīḥ*. And scholars act on that basis.

Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh narrated it as above, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam. And al-Ṭabrānī narrated it from al-Nasā᾽ī and others, from ᶜAbd al-Aᶜlā b. Wāṣil, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam.

An Account of how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) jogged and moved at a fast pace on his circumambulations and the iḍṭibāᶜ, *'tucking up one's gown under the right arm'.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣbagh b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim, from his father, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he arrived in Mecca, act as follows. As he began the circumambulations, he saluted the 'black stone', and then he ran for three courses out of the seven."

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Ṭāhir b. al-Sarḥ, as did Ḥarmala, both of them quoting from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Sallām related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. al-Nuᶜmān, quoting Fulayḥ, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) ran for three courses, then walked for four during the *ḥajj* and the *ᶜumra*."

Al-Layth agreed with this, quoting from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Nasā᾽ī narrated it from Muḥammad and from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, both of whom were sons of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥakam. They both quoted from Shuᶜayb b. al-Layth, from his father, al-Layth b. Saᶜd, from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Abū Ḍamra Anas b. ᶜIyyāḍ, quoting Mūsā b. ᶜUqba, from Nāfiᶜ, from ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he first arrived in Mecca and began the circumambulations for the *ḥajj* or the *ᶜumra*, would run for three courses and walk for four and then would make two *rakaᶜāt* before making the courses between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ᶜUqba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Anas, from ᶜUbayd Allāh b. ᶜUmar, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, (who said) that the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "would for the first *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) move at a fast pace for three circumambulations, and then walk for four. And he also ran in the middle of the course when he passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar. Muslim stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abān al-Juʿfī informed him, quoting Ibn Mubārak, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog from the stone to the stone for three circumambulations, and then walked for four.

He went on to narrate it from a *ḥadīth* of Salīm b. Akhḍar, from ʿUbayd Allāh, in similar terms. Muslim also stated that Abū al-Ṭāhir related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, quoting Mālik and Ibn Jurayj, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog for three circumambulations from the stone back to the stone. And ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, "Why the movement at a jog and the 'exposing of the shoulder', seeing that God had firmly established Islam and had ousted apostasy? However, we will not give up anything we used to do with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. Saʿīd, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who quoted him (ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb).

All of this refutes Ibn ʿAbbās and those who support his view that the movement at a jog is not an orthodox practice, since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did perform it when he and his Companions arrived on the morning of the Wednesday – during the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'*, that is – and the polytheists commented, "A delegation is arriving who have been weakened by the Yathrib fever." And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to move at a jog for three courses, then walk between the two corners. He only prevented them from jogging for all the circumambulations because of his concern for their health.

This is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; his statement giving the reasons for this are very clear in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim.

It is as though Ibn ʿAbbās denies that there was movement at a jog on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*! This fact, however, is fully substantiated as above. Indeed, in it there is evidence that the jogging was completed in the course from the stone and back to it. And that the passing between the two Yamānī corners was not made at a walking pace because of the absence of that cause referred to, namely weakness.

It is stated in a authentic *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās, that they moved at a jog between them at the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna and that they performed *idṭibāʿ*, "tucked up their gowns under their right arms".

This fact also refutes the above objection, since there was no longer any fear remaining at the time of the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, since it occurred after the conquest of Mecca, as told above.

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna and moved at a jog around the *kaʿba*, tucking their garments under their armpits and over their shoulders.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād in similar words, as well as from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Regarding the *iḍṭibāʿ* of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, Qabīsa and al-Firyābī stated, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shayba, from Yaʿlā b. Umayya, from Umayya, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulate the *kaʿba* in a state of *iḍṭibāʿ*."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī and categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Yaʿlā, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated with a green cloak he was wearing *muḍṭabaʿ*, 'tucked up', under his arm."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Wakīʿ, from al-Thawrī, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Yaʿlā, from his father, to the effect that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the *kaʿba* while wearing a cloak from the *Ḥaḍramawt muḍṭabiʿan*, "tucked up".

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth* quoted above, that when they reached the *kaʿba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the "black stone", jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the *maqām Ibrāhīm* and recited, "And use Abraham's station as a place for prayer" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.125). He positioned himself so that the *maqām* was between himself and the *kaʿba*. He related that he performed two *rakaʿāt* and then recited, "Say, 'He is God the One'" (*sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; CXII, v.1), and "Say: 'O Unbelievers'" (*sūrat al-Kāfirūna*; CIX, v.1).

What if it were asked whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted or on foot on this circumambulation?

The answer would be that two different accounts have been transmitted that might seem contradictory. We will give both and offer reconciliation between them and so refute those who imagine there to be a contradiction in them. And through God comes success; His help is sought and He is sufficient for us and the best support of all.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān both related to him that Ibn Wahb related to him, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated while upon his camel at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, saluting the corner with a bent staff."

The other major scholars promulgated it, except for al-Tirmidhī, by various lines from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Darāwardī supported this, from the nephew of al-Zuhrī, who quoted his uncle.

This sequence is very odd.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* on a camel; each time he came to the corner, he gestured towards it."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī and ʿAbd al-Wārith, both of them quoting from Khālid b. Mahrān al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated upon his mount; and when he ended up at the corner, he gestured to it."

He categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* upon a camel; and when he came to the corner, he gestured to it with something he had and invoked, '*Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great!"'"

Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān supported this, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ.

He (al-Bukhārī) traced this comment in his *kitāb al-Ṭawāf* back on a line from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Abū ʿĀmir, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān.

Muslim narrated (it) from al-Ḥakam b. Mūsā, from Shuʿayb b. Isḥāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, to the effect that on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated around the *kaʿba* on a mule saluting the corner, disliking (the possibility) that the people would turn away from him.[109]

This substantiates that on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated upon a mule. However, during the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* he made three *ṭawāf*. The first was that of *al-qudūm*. The second that of the *ifāḍa*, that being the *ṭawāf al-farḍ*, it being the day for the sacrifice. The third was the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ*.[110]

Perhaps his being mounted referred to one of the other two, or to them both. Ragarding the *ṭawāf al-qudūm*, he was on foot for it. Al-Shāfiʿī gives a text on all this. But God knows best and is most Wise.

Proof for this explanation is provided by what the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *al-Sunan al-Kabīr*: "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ told us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Muʾammil b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿĪsā, quoting al-Faḍl b.

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[109] For giving up a pre-Islamic practice that they favoured.

[110] The *ṭawāf al-qudūm* is performed on arrival into the city of Mecca and the Sacred Mosque for the first time. The *ṭawāf al-ifāda* is a key rite of the *ḥajj* ceremony, while the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* is performed when bidding farewell to the Sacred City.

Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, quoting Nu῾aym b. Ḥammād, quoting ῾Īsā b. Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq – Ibn Yasār, that is, may God have mercy upon him – from Abū Ja῾far – he being Muḥammad b. ῾Alī b. al-Ḥusayn – from Jābir b. ῾Abd Allāh, who said, 'We went into Mecca as dawn rose. The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the door of the mosque and made his camel kneel. Then he entered the mosque, beginning at the stone, which he saluted. His eyes welled with tears. He then moved at a jog for three circumambulations, and walked for four. When he had finished, he kissed the stone, placed his hands upon it and them wiped them over his face.'"

This line of transmission is excellent.

The account given by Abū Dā'ūd states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khālid b. ῾Abd Allāh, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ῾Ikrima, from Ibn ῾Abbās, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he was suffering somewhat.

He circumambulated on his camel and when he reached the corner, he saluted it with his staff. When he had completed the circumambulation, he made his camel kneel and then performed two *raka῾āt* in prayer.

Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, who is regarded as a weak source, is alone in giving this.

He did not refer, moreover, to it having been the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*, nor that it was the first circumambulation of the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*.

And neither Ibn ῾Abbās, in the authentic *ḥadīth* from him given by Muslim, nor Jābir, similarly, said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) rode during his circumambulation due to his weakness. Both these authorities in fact referred to the large throng of people and their massing around him. He did not like for them to be a throng in front of him. Information on this will be given shortly hereafter, if God so wills it.

This second act of kissing, moreover, mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq in his account, that after the circumambulation and also after his having performed the two *raka῾āt*, is firmly set in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir. In it he stated, after reference to praying for the two *raka῾āt* of the circumambulation, "he then returned to the corner and saluted it".

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Numayr together related to him, from Abū Khālid, that Abū Bakr stated, "Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar related to us, from ῾Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi῾, who said, "I saw Ibn ῾Umar salute the stone with his hand and then kiss his hand. He said, 'I have not given it up since I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do it.'"

This suggests that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (kiss his hands) on one of his circumambulations or in the last salutation he made, as we have related. Or that Ibn ῾Umar did not actually get to the stone due to some weakness he had, or so that he would not jostle against other persons and so do them harm.

For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke as follows to Ibn ῾Umar's father, as quoted by Aḥmad in his *musnad* collection, "Wakī῾ related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Abū Yaʿfūr al-ʿAbdī, who said, 'I heard a sheikh in Mecca during the reign of al-Ḥajjāj quote from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "ʿUmar, you are a strong man. Don't jostle at the stone, perhaps harming someone who is weak; if you should find the way to it clear, then salute it. Otherwise, face it and say *Allāhū Akbar* "God is most Great!".'"

This is an excellent line of transmission; however, the narrator who quotes ʿUmar is unknown and is not named.

It is apparent, however, that this *ḥadīth* is trustworthy and important. For al-Shāfiʿī narrated it from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Abū Yaʿfūr al-ʿAbdī, his name being Waqdān, (who said), "I heard a man of Khuzāʿa say, following the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr who had been ruler of Mecca, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar, "Abū Ḥafṣ, you are a strong man, so don't jostle at the corner in case you harm someone weak. However, if you find the way clear, then salute it; otherwise say, 'God is most Great', then pass on."'"

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, "He (the source quoted) was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith; al-Ḥajjāj had made him Governor or Mecca when he departed from there following the death of Ibn al-Zubayr."

I note that this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a distinguished and important man. He was one of the four persons whom ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān appointed to write out the copies of the Holy Qurʾān whom he dispatched to all places abroad; this text has met unanimous acceptance.

Accounts of the circumambulation of the Prophet (ṢAAS) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection quoting Jābir in his long *ḥadīth* given above. Following his report of the Prophet (ṢAAS) having made seven circumambulations of the *kaʿba* and his having performed two prayer *rakaʿāt* at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, he went on to say that he returned to the corner (*al-rukn*), saluted it and then left through the door towards al-Ṣafā. When he approached al-Ṣafā, he recited, "al-Safā and al-Marwa are rites of God" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.158). He then said that he would begin with that with which God began.

He commenced at al-Ṣafā and scaled it until he saw the *kaʿba*. Facing towards it, he called out, "God is most Great!" Then he declaimed, "There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God! He has fulfilled His promise. He has aided his servant, and has alone defeated the factions." During this, he prayed and spoke similar words three times.

He then came down until his feet were set in the *wādī*; he moved at a jog, until having ascended, he walked to al-Marwa. He scaled it until he looked over to the *kaʿba* and he spoke upon it what he had upon al-Ṣafā.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿUmar b. Hārūn al-Balkhī, Abū Ḥafṣ, that is, quoted Ibn Jurayj, from one of the Banū Yaʿlā b. Umayya, who quoted his father as saying, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) proceed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa wearing a *najrānī burda, muḍṭabiʿan*, 'gown from Hajrān tucked up beneath his armpit'."

Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting Yūnus, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʾammil, from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, quoting ʿAtiyya, from Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Naḥrāt, who said, "I went into Ḥusayn's house, along with some women of Quraysh, while the Prophet (ṢAAS) was circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. As he ran, his *izār*, 'his waist-wrapper', was moving around because of the energy with which he was running. He was saying to his Companions, "Run! God made running incumbent upon you."'"

Aḥmad also stated that Shurayḥ related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʾammil, quoting ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, from Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt. She said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; the people were ahead of him, and he behind them. He was running so vigorously that I could see his knees. His *izār* was moving around and he was saying, 'Run, for God has made running incumbent upon you.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Aḥmad also narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Wāṣil, the freed-man of Abū ʿUyayna, from Mūsā b. ʿUbayda, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, (who stated) that a woman informed her that she had heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), while passing between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, "Running (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) has been made incumbent upon you, so run!"

This woman was Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt, who is quoted in the first two *aḥādīth*. (It is also related) from the mother of the son of Shayba b. ʿUthmān, to the effect that she saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, "The valley is only to be traversed vigorously."

Al-Nasāʾī (also) narrated it. What is meant here by *al-saʿy*, "running", is the movement from al-Ṣafā to al-Marwa and back. What is meant her by *al-saʿy* is not movement at a fast pace or racing, for God definitely did not make that incumbent upon us. Indeed, if a person walks in that same manner for the seven circumambulations between them both and does not jog in the river bed, that will suffice him (from God) according to the community of scholars; we know of no dispute among them regarding that.

Al-Tirmidhī, may God have mercy upon him, transmitted this from the scholarly community. He stated that Yūsuf b. ʿĪsā related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Kathīr b. Jahmān, who said, "I saw Ibn ʿUmar walking on the course, and I asked, 'Are you going to walk on the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa?' He replied, 'If I should run, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) run; and if I should walk, I have also seen him walk. I am now a very old man (and am forced to walk).'"

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

Saʿīd b. Jubayr narrated from Ibn ʿAbbās a similar account. Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAṭā b. al-Sā'ib, from Kathīr b. Jahmān al-Sulamī al-Kūfī, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Ibn ʿUmar's statement that he witnessed both activities by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offers two possibilities. One is that he saw him move on one occasion at a walking pace from which jogging was absolutely absent. The second is that he saw him run for part of the way and walk for a part.

This (latter) is a strong possibility, since al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would run along the bed of the river when he made the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

It is stated above in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came down from al-Ṣafā and when his feet were set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog until he had climbed above, when he came to al-Marwa.

This is what the scholars prefer in unanimity – that the person moving between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (mentioned above in Jābir's account) should preferably jog on each circumambulation in the bed of the *wādī*, the stream bed that runs between them. They (the scholars) defined that to apply to the distance between the *amyāl al-khuḍr*,[111] the 'green markers', one standing alone towards al-Ṣafā, adjacent to the mosque, and two more placed together towards al-Marwa, also adjacent to the mosque.

Some scholars have stated that the distance between these miles today is greater than the bed of the stream in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, in the book he compiled on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ṣafā and recited there, 'Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God. I shall begin with that which God began.' And he then circumambulated also between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa seven times. For three of these courses he was mounted on his mule and moving at a trot, while for four he walked."

He made no further comment on this statement, one not made by anyone preceding him – namely, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was mounted on his mule for three courses between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and that he walked for four.

He offered no proof whatsoever for this horrendous error. When he arrived at the point (in his account) where evidence would be expected, he stated, "We did not find the number of the courses made at a jog referred to in sources; however, it is the object of (general) agreement (as above)."

This is his wording. If what he meant is that movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of agreement, as he states, this is not true; indeed, no one related this.

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[111] The description given here is unclear, as are the distances to which reference is made.

If he meant that the movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of unanimous agreement, this point is devoid of value and useless. For just as there is agreement on the movement at a jog in the first three circumambulations, as we have indicated, there is also agreement on its preferability also in the remaining four.

Ibn Ḥazm's insisting on the preferability of movement at a jog specifically for the first three circumambulations is contrary to what the scholars relate. But God knows best.

Regarding this comment of Ibn Ḥazm, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, it has been shown above from Ibn ʿUmar that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to make the *al-saʿy* jogging on foot along the stream bed.

Both compilers (of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) included this.

Al-Tirmidhī quotes him (Ibn ʿUmar) as stating, "If I run, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) run; and if I walk, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walk."

And Jābir stated, "When his feet set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog until, having ascended, he walked."

Muslim narrated this.

Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt, said that he ran, while his *izār* was moving around him from the vigour of his running.

Aḥmad related this.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, quoting from Jābir, as given above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is said to have ascended al-Ṣafā until he saw the *kaʿba*. And the same for al-Marwa. We gave above from the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir, from Jābir (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque – until he circumambulated, that is. Moreover, he does not relate that he mounted it immediately on his departure for al-Ṣafā.

All this requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a walk between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

However, Muslim stated that ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Bakr – quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated on his *rāḥila*, 'his riding camel', at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* at the *kaʿba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa riding on a *baʿīr*,[112] 'a donkey', so that people would see him and be able to question him and he could look down. The throng inundated him, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

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[112] The word *baʿīr* more commonly applies to a male camel; however, it is sometimes in early sources applied to an ass or donkey. Since there seems to be a distinction necessary here, the word has been translated as "donkey".

Muslim also narrated this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAlī b. Mushir and also from ʿAlī b. Khashram, from ʿIsā b. Yūnus, and from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd. All of these quoted it from Ibn Jurayj. In some of these accounts the words 'and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa' are not given.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyāb. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* riding his camel, and also between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā, and from ʿImrān b. Yazīd, from Saʿīd b. Isḥāq, both of them quoting from Ibn Jurayj.

This is recorded in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Yet is is very problematical. Because the rest of the accounts from Jābir and others indicate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would walk between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

The account of Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir might well be that way because of the addition; I refer to his statement, "And between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa". This (statement) may have been interpolated by someone after the Companion. But God knows best.

Or perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) did proceed on foot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for some of the circumambulations, and his reported behaviour was witnessed then. When there was a heavy throng around him, he rode, as is shown in the account of Ibn ʿAbbās that follows shortly.

Ibn Ḥazm conceded that his first circumambulation of the *kaʿba* was on foot, and he maintained that his riding while on the circumambulations came thereafter. He also claimed that he was riding on the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. He stated, "Because he only circumambulated between them once." He went on to explain Jābir's statement, "until his feet were set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog" by saying that he accepts that, even though the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted, and that when his camel "was set" in the *wādī*, so was all of himself, his feet being "set" along with the rest of his body. Ibn Ḥazm stated, "And the same goes for the reference to the *al-ramal*, "the movement at a jog". By this the account refers to his mount's movement at a jog, along with its rider.

This explanation is extremely far-fetched. But God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ghanawī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who stated, "I said to Ibn ʿAbbās, 'Your people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog at the *kaʿba*, and that that was his *sunna*, his "orthodox practice".' He replied, 'They both spoke the truth and lied.' I asked, 'In what did they speak the truth, and in what lie?' He replied, 'They spoke the truth by saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog, but lied in that it was not a *sunna*. Quraysh said at al-Ḥudaybiyya, 'Just leave Muḥammad and his Companions alone to die of worms!' And then they made peace with him on the basis of his making the pilgrimage the following year and agreeing to them staying in Mecca for three days. And then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while the unbelievers were over in front of Mt. Qu῾ayqi῾ān. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, 'Move at a jog three times around the *ka῾ba.*' This was not a *sunna*.

"I asked, 'Your people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on a camel, and that that is a *sunna.*' He replied, 'They spoke the truth, and they lied.' I asked, 'In what did they speak the truth, and in what did they lie?' He replied, 'They spoke the truth in that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did circumambulate between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on a camel. And they lied; that was not a *sunna*. The (throng of) people could not be kept away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or diverted from him. And so he circumambulated on a camel so that they could hear his words and see where he was, but their hands could not reach him.'"

This is how Abū Dā'ūd narrated it.

Muslim narrated it from Abū Kāmil, from ῾Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, from al-Jurayrī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ῾Abbās. He (Abū al-Ṭufayl) related the virtue of circumambulating the *ka῾ba* as above, then said, "I asked Ibn ῾Abbās, 'Tell me about circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, while mounted. Is that a *sunna*? Your people claim that it is a *sunna*.' He replied, 'They spoke the truth and they lied.' I asked, 'What do you mean by saying they spoke the truth and lied?'

"He replied, 'People massed around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'This is Muḥammad! This is Muḥammad!' Even the aged were coming out of their houses. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not (want) to have people throng before him. And so when they crowded in large numbers around him, he rode.'

"Ibn ῾Abbās concluded, 'Walking and running are better.'"

This is the wording of Muslim. It requires that he only rode when the circumstances warranted. Through this, reconciliation between the various *aḥādīth* is possible. But God knows best.

Then there is the account related by Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfi῾ related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Zuhayr, from ῾Abd al-Malik b. Sa῾īd, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I told Ibn ῾Abbās, 'I believe I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He asked, 'Describe him to me.' I said, 'I saw him at al-Marwa on a camel with a great many people all around him.' Ibn ῾Abbās said, 'That was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). People would not be struck (to keep them away) from him, nor would they be forced (to keep away) from him.'"

Muslim is alone in giving this. In this account there is no evidence that he was mounted while passing between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, for he (the narrator) did not specify it to relate to the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾* or to some other time. Assuming that the account did relate to the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*, it is possible that it related to the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished the courses, sat down upon al-Marwa, addressed the people, told those who had not brought a *hadi* to convert the *ḥajj* into an *ʿumra* and all those except the ones who had brought a *hadī* having concluded their *iḥrām*, stated, as is related above in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. And thereafter, following all this, he had his camel brought, mounted it and rode off to his house at al-Abṭaḥ, as we will relate shortly, and it was at that point that he was seen by Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila al-Bikrī, a man included among the lesser Companions.

I note that a faction of Iraqis, persons such as Abū Ḥanīfa and his companions, and al-Thawrī, maintain that the person performing the *ḥajj al-qirān* makes two circumambulations and makes two courses at a run; this is narrated from ʿAlī, Ibn Masʿūd, Mujāhid and al-Shaʿbī. They cite as evidence the long *ḥadīth* of Jābir and his evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved on foot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and the fact that his *ḥadīth* reports that the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed between them mounted, according to the account of the circumambulation between them both, once at a walk, then mounted.

Saʿīd b. Manṣūr narrated in his work *al-Sunan*, from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra*, and when he reached Mecca he circumambulated the *kaʿba* and made the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his *ʿumra*. He then came back and circumambulated the *kaʿba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his *ḥijja*. And that he remained in a state of *ḥarām* until the day of the sacrifice.

This is his wording. Abū Dharr al-Harawī narrated it in his work *Manāsik* from ʿAlī, to the effect that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* and made two circumambulations and two *saʿy* courses for them. He (ʿAlī) stated, "That is what I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly, as did al-Dārqutnī and al-Nasāʾī in their materials relating to ʿAlī. Al-Bayhaqī stated, in his work on the *sunna*, that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith al-Faqīh, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, quoting Muḥammad b. Zumbūr, quoting Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, or Manṣūr, from Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, from Abū Naṣr, who stated, "I met ʿAlī, and had recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, while he had done so for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. I said, 'Can I do as you did?' He replied, 'That is so – provided you began with the *ʿumra*.' I asked, 'What should I do if that is what I wish?' He replied, 'Take a vessel of water and pour it over yourself. Then recite the *talbiyya* for both of them together. After that, circumambulate twice and make the *saʿy* passages twice for them. And do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded before the day of the sacrifice.'"

Manṣūr stated, "I related that to Mujāhid, and he said, 'We used to combine with only one circumambulation. But nowadays that is not what we do."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿba narrated it from Manṣūr, but in his account he made no reference to the *saʿy*. He also stated that the "Abū Naṣr" mentioned in the line of transmission is not known. If what he relates is authentic, then it is likely, he concluded, that he meant the *ṭawāf al-qudūm* and the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is also narrated with other lines of transmission from ῾Alī, both *marfū῾* and *mawqūf*." It pivots upon al-Ḥasan b. ῾Amāra and Ḥafṣ b. Abū Dā'ūd, ῾Īsā b. ῾Abd Allāh and Ḥammād b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān. All of them are weak, and nothing on that subject that they narrate should be cited as evidence. But God knows best.

What is transmitted in the authentic *aḥādīth* contradicts the above.

We previously quoted the account of Ibn ῾Umar given in al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for an *῾umra* and added the *ḥajj* to it. And so Ibn ῾Umar also performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*. He circumambulated for both the *ḥajj* and the *῾umra*, once only, saying, "This is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did."

Al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Darāwardī, from ῾Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi῾, from Ibn ῾Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Those who join the *ḥajj* together with the *῾umra* perform one circumambulation for them both and one *sa῾y* for them both."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*."

I note that the line of transmission for this meets the criteria of Muslim.

The same happened to ῾Ā᾿isha, "the mother of the Believers". She was one of those who recited the *talbiyya* for an *῾umra* since she had not brought a *hadī* with her. When she menstruated, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her to wash and to recite the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* with her *῾umra*. And so she performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*. When they returned from Minā, she asked that he allow her to perform an *῾umra* after the *ḥajj* and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so in order to please her, as is asserted in the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Abū ῾Abd Allāh al-Shāfi῾ī stated that Muslim al-Zanjī, he being Khālid's son, informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, from ῾Aṭā᾿, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ῾Ā᾿isha, "Your circumambulation of the *ka῾ba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa suffice for you for both your *ḥajj* and your *῾umra*."

This is evidently a *mursal* quotation; but its content is fully substantiated by many of al-Shāfi῾ī's comments.

He stated that Ibn ῾Uyayna informed him, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from ῾Aṭā᾿, from ῾Ā᾿isha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Shāfi῾ī stated, "And Sufyān may have quoted it from ῾Aṭā᾿, from ῾Ā᾿isha, and he may have said, 'and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to ῾Ā᾿isha'." He went on to quote as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "And Ibn Abū ῾Umar narrated it from Sufyān b. ῾Uyayna as *mawṣūl*. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Wahīb, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from ῾Ā᾿isha, in similar form.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir say, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to see ʿĀʾisha, she was weeping. He asked her, "Why are you crying?" "I am crying because the people have declared their *iḥrām* concluded, while I have not, and because they have circumambulated the *kaʿba* and I have not. And now is the time for this *ḥajj*."

He stated, "This is a matter that God has decreed for Adam's daughters. Wash yourself and recite the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj*." She stated, "And so I did that. When I had cleansed myself, he said, 'Circumambulate the *kaʿba*, and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and then your state of *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj* will be concluded, as well as your *ʿumra*.'"

She asked, "Messenger of God, I am concerned about my *ʿumra* and that I did not circumambulate until I had performed the *ḥajj*." He said, "Go with her, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and let her make the *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm."

Muslim also quotes a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. The latter stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

The supporters of Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy on him, maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions who had brought *hadīs* combined between the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*, as the aforementioned *aḥādīth* indicate. But God knows best.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad informed him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from ʿAlī who said about those who perform the *ḥajj al-qirān*, "They should perform two circumambulations and one *saʿy*."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "Some people said that there should be two circumambulations and two *saʿy*. They cite as evidence for this a weak account from ʿAlī." Jaʿfar said, "Our statement is narrated from ʿAlī, and we also narrated it from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

However, Abū Dā'ūd stated that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ related to us, that Abū ʿĀṣim related to them both, from Maʿrūf – meaning Ibn Kharrabūdh al-Makkī – quoting Abū Ṭufayl, who said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulate the *kaʿba* upon his camel, saluting the corner with a staff and then kissing it." Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ added, "He then went forth to al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and circumambulated seven times on his camel."

Muslim narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī, from Maʿrūf b. Khurbūdh, without the addition given by Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it similarly from Maʿrūf, without the addition. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it from Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr, from al-Aṣamm, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥakīm, from Yazīd b. Mālik, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, also without the addition. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan and Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Isḥāq both stated that Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Duḥaym related to them, quoting Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā and Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn who both stated, "Ayman b. Nābil informed us, from Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār, who said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa upon a camel; there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "They both spoke thus. A group other than Ayman also related it. They stated, 'Stones were thrown on the day of the slaughter.' It is likely that the statements of both men were authentic."

I note that Imām Aḥmad narrated it in his *musnad ḥadīth* collection, from Wakīʿ, Qirān b. Tamām, Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭārif, the *qāḍī* of the people of Yemen, Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī and Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from Ayman b. Nābil al-Ḥabashī, the father of ʿImrān al-Makkī, a resident of ʿAsqalān, the freed-man of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He is considered a very reliable source whom al-Bukhārī quoted. He gave the account of Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār al-Kilābī, who related that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice from the middle of the *wādī*, mounted upon a grey female camel, and that there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it similarly, from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Marwān b. Muʾāwiya. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, both of whom quoted from Wakīʿ, from Ayman b. Nābil, from Qudāma. This is how Imām Aḥmad narrated it. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "until, at the conclusion of his circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *hadī*.'"

Muslim narrated this.

In this account there is evidence against those who maintain that the *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa totals fourteen passages, each movement out and back being counted as one time. A group of major authorities of the Shāfiʿī view maintain this.

This *ḥadīth* constitutes a refutation of them. Because the final circumambulation, according to what they say, would be at al-Ṣafā, not at al-Marwa.

This is why Aḥmad stated in his account in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir, "When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, 'O people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *hadī* and I would have made it an *ʿumra*. Those who have not brought a *hadī* with them may declare their *iḥrām* concluded and they should make it an *ʿumra*.' And so all the people did declare their *iḥrām* concluded."

Muslim stated, "And so all the people did declare their *iḥrām* concluded and removed their hair, except for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those who had brought *hadīs* with them."

Chapter.

A group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), too long to mention here, narrated his order to those who had not brought *hadīs* to convert the *ḥajj* into an *ʿumra*. The proper place for giving that information is in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*. If God so wills it.

There are differences about this. Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī stated that this was a prerogative of the Companions and that this conversion was abrogated for others. They hold fast to the statement of Abū Dharr, may God be pleased with him, "Conversion from the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra* applied only to the Companions of Muḥammad. May God be pleased with them."

Muslim narrated this.

Imām Aḥmad refuted this. He stated, "Eleven of the Companions narrated it; where does this account stand with regard to that?" He then, may God have mercy upon him, went on to allow the conversion to other than the Companions.

Ibn ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, stated that this conversion should necessarily apply to all those who had not brought *ḥadīs*. Indeed, he maintained that it was legally permissible for someone who had circumambulated the *kaʿba* and had not brought a *ḥadī*, and that these circumstances alone made this permissible. In his view, the pilgrimage ceremonies consist either of the *ḥajj al-qirān* for those who have brought a *hadī*, or the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* for those who have not. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Nuʿmān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jurayj, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir. And from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās. They both stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived on the morning of the 4th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, mixing in nothing with it. When we arrived, he gave us orders and we made it an *ʿumra*. And he declared that our *iḥrām* was concluded (thus allowing us to go) to our wives. Gossip about this spread thereafter."

ʿAṭāʾ went on to quote Jābir as saying, "So one of us might go off to Minā with his penis damp from sperm!" He went on, gesturing, "This reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he said, 'It has reached me that there are people saying such-and-such. I swear by God, I am more innocent, more pious towards God than they are! If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have made sacrifice. And if I had not had a *hadī* I would have declared my *iḥrām* concluded.'

"Surāqa b. Juʿshum then arose and said, 'Messenger of God, is this just for us, or for ever?' 'For ever,' he replied."

Muslim stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting al-Layth – he being Ibn Saʿd – from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir as saying, "We arrived along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* alone. ʿĀʾisha arrived for an *ʿumra*. When we were at Saraf she menstruated. Then when we reached (Mecca) we circumambulated the *kaʿba*, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told those of us who had not brought a *hadī* to declare our *iḥrām* concluded. 'To what extent?' we asked. 'Totally,' he replied. And so we had sexual relations with our wives, put on perfume and dressed in clothes. Only four nights remained from that time until (the ceremonies on) ʿArafāt."

These two *aḥādīth* state clearly that the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Mecca the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* on the morning of the fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijja. That was a Sunday, when daytime came, at dawn, because the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year was indisputably a Thursday, because the day for (the congregation at) ʿAraft was Friday, according to the text of the *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. As we will show.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived on Sunday, the fourth of that month, he began, as we have related, with circumambulation of the *kaʿba* then he made the *al-saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When he completed his circumambulation between the two, at al-Marwa, he ordered those who had not brought *hadīs* with them to declare their *iḥrām* decisively concluded. He required that of them definitely, and they did so. Some of them were regretful that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not declared his *iḥrām* concluded because he had brought the *hadī*. They had wanted to conform to his practice and would have found solace in this. When he perceived how they felt, he said to them, "If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *hadī* and would have made it an *ʿumra*."

That is, "If I had known that this would upset you, I would have left bringing the *hadī* until after I had declared my *iḥrām* concluded, as you have done."

From this the evidence might seem clear to you of the superiority of the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*, as Imām Aḥmad maintained on the basis of this. He stated, "I do not doubt that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*; however, the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* is superior, since he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) expressed his regret at it."

The response to this would be as follows: the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not express regret over the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* because of its superiority over the *ḥajj al-qirān*, for those who had brought a *hadī*. He expressed regret because then he would not have upset his Companions by retaining his *iḥrām* state and by telling them to declare their *iḥrām* concluded.

Therefore – but God knows best – when Imām Aḥmad contemplated this "secret", he gave the text of another *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* is best for those not bringing a *hadī*, because of the latter's order to those of his Companions who had not brought *hadīs* to perform the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*, and that the *ḥajj al-qirān* would be preferable for those having brought *hadīs*, just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, chose for His Prophet (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* and His order to him in that regard, as related above. But God knows best.

Chapter.

Thereafter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished his circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and having ordered those who had not brought *hadīs* to conclude their pilgrimage, left in the company of those with him and stopped at al-Abṭaḥ, to the east of Mecca. He stayed there for the remainder of that Sunday and the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, until he had performed the *ṣubḥ* prayer of Thursday. Throughout all those days he prayed there with his Companions without returning to the *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled, *Chapter of those who do not approach the kaʿba and do not circumambulate before going out to ʿArafāt and then return after the first circumambulation.*

He went on to state therein that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr narrated to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, as saying, "Kurayb quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās as having said to him, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Mecca, performed seven circumambulations and the *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. He did not approach the *kaʿba* after his circumambulation until he returned from ʿArafāt.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Chapter.

During this time, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was staying at al-Baṭḥā, outside Mecca, ʿAlī arrived from Yemen. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had sent him – as we narrated above – to Yemen as its governor after Khālid b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with them both.

When ʿAlī arrived, he found that his wife Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had declared her *iḥrām* concluded, as had the wives of the latter, who had not brought *hadīs*. Fāṭima had put on *koḥl* and dressed in colour-dyed clothing. ʿAlī asked her, "Who told you to do this?" "My father," she replied.

Somewhat annoyed at her, he then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him that she had declared her *iḥrām* concluded, had dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on *koḥl*. He told him, "And she claims that you told her to do that, Messenger of God."

He replied, "She spoke the truth." He repeated this three times.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, "With what intent did you recite the *talbiyya* when you determined upon the *ḥajj*?" He replied, "With the same intent as the Messenger of God," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him, "I have brought the *hadī* with me, so do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded."

The number of *hadīs* ʿAlī had brought from Yemen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had brought with him from Medina and had bought on the way totalled

100 camels. They shared all the *hadīs* between them. All this is related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, may God have mercy upon him, and has been given above.

This report refutes the account related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, may God have mercy upon him, from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, to the effect that ‘Alī met with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Juḥfa. But God knows best.

Abū Mūsā was among those who arrived with ‘Alī; however, he himself did not bring a *hadī* and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to declare his *iḥrām* concluded after he had circumambulated for the *‘umra* and had made the *sa‘y*. He then revoked his *ḥajj* into an *‘umra* and performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘*. He would use that experience in issuing his legal decision during the caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb gave his opinion that the *ḥajj* (alone) should be made quite separate from the *‘umra*, he (Abū Mūsā) abandoned his legal position out of respect for the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar, may God be pleased with him and grant him pleasure.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, "I saw Bilāl make the call to prayer and circulate all around, and turn his face everywhere, his fingers in his ears. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in a red pavilion he had, made of leather, I believe. Then Bilāl went out ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), carrying a short lance. He set it up and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer."

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, "And I heard him in Mecca say that at al-Baṭḥā᾿ dogs, women and donkeys would pass in front of him. He was dressed in a red *ḥulla*, 'outer garment', beneath which I thought I could see the sheen of his legs." He said, "Sufyān, we think it (what he wore) was a *ḥibara*, 'a shawl'."

Aḥmad stated that Wakī‘ related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Abṭaḥ while he was in a red pavilion he had. Bilāl came out with the residue of (the water from the ablution) sprinkling it (on those around him).

"Bilāl made the call to prayer and I watched as his mouth moved first here, then there" – meaning to the right and the left. "Then the *‘anaza*, 'a short lance', was set up, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out, dressed in a red *jubba*" – or a red *ḥulla* – "and I thought I could see the sheen of his legs. He performed the *al-ẓuhr*" – or the *al-‘aṣr* – "prayer, facing towards the *‘anaza*. Women, dogs and donkeys passed by without hindrance. He kept on performing prayers of two *raka‘āt* until he reached Medina."

On one occasion, the account quotes the narrator as saying, "He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer of two *raka‘āt* and the *al-‘aṣr* of two *raka‘āt*."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections this is given from an account of Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Aḥmad also stated, that Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Shu‘ba and Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted Abū Juḥayfa as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left and went to al-Baṭḥā᾿. He performed the ablution and the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with two *raka‘āt* with a short lance before him."

ʿAwn made an addition to this, quoting his father as quoting Abū Juḥayfa as saying, "and there were donkeys and women passing behind us".

Ḥajjāj stated in the *ḥadīth*, "Then people began taking hold of his hand and wiping it over their faces. I took his hand and placed it on my face; I found it to be cooler than ice and more sweet-smelling than musk."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it in full from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained, as we have stated above, at al-Abṭaḥ the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The people who had not brought *hadīs* had declared their *iḥrām* concluded.

During that period, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib arrived from Yemen with the Muslims accompanying him and the wealth he brought. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not return to the *kaʿba* after he had circumambulated it.

The morning of Thursday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer, that day being that of *al-tarwiyya*. It is also called the "Minā day" because (people) go there then.

It has been narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made an address before that day. The previous day, as I have seen in various commentaries, is known as the *yawm al-zīna*, "decoration day", because on it the sacrificial animals are garlanded with ornaments and similar items. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Ḥāfiẓ* informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Jalūdī, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mahrān, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Abū Qurra, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed the people the day of the *tarwiyya*, he would instruct them about their religious rites."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then set off on his mount to Minā, before the noon – though some say thereafter. Those who had previously declared their *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj* concluded, now declared it in effect when they left al-Abṭaḥ for Minā. They did this as their mounts set off carrying them there.

ʿAbd al-Malik stated, quoting ʿAṭāʾ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "We arrived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and declared our *iḥlāl* in effect. When it was the day of the *tarwiyya*, and after we had turned our backs to Mecca, we recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bukhārī made reference to this in a brief note.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that Jābir stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us, when we had declared our *iḥrām* concluded, to again declare it in effect when we moved off to Minā. And we recited the *talbiyya* from al-Abṭaḥ."

ʿUbayd b. Jurayj stated to Ibn ʿUmar, "I saw that when you were in Mecca and the people recited the *talbiyya* on seeing the crescent, you did not recite it until the day of *al-tarwiyya*." He replied, "I did not see the Prophet (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* until his camel set off bearing him."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it as part of a lengthy *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAṭāʾ was asked about how those next to Minā would recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. He stated, "Ibn ʿUmar would recite the *talbiyya* the day of *al-tarwiyya*, after he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer and settled himself on his mount."

I note that that was what Ibn ʿUmar would do when he performed the *ʿumra*; he would declare his *iḥrām* concluded after the *ʿumra* and then on *al-tarwiyya* day he would refrain from reciting the *talbiyya* until his mount set off with him towards Minā. Similarly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared his *iḥrām* concluded from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa after having performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer and when his mount had set off with him.

However, on the *al-tarwiyya* day, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at al-Abṭaḥ, but he did perform it that day at Minā. There is no dispute at all over this.

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled, *Chapter on where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ẓuhr prayer on al-tarwiyya day.*

He stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Isḥāq al-Azraq, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'Tell me something you learned from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); where was it he performed the *al-ẓuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers on *tarwiyya* day?' He replied, 'At Minā.' I asked, 'And where did he pray the *al-ʿaṣr* on *al-nafr*[113] day?' He replied, 'At al-Abṭaḥ.' He then commented, 'Do as your leaders do!'"

The rest of the community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, gave this from a variety of lines of transmission, from Isḥāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Imām Aḥmad related it similarly, from Isḥāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, though it may be considered *gharīb*, coming from a *ḥadīth* of al-Azraq, from al-Thawrī."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī related to him that he heard Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh quote ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "I met Anas b. Mālik. And Ismāʿīl b. Abān related to me, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who said, 'I went off to Minā on *al-tarwiyya* day and met Anas leaving mounted on a donkey. I asked, "Where did the Prophet (ṢAAS) perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer today?" He replied, "Look at where your leaders pray, and perform your prayers."'"

Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Abū Kudayna, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed five prayers at Minā. And Aḥmad also said that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Abū Maḥyāt Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Taymī, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on *al-tarwiyya* day at Minā, and he prayed the day time (prayers) on the day (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt.

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[113] The day of the departure of the pilgrims from Minā.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Aḥwaṣ, from Jawāb, from ʿAmmār b. Ruzayq, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash. His words were, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on *al-tarwiyya* day and the *al-fajr* prayer on ʿArafāt day at Minā."

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from al-Ashajj, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Aʿmash, to the same effect. He stated, "This is not among what Shuʿba included in what al-Ḥakam heard from Miqsam."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ, from Ismāʿīl b. Muslim, from ʿAṭā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with us at Minā the *al-ẓuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib*, the *al-ʿishā'* and the *al-fajr* prayers. Then in the morning he went to ʿArafāt." Al-Tirmidhī went on, "There is some controversy over Ismāʿīl b. Muslim."

In that sub-heading it is also given from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Anas b. Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Someone who saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) informed me that he went to Minā on *al-tarwiyya* day with Bilāl at his side carrying a pole on which was a piece of cloth with which he was sheltering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (Sheltering him) from the heat, that is." Aḥmad alone gave this.

Al-Shāfiʿī gave in his text the information that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode from al-Abṭaḥ to Minā after noon, but that he only prayed the *al-ẓuhr* at Minā. This *ḥadīth* might be cited (in contradiction) of him. But God knows best.

It is given above in the *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, who said, "All the people declared their *iḥrām* at an end and clipped (their hair) except for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those who had brought *hadīs* with them. And when it was the *tarwiyya* day, they set off for Minā and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode and performed the *al-ẓuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib*, the *al-ʿishā* and the *al-fajr* there. He then stayed a little longer until the sun arose and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he would be staying at *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām* (at Muzdalifa), as Quraysh used to do in the *jāhiliyya* period.

"But he went across to ʿArafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted. When the sun began to decline, he called for his camel al-Qaṣwā' and she was saddled for him. He then went on down to the centre of the *wādī* and made an address to the people. He said, 'Your blood and your property are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.

"'I declare that everything relating to the *jāhiliyya* is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood feuds (of the *jāhiliyya*) are cast down. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibn Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith. (He was brought up as a foster-child in Banū Saʿd and killed by Hudhayl.) Also, the interest charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

"'Fear God (in your treatment) of women. You have taken them in God's trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God's word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

"'I have left for you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray – God's Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?'

"They responded, 'We will bear witness that you have fulfilled (your mission), that you gave good advice and did your duty.'

"He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, 'O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness!' (He said this) three times."

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī stated that he was informed by ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, from Mughīra, from Mūsā b. Ziyād b. Hidhyam b. ʿAmr al-Saʿdī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in his address on the day (of the assembly at) ʿArafāt, on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'Learn that your blood and your possession and your honour are sacrosanct for you, just as this day, this month and this land are sacrosanct for you.'"

Abū Dāʾūd stated, under the heading, *The address on the minbar at ʿArafāt*, that Ḥannād related to him, from Ibn Abū Zāʾida, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Zayd b. Aslam, from a man of Banū Ḍamra, from his father or his uncle, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) upon the *minbar* at ʿArafāt."

This line of transmission is weak, because there is in it a man who is dubious. Moreover, it is stated above in the long *ḥadīth* of Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his address while mounted on his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ.

Abū Dāʾūd then stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Dāʾūd, from Salama b. Nubayṭ, from a man from the tribe, from his father Nubayṭ, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing at ʿArafāt upon a red camel making an address.

This also has a dubious link; however, Jābir's *ḥadīth* does testify to it.

Abū Dāʾūd then stated that Ḥannād b. al-Sarrī and ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba both stated that Wakīʿ related to them, from ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Abū ʿAmr, who said, "Al-ʿAddāʾ b. Khālid b. Hawdha related to me" – Ḥannād added, "from ʿAbd al-Majīd" – "quoting Khālid b. al-ʿAddāʾ b. Hawdha, who said, 'I saw the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people on the day of ʿArafāt, upon a camel, standing up in the stirrups.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Ibn al-ʿAlā' narrated it from Wakīʿ, as Ḥannād had spoken. And ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm related to me, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar, quoting ʿAbd al-Majīd Abū ʿAmr, from al-ʿAddā' b. Khālid to the same effect."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is given from Ibn ʿAbbās, who is quoted as saying, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address at ʿArafāt and say, 'Those without sandals shall wear leather socks; those without a waist-wrapper shall wear (instead) trousers for the pilgrim (in the state of *iḥrām*).'"[114]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ʿAbbād as saying, "The man who used to make announcements to the people relating to the pronouncements of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he was on ʿArafāt, was Rabīʿa b. Umayya b. Khalaf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said (to him), 'Say: "O people, the Messenger of God says, 'Do you know what month this is?'" They will say, "The holy months." Then say to them, "God has made your blood and your possessions sacrosanct for you, just as is this month of yours." Then say, "O people, the Messenger of God asks you, 'Do you know what land this is?'"'" And he went on to complete the *ḥadīth* as above.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq proceeded to state that Layth b. Abū Sulaym related to him, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from ʿAmr b. Khārija, who said, "ʿAttāb b. Usayd sent me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for a purpose while he was standing upon ʿArafāt. I gave him the message, then stood below his camel. (I was so close that) its saliva was dripping upon my head. I heard him say, 'O people, God has assigned to each person his portion. It is not permissible to make a bequest to an heir. The child relates to the bed.[115] And stoning is for fornicators. Anyone claiming as his father someone who is not, or a freed-man claiming as his master someone who is not, the curse of God, the angels and all men is upon them. God will not accept for him any penance, nor any requital.'"

Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm, from ʿAmr b. Khārija. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

I note it has some variance from the *ḥadīth* of Qatāda. But God knows best.

We will also refer hereafter to the address made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following this one, on the day of the sacrifice, giving judgement, exhortations, details and prophetic ethics it expresses, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled, *Chapter: the talbiyya and the takbīr made when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he departed in the morning from Minā to ʿArafāt.*

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[114] During the performance of the rites, the pilgrim is dressed in the *iḥrām*, which consists of two pieces of cloth which act as his upper and lower garments. His shoes, furthermore, should not cover his heels or ankles.

[115] To its mother, that is.

In it he stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Thaqafī (who said) that he asked Anas b. Mālik, while they were both travelling in the morning from Minā to ‘Arafāt, "How did you act this same day with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "He did not rebuke those of us who recited the *talbiyya*, nor did he rebuke those of us who spoke the *takbīr*."

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and Musā b. ‘Uqba, both of whom quoted from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. ‘Awf b. Rabāḥ al-Thaqafī al-Ḥijāzī, from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh (who said) "‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wrote to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to the effect that he suggest to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar that he make the *ḥajj*. When it was the day for ‘Arafāt, Ibn ‘Umar – along with myself – when the sun had begun to incline – or the narrator's words were "when the sun had set" – "and we were near al-Ḥajjāj's tent, Ibn ‘Umar shouted out, 'Well, where is he?' Al-Ḥajjāj emerged. Ibn ‘Umar told him, 'Time to leave!' 'Right now?' al-Ḥajjāj asked. 'Yes,' Ibn ‘Umar replied. Al-Ḥajjāj asked, 'Wait while I pour water over myself.' Ibn ‘Umar dismounted and walked about (impatiently) between myself and my father. I said to al-Ḥajjāj, 'If you want to act precisely in accord with the *sunna* today, then you should make the address short and proceed quickly to the stay (on ‘Arafāt).' Ibn ‘Umar commented, 'He spoke the truth.'"

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from al-Qa‘nabī, from Mālik. Al-Nasā᾿ī promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ashhab and Ibn Wahb, from Mālik.

Al-Bukhārī went on, after narrating this *ḥadīth*, to quote al-Layth as stating that ‘Aqīl related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted Sālim as saying, "In the year when al-Ḥajjāj attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, the former asked ‘Abd Allāh (Ibn ‘Umar), 'What do you do at this station, at ‘Arafāt?' I replied, 'If you want to act in accord with the *sunna*, then offer the prayer just after midday on the day at ‘Arafāt.' Ibn ‘Umar commented, 'He spoke the truth. According to the *sunna*, they (the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), would perform the *al-ẓuhr* and the *al-‘aṣr* together.' I asked Sālim, 'Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do that?' Sālim responded, 'In doing that would you (people) act in any other way than in accord with the *sunna*.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Ya‘qūb, quoting Abū ‘Awf, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Minā early, having performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, on the morning of the day for (the assembly on) Mt. ‘Arafāt. He stopped at Namira, at the station of the *imām*, where the latter would stay at ‘Arafāt, until, at the time of the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, he left as a *muhajjir* and he combined together the *al-ẓuhr* and the *al-‘aṣr* prayers.

Jābir related this similarly in his *ḥadīth* after he gave the address quoted above. He went on, "Bilāl then made the call to prayer followed by the *iqāma*.

Thereupon he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) arose and performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, and after that arose again and performed the *al-ʿaṣr*, and he did not combine any other prayer between these two."

This *ḥadīth* requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first gave the address and then the prayer was held, without him having engaged in the second address.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and others informed him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father and from Jābir, concerning the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the station on ʿArafāt and made the first address to the people. Bilāl made the call to prayer and thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) proceeded to deliver the second address. He finished the address, as did Bilāl the prayer call. Bilāl then made the *iqāma* and he (the Prophet) arose and performed the *al-ẓuhr* and then again the *al-ʿaṣr*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abū Yaḥyā is alone in giving this.

Muslim stated, quoting Jābir, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode off to the station, where he positioned the belly of his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ to the rocks, placing himself so that Mt. al-Mashāt was ahead of him and he faced the *qibla*."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Bukayr, from Kurayb, from Maymūna, (who said), "The people were uncertain about whether the Prophet (ṢAAS), was fasting, so I sent a container of milk to him while he was standing at the station. He drank from it while everyone looked on."

Muslim included it from Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-Ablī, from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf informed him, quoting Mālik, from Abū al-Naḍr, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from ʿUmayr, freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, (who said), "People disputed in my presence on ʿArafāt day concerning the fast of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Some people said, 'He is fasting.' Others said, 'He is not fasting.' So I sent a vessel of milk to him while he was standing up on his camel, and he drank it."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik also. They both gave it from other lines of transmission, from Abū al-Naḍr.

I note that Umm al-Faḍl was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, mother of the Believers; the story of both is one and the same. But God knows best. The line of transmission to her is authentic, because it comes directly from her, unless, that is, it be after that or there were several lines of transmission from the one and the other woman. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Ayyūb, who said, "I don't know whether I heard it from Saʿīd b. Jubayr or from his sons who quoted him, as saying as follows, 'I went to Ibn ʿAbbās while he was standing upon ʿArafāt eating a pomegranate. He said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke his fast on ʿArafāt and Umm al-Faḍl sent milk to him which he drank."'"

Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Dhiʾb, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Tawʾama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that they disputed over the fast of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on ʿArafāt day, and that Umm al-Faḍl sent milk to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he drank it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Abū Bakr both said that Ibn Jurayj informed him that ʿAṭāʾ stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās invited al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās to eat on ʿArafāt day. He said, 'But I am fasting.' ʿAbd Allāh told him, 'Don't fast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a vessel containing milk on ʿArafāt day and he drank from it. So do not fast. The people are waiting for you.'"

Ibn Bukayr and Rawḥ quoted the words as "The people await you."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "A man standing with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at ʿArafāt fell off his camel and broke his neck" – or his words were, "and it broke his neck". "The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Wash him with water boiled with wood of the lote tree, wrap him in a double shroud. Do not perfume him, cover his head or embalm him. God will resurrect him on Judgement Day, (and he will be) *mulabbiyyan*, 'expressing his readiness to serve God'."

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Al-Nasāʾī stated that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayh – informed him, quoting Wakīʿ, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Bukayr b. ʿAṭāʾ, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿmur al-Dīlī, who said, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at ʿArafāt. People from Najd came to him and asked him about the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The *ḥajj* is ʿArafāt; those who are there in the night at ʿArafāt, before dawn on the night of the assemblage, will have concluded their *ḥajj*.'"

The rest of the scholars of the *al-sunan* narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Nasāʾī and Shuʿba added to it Bukayr b. ʿAṭāʾ.

Al-Nasāʾī stated that Qutayba informed him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān. who quoted Yazīd b. Shaybān as saying, "We were positioned at ʿArafāt in a place far removed from the station. Ibn Mirbaʿ al-Anṣārī came over to us and said, 'I am sent to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He tells you, "(You should) be at your shrines; you have a heritage, a heritage from your father, Abraham."'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUyayna from ʿAmr b. Dīnār."

The Ibn Mirbaʿ referred to above was named in full Zayd b. Mirbaʿ al-Anṣārī; only this one *ḥadīth* is attributed to him.

And on this subject there are *aḥādīth* from ʿAlī, ʿĀʾisha, Jubayr b. Muṭʿim and al-Sharīd b. Suwayd. And it has been given above, from the account of Muslim, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, that the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS), stated, "I have stood here, and all ʿArafāt is a station." Mālik added in his work *al-Muwattaʿ* the words, "And spread out, therefore, from the valley of ʿArafāt".

Chapter: Those parts of the prayers delivered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he stood upon Mt. ʿArafāt that are recorded.

It has been narrated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke his fast on the day at ʿArafāt; this shows that breaking fast there is preferable to fasting because of the added strength that provides for the prayers, since they are the more important objective there.

This is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained mounted upon his camel (at ʿArafāt) from noon to sunset.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī related in the *musnad* compendium, from Ḥawshab b. ʿAqīl, from Mahdī al-Hajarī, from ʿIkrima, from Abū Hurayra, from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the effect that at ʿArafāt, he forbad fasting on the day (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, quoting Ḥawshab b. ʿAqīl, quoting Mahdī al-Muḥāribī, quoting ʿIkrima, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "I went to Abū Hurayra in his home and asked him about fasting on Mt. ʿArafāt the day (of the assembly) there. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad fasting on ʿArafāt for (the assembly) there.'"

On one occasion, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave the transmission of the *ḥadīth* from Mahdī al-ʿAbdī.

Aḥmad narrated it similarly from Wakīʿ, from Ḥawshab, from Mahdī al-ʿAbdī. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥawshab. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Sulaymān b. Maʿbad, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, as well as from al-Fallās, from Ibn Mahdī. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted from Wakīʿ, from Ḥawshab.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him that it was related to them both by Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Abū Usāma al-Kalbī, quoting Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ, quoting al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd, from Ḥawshab b. ʿUqayl, from Mahdī al-Hajarī, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "At ʿArafāt, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad fasting on the day (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd spoke it similarly. The correct line is from ʿIkrima, from Abū Hurayra.

Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī narrated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, that he was questioned about fasting on the day on ʿArafāt. He replied, "I made the pilgrimage with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he did not fast it. And also with Abū Bakr, and he did not fast it. And also with ʿUmar, and he did not fast it. As for myself, I do not fast it, nor do I order it to be fasted, nor do I forbid it."

Imām Mālik stated, from Ziyād b. Abū Ziyād, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Karīz, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best prayer was that of the day of ʿArafāt, and (on that day) was one made by me and the prophets before me: *Lā Ilāha illā Allāhu waḥdahu lā sharīka lah*. 'There is no god but God Alone; He has no associate'."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is *mursal*. And it is narrated from Mālik with a different line of transmission that is *mawṣūlan*. But that line is *ḍaʿīf*."

Imām Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best prayer was that on the day at ʿArafāt. And the best statement I and the prophets before me made was, 'There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.'"

Imām Aḥmad also gives the following *ḥadīth* from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "Most of the prayer of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the day of ʿArafāt was, 'There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.'"

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. Ayyūb al-Nīsābūrī, quoting Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd b. Jābir al-Aḥmasī, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, quoting Faraj b. Faḍāla, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'My prayer and that of the prophets before me on the evening of (the assembly) at ʿArafāt was, "There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd – meaning Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī al-Jurahī – related to us, quoting Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, quoting Jubayr b. ʿAmr al-Qurashī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from Abū Yaḥyā, the freed-man of the family of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, from al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, may God be pleased with him, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite this verse while he was at ʿArafāt: 'God bears testimony, as do the angels and those with knowledge, that there is no god but He, the upholder of righteousness. There is no god but He, the Powerful, the Wise' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.18). And I, O God, am of those who testify to that."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated in his work *al-Manāsik* that al-Ḥasan b. Muthannā b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī stated, quoting ʿAffān b. Muslim, quoting Qays b. al-Rabīʿ, from al-Agharr b. al-Ṣabāḥ, from Khalīfa, from ʿAlī, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The best statement I or the prophets before me ever made was on the evening (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt: "There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over every thing."'"

Al-Tirmidhī stated in his work *al-Daʿwāt* that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Mu᾽addib related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Thābit, quoting Qays b. al-Rabīʿ, who was of Banū Asad, from al-Agharr b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, from Khalīfa b. Ḥusayn, from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, who said, "The most part of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed on the day at ʿArafāt, at the station, was 'O God, praise is Yours, such as that we speak, and better than we speak. O God, my prayer goes to You, along with my devotion. And my living and my dying are yours, Lord of my heritage. I seek refuge with You from the agony of the grave, the whisperings of the breast and conflicting matters. O God, I take refuge with You from the evil of what the wind may bring.'"

Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "It is *gharīb* from this line. Its line of transmission is not strong."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it through Mūsā b. ʿUbayda, from his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayda, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The greater part of the prayer of those before me and of my prayer at ʿArafāt, is my saying, "There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. O God, place a light in my seeing, a light in my hearing and a light in my heart. O God, give comfort to my breast and ease my affairs. O God, I seek refuge with you from the whisperings of the breast, and conflicting matters, the evil of the trials of the grave, the evil of what comes in by night, the evil of what comes by day, the evil of what the winds bring in and the evil of fate's calamities."'"

Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "Mūsā b. ʿUbayda is alone in giving this. He is a weak source, and his brother ʿAbd Allāh was not a contemporary of ʿAlī."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated in his work *al-Manāsik* that Yaḥyā b. ʿUthmān al-Naṣrī related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Aylī, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Among what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed for on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* was, 'O God, You hear my words, see my whereabouts and know of me what is secret and what is plain; nothing about me is hidden from You. I, the miserable, the poor, the seeker for help and protection, the concerned, the sympathetic, the consoler, the penitent, I petition You as do the poor, I plead with You in humility as do the humble, I pray to You as does one who is fearful and in distress, as one who submits his neck to You, and sheds his tears before You, bending low his body before You, humiliating himself before You. O God, do not render me, O God, wretched in my prayer to You; be compassionate and merciful with me, O Best of all who receive requests, and Best of all who give.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik, quoting ʿAṭāʾ, who said, "ʿUsāma b. Zayd stated, 'I was mounted behind the Prophet (ṢAAS) at ʿArafāt. He raised his hands praying. His camel bent forward and its halter fell. He picked up the halter with one of his hands while he raised up his other.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it similarly from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Hushaym.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, quoting ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāshimī, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), praying at ‘Arafāt with his hands placed upon his chest like a poor man pleading for food.”

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *musnad* collection, that ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī related to him, quoting a son of Kināna b. al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās, from his father, from his grandfather ‘Abbās b. Mirdās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed on the evening at ‘Arafāt for forgiveness and mercy for his nation, and that his prayer was lengthy. He (‘Abbās) stated that God revealed to him, “I have forgiven (all), except the oppression of one another. As for their sins that are between Myself and them, those I have forgiven.” (‘Abbas went on,) “The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘O God, You have power to reward with good this unfortunate for his wrongs done to him, and to forgive this wrong-doer.’ But He did not respond to him that evening.

“When morning for (the passage to) Muzdalifa came, he repeated his supplication. God Almighty responded to him, ‘I have forgiven them.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and one of his Companions asked him, ‘Messenger of God, why are you smiling at a time when you used not to smile?’ He replied, ‘I am smiling at that enemy of God, Satan. When he learned that God, the Almighty and Glorious, had responded to me about my nation, he fell down praying in distress and lamenting loudly, pouring dirt over his head.’ ”

Abū Dā’ūd al-Sijistānī narrated it in his work *al-Sunan* from ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Burakī and Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayālisī, both of whom quoted from ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from Ibn Kināna b. ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) abbreviated.

Ibn Māja narrated it from Ayyūb b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī b. ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Kināna b. ‘Abbās, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) extended.

Ibn Jarīr narrated it in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) from Ismā‘īl b. Sayf al-‘Ijlī, from ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from a son of Kināna, whose name was Abū Lubāba, from his father, from his grandfather al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabarī, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma‘mar, from someone who heard Qatāda state, “Julās b. ‘Amr related to us, from ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of ‘Arafāt, “O people, God this day has granted you more time. He has granted you forgiveness, except for your (blameworthy) interactions with one another. He has replaced your misdeeds with good and given to those of you who do good what they request. Go forth, in the name of God.”

“ ‘When they were assembled, he said, “God has forgiven those of you who are good and has welcomed the intercession of your good men for those of you who have done evil. Mercy descends and includes them all. And then mercy is dispersed over the land and falls upon all repentants who have guarded their tongues and hands. Satan and his troops are upon the mountains of ʿArafāt watching what God is doing with them. And when mercy comes down, Satan and his troops pray in distress and lament loudly. I would egg them on for a long time at fear of forgiveness, and it encompassed them (the Muslims) And so they (the devils) are dispersing, praying in distress and lamenting."'"

An Account of the sublime revelation at that honoured station.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿUmays, from Qays b. Muslim, from Ṭāriq b. Shihāb, who stated, "A Jew came to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, 'Commander of the Believers, you recite a certain verse in your Book; had it come down upon us Jews, we would have adopted that day as an *ʿīd*, "a festival day".' 'What verse is that?' he asked. He replied, 'The words of the Almighty, "Today I have fulfilled for you your religion. I have fulfilled of you my grace, and I have honoured you with Islam as a religion"' (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.3).

"ʿUmar commented, 'I swear by God, I well know the day when it was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the hour too – in the evening at ʿArafāt, on the Friday.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabāḥ, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn. He also gave it, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī, through several lines from Qays b. Muslim.

Accounts of the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from ʿArafāt to the mashʿar al-ḥarām.

Jābir stated in his long *ḥadīth*, "He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky dissipated somewhat, until the sun-disk had gone. Usāma b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qaṣwāʾs bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand, he was making a gesture that said, 'People! Go easy! Go easy!' Whenever he came to a hill, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

"When he came to al-Muzdalifa he prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*, with an *ādhān* and two *iqāmas*; between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers."

Muslim narrated this.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter *His journey when he left ʿArafāt*, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said, "Usāma was asked, while I was seated, 'How did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travel on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* when he set off?' He replied, 'He would travel at the *al-ʿanaq*, "canter", pace; if he found open space, he would speed up even more to the *al-naṣṣ* "gallop", pace.'"

Hishām stated, "The *al-naṣṣ* pace is faster than that of *al-ʿanaq*."

Imām Aḥmad and the other major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhī, gave this through several lines, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the evening at ʿArafāt. When the sun set, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out. When he heard the hurried jostling of the people behind him, he called, 'Take it easy, everyone! May *al-sakīna*, "(God's) tranquillity", be upon you! Piety is not (measured) by speed!'"

Usāma went on, "When the people crowded around him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would move off at the *al-ʿanaq* pace and if he found an opening ahead, he would increase to the *al-naṣṣ* speed. When he reached al-Muzdalifa, he combined both prayers, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*."

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it similarly through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, from Usāma b. Zayd. Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Kāmil related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays b. Saʿd, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ʿArafāt, I was mounted behind him. He began to rein in his camel to the point that the prominent bone behind its ear almost touched against the front of his saddle. He would say, 'People, go easy, and with dignity! Piety is not (measured) by a camel's speed.'"

He narrated it similarly from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, and al-Nasāʾī did so from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Muslim narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Yazīd b. Hārūn, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Sulaymān, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma similarly. He stated, "Usāma said, 'And he proceeded forward in the same manner until he came to Jamʿ.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fulayk, from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb, from Shuʿba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd (who said) that he was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day of ʿArafāt until the latter entered the defile. He then poured water out and performed the ablution. After that he rode away, without performing the prayer.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, from ʿUrwa, from al-Shaʿbī, from Usāma b. Zayd, who related, "I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he rode off at a modest pace from ʿArafāt. His camel did not raise its legs (in fast motion) before he reached Jamʿ."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as telling him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) mounted him behind himself from ʿArafāt and that when the former reached the defile, he dismounted and urinated. He did not mention his pouring water, but stated, "I poured water on him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, '(For) the prayer?' He replied, 'Prayer is ahead of you.'"

Usāma went on, "He then reached al-Muzdalifa and performed the *al-maghrib* prayer. People untied their saddles and I helped him. After that he performed the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayer."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma.

My teacher Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in this work *al-Aṭrāf*, "The correct (line of transmission) is from Kurayb, from Usāma."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ʿArafāt and dismounted at the defile. He urinated and performed the ablution, but not fully. I asked him, 'Prayer?' He replied, 'Prayer is ahead of you.' He rode on to al-Muzdalifa and performed a complete ritual ablution. Prayer was held and he performed the *al-maghrib*. After that everyone made their camels kneel at his dwelling. Prayer was again held and he performed the *al-ʿishāʾ*. Between the two he did not say any prayers."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from al-Qaʿnabī. Muslim did so from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Qutayba, from Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba. Both scholars gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, also from Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Muslim also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. ʿUqba,from Kurayb; their account is similar to that of their brother, Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥarmala, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd, as saying, "I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he reached the defile on the left, which is below al-Muzdalifa, he made his camel kneel and urinated. He then came over and I poured water over him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, 'Prayer, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'Prayer is before you.' He then rode off to al-Muzdalifa. He performed the prayer and thereafter al-Faḍl was mounted behind him on the morning of the assembly (at ʿArafāt)." Kurayb stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās informed me from al-Faḍl that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on reciting the *talbiyya* until he reached al-Jamra."

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb and ʿAlī b. Ḥijr. All four of them quoted from Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting ʿUmar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted him behind himself from ʿArafāt. Usāma went on, "The people said, 'Our friend will report to us what he (the Prophet) does.' Usāma said, 'When he set forth from ʿArafāt he pulled back the head of his camel until it touched or almost did, against the centre of the saddle. He gestured to the people, (calling) "Go easy!" three times until he reached Jamʿ. He then mounted al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās behind himself. People said, "Our friend will report to us what he does." Al-Faḍl said, "He kept on at the same modest pace as the day before until he came to an open *wādī* and he raced off down it until the land levelled out."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Suwayd, quoting ʿAmr b. Abū ʿUmar, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Saʿīd b. Jubayr, the freed-man of Wāliba al-Kūfī, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set off on the day of the assembly (at ʿArafāt) he heard a great turmoil behind him with camels being slapped. He gestured towards them with his whip and said, "People, go easy! Piety is not (measured) by speed!"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission. Given above are the accounts of Imām Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Nasāʾī through ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar related to him, quoting al-Masʿūdī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off[116] from ʿArafāt, the people hurried after him. He ordered a crier to call out, 'People! Piety is not (measured) by the speed of a horse or a camel!' And I saw no camel lifting its legs (in fast motion) until he had dismounted at Jamʿ."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "Someone who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say the following related it to me, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not dismount from ʿArafāt and Jamʿ unless it was for urination.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik, from Anas b. Sīrīn, who said, "I was with Ibn ʿUmar at ʿArafāt. When it was time for him to leave, I went along with him to the *imām*. He prayed with him the first (prayer) and the *al-ʿaṣr*. He then (entered into the *wuqūf*) rite, as did I and my companions, until the Imām set off and we did so with him. Eventually we arrived at the pass below al-Maʾzimīn, where he made his camel kneel, as did we ours. We thought that he intended to pray, but his servant informed us that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) had reached that spot, he had urinated, and that he wished to do the same."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā related to him, quoting Juwayriyya who quoted Nāfiʿ as saying, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to combine the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at Jamʿ. However, he would pass through by the defile through which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had passed. He would enter it, relieve himself, perform an ablution and would not pray until he reached Jamʿ."

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[116] The Arabic word *afāda* used in this context means "to proceed forth amidst a throng of pilgrims".

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam b. Abū Dhiʾb related to him from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at al-Jamʿ, each one of them with an *iqāma*. He did not speak any other (superogatory) prayers between them, nor following either of them."

Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers combined together at al-Muzdalifa.

Muslim went on to state that Ḥarmala related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar told him that his father said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā'* prayers together at Jamʿ without (him making) any prayer prostrations between them both. He performed the *al-maghrib* with three *rakaʿāt* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* with two *rakaʿāt*. ʿAbd Allah used to pray at Jamʿ the same way until he died."

Muslim then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, and Salama b. Kuhayl, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, to the effect that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) performed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at one (and the same) service at Jamʿ. He then related a *ḥadīth* back to Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that he (Ibn ʿUmar) performed prayers like that. And Ibn ʿUmar related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted thus.

He then narrated it through al-Thawrī, from Salama, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā'* at Jamʿ, performing three *rakaʿāt* for the *maghrib* and two *rakaʿāt* for the *al-ʿishāʾ* at one service with a single *iqāma*.

Muslim then stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Isḥāq, who said, "Saʿīd b. Jubayr stated, 'We departed (from ʿArafāt) as pilgrims with Ibn ʿUmar. When we reached Jamʿ, he performed the *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at one service, and then he completed (the prayer). He said, "That is how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed with us at this place."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālid b. Makhlad related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, quoting ʿAdī b. Thābit, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭamī, quoting Abū Yazīd al-Anṣārī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at Muzdalifa on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in the *al-Maghāzī* from al-Qaʿnabī, from Mālik, and Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, and al-Layth b. Saʿd, all three of them quoting from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAdī b. Thābit.

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it also, from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Shuʿba, from ʿAdī b. Thābit.

Al-Bukhārī then gives a section entitled, *Section on those who announced the adhān and the iqāma for each of these two (prayers).*

He went on to state that ʿAmr b. Khālid related to him, quoting Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, quoting Abū Isḥāq (who said), "I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd say, "ʿAbd Allāh went on the pilgrimage and when we came to al-Muzdalifa at the time for the *ādhān*, at dusk or close thereto, he gave orders to a man and the latter announced the *ādhān* and the *iqāma*. He then performed the *al-maghrib* prayer and two *rakaʿāt* thereafter. Then he called for his supper and dined. After that he ordered someone – a man, I think – and the latter announced the *adhān* and the *iqāma*.'"

ʿAmr commented, 'I know of no one but Zuhayr who expresses such doubt.'[117]

(The *hadīth* continues) "He then performed the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayer with two *rakaʿāt*, and when the sun came up, he said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to perform at this hour only this prayer in this place, on this day." ʿAbd Allāh stated, "These were two prayers that were transferred from their (usual) times – the *al-maghrib* after the people arrive at al-Muzdalifa, and the *al-fajr*, when the dawn rises." He stated, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) do this."

This wording, his statement, "and the *al-fajr*, when the dawn rises" is more clear and precise than the other *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī from Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. Ghiyāth, from his father, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmāra, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "I only ever saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform two prayers at other than their usual times: he combined the *al-maghrib* with the *al-ʿishāʾ*, and the *al-fajr* before its time."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʿāwiya and Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash.

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to bed until dawn arrived. He performed the *al-fajr* prayer when the morning was visible, with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*."

ʿUrwa b. Muḍarris b. Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Laʾm al-Ṭāʾī witnessed this prayer along with Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Khālid and Zakariyyā', from al-Shaʿbī, quoting ʿUrwa b. Muḍarris, who said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), when he was at Jamʿ and said, 'Messenger of God, I have come to you from the two mountains of Ṭaʾī. I have worn myself out and exhausted my camel and, by God, I did not leave out any mountain without standing on it. Does this count for me as a *ḥajj*?' He replied, 'Whoever has witnessed this prayer with us' – meaning the *al-fajr* prayer – 'at Jamᶜ and stood with us, then proceeded on from there, having previously proceeded from ᶜArafāt, whether by day or night, such a person will have completed his *ḥajj* and accomplished the rites.'"

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[117] With reference, presumably, to the identity of the person asked to announce the call to prayer.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this, as did the *ahl al-sunan*, from various lines, from al-Shaᶜbī, from ᶜUrwa b. Muḍarris. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send on ahead of himself a group of his family during the night before the departure of the people from al-Muzdalifa to Minā.

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled, *Chapter on those who send on ahead their family during the night; they stand at al-Muzdalifa and pray and advance ahead after the moon has set.*

He went on to state that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Sālim stated, 'ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUmar used to send on ahead the weak members of his family. They would stand at the *mashᶜar al-ḥarām* at night, speaking the name of God for as long as they wished. Then they would leave before the Imām would stand there and before he proceeded ahead. Some of them would go to Minā for the *al-fajr* prayer, while some would proceed thereafter. When they arrived, they would cast stones at the *al-jamra*,[118] "the mound". Ibn ᶜUmar used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission."'"

(Al-Bukhārī went on) Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from ᶜIkrima, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me from Jamᶜ by night."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abū Yazīd, who quoted Ibn ᶜAbbās as telling him, "I was one of those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead on the night (of the assembly) at al-Muzdalifa among the weak members of his family."

Muslim narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting ᶜAṭā', from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me from Jamᶜ at daybreak with the slow-movers."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, quoting Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-ᶜUranī, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on ahead, along with the suckling women of Banū ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, in charge of our people who were tired. He set about slapping our thighs with his hand and saying, 'Now, kinfolk, do not cast stones until the sun rises!'" Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "I don't imagine that anyone cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose."

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[118] The pillars or steles that symbolize Satan at Minā; the pilgrims throw stones or pebbles at these during the pilgrimage rites. The word *jamra* (plural *jamarāt*) is used to denote both the pillars and the pebbles.

Aḥmad also narrated it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it, from Muḥammad b. Kathīr, from al-Thawrī. Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted Wakīʿ, from Misʿar and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted from Salama b. Kuhayl.

Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by us on the night of the sacrifice and it was already very dark. He set about slapping our thighs and saying, 'Now, kinsfolk, proceed forth, but don't cast stones at the pillar until the sun rises.'"

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Masʿūdī from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead the weak members of his family from al-Muzdalifa at night. He proceeded to advise them not to cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba until the sun rose."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. ʿUqba, quoting Ḥamza al-Zayyāt b. Ḥabīb, from ʿAṭā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would send on ahead the weaker members of his family late at night and order them" – meaning that they did not cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Bishr b. al-Sarrī, from Sufyān, from Ḥabīb – al-Ṭabrānī stated him to be Ibn Abū Thābit – from ʿAṭā', from Ibn ʿAbbās. Ḥamza al-Zayyāt thus moved out of his customary place (in the line of transmission). With regards to the line of transmission for the *ḥadīth*, it is excellent. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, from Yaḥyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, the freed-man of Asmā', who said that Asmā' stayed on the night (of the assembly) at Muzdalifa and proceeded to pray and did so for an hour. ʿAbd Allāh went on, "She then asked, 'My son, has the moon disappeared?' I replied, 'No,' and so she prayed for (another) hour. Then she asked, 'My son, has the moon disappeared?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Then set out,' she said. So we did and continued on until she had cast stones at the pillar. She then returned and performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer in her dwelling. I asked her, 'Hantāh, I believe we're still in dark of night.' She replied, 'Son, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission (for this prayer at this time) to women borne in litters.'"

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

If the account of Asmā', daughter of (Abū Bakr) "the trusting", casting stones before the rising of the sun, as is told here, based on established textual authority, then her account is to be preferred over that of Ibn ʿAbbās, because the line of transmission of her *ḥadīth* is more authentic than that of his. It may, however, be said that the young men are quicker and more active than the women, and so he (the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the former not to cast before sunrise and permitted the litter-borne women to cast before sunrise, since the latter were less agile and it was more appropriate for them to be unseen. But God knows best.

If Asmā᾽ did not do it in accord with established textual authority, then the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ᶜAbbās is to be preferred over what she did.

However, the former is substantiated further by the statement of Abū Dā'ūd who said that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhilī related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Jurayj, quoting ᶜAṭā᾽, quoting Mukhbir, from Asmā᾽, who said that she cast the stones at night. (Mukhbir stated) "I told her, 'We have cast the stones at night' She stated, 'We used to do that in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuᶜaym related to him, quoting Aflaḥ b. Ḥumayd, from al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad, from ᶜĀ᾽isha, who said, "We stopped at al-Muzdalifa and Sawda asked permission from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to move on prior to the departure of the rest of the people. She was a woman slow of movement. He did give her permission and she left before the rest. We remained until next morning and moved out along with him. For me to have asked his permission as Sawda had done would in fact have been far dearer to me than any other happiness."

Muslim gave it from al-Qaᶜnabī, from Aflaḥ b. Ḥumayd. Both (compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ᶜĀ᾽isha.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Hārūn b. ᶜAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, from al-Ḍaḥḥāk – meaning ᶜUthmān's son – from Hishām b. ᶜUrwa, from his father, from ᶜĀ᾽isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Umm Salama the night of the sacrifice and she cast the stones before dawn. She then left and proceeded onwards. And that was the day that would be for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," – to be with her, Abū Dā'ūd added.

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is excellent and strong and its narrators men considered fully trustworthy.

An Account of the recitation by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of the talbiyya at al-Muzdalifa.

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Ḥuṣayn, from Kathīr b. Mudrik, from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, who said, "ᶜAbd Allāh said, while we were at Jamᶜ, 'I heard him to whom the *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed say at this station, "*Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayk*! 'At Your service, O God, at Your service.'"'"

Chapter: On the wuqūf (station) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the mashʿar al-ḥarām, his dafʿ (departure) from al-Muzdalifa before sunrise and his iyḍāʿ (passage forth) into Wādī Muḥassir.[119]

God the Almighty stated, "When you proceed forth from ʿArafāt, speak the name of God at *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām*" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.198).

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "He performed the *al-fajr* prayer at dawn with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*. He then mounted al-Qaṣwā᾿ and proceeded to the *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām*. He went to the *qibla*, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong. He proceeded on before the sun rose, mounting al-Faḍl behind himself."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Ibn Isḥāq, who said, "I heard ʿAmr b. Maymūn say, 'I witnessed ʿUmar perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at Jamʿ. He then stood up and said, "The unbelievers used not to proceed forth until the sun rose and they would call out, 'Ashriq Thabīr! "Look down upon (Mt.) Thabūr!"' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth before the sun rose.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rajā᾿ related to him, quoting Isrā᾿īl, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, who said, "I left for Mecca with ʿAbd Allāh. When we reached Jamʿ, he performed two prayers, an *adhān* and an *iqāma* accompanying each of these. Between these two prayers, he took his supper. He then performed the *al-fajr* prayer when the dawn rose." (Some narrators say "when the dawn rose" and others say, "the dawn had not risen".)

"ʿAbd Allāh went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "These two prayers have had their times changed in this place – the people (should) not arrive at Jamʿ until they perform (the *ʿishā᾿* prayer), and the *al-fajr* prayer is at this hour."'

"He" (ʿAbd Allāh) "stood there until it became light and then he stated, 'If the Commander of the Believers were to proceed forth now, he would act in proper accord with the *sunna*.' And I don't know whether it was his comment or the departure of ʿUthmān that came first. And he continued to recite the *talbiyya* until he cast the stones at the day of sacrifice."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-Ḥāfiẓ* informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Shaybānī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mubārak al-ʿAbsī, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. Qays b. Makhrama, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us at ʿArafāt. He praised and lauded God and then he said, 'To proceed, those who believed in polytheism and in idols used to go on from here at sunset, so that the sun would be over the mountain tops like mens' turbans upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs. They would go on from *al-mash'ar al-ḥarām* when the sun rose over the mountain tops like mens' turbans upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs.'"

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[119] The words *wuqūf*, *dafʿ* and *iyḍāʿ* represented in this title by "station", "departure" and "passage forth" are technical terms associated with the rites of the pilgrimage for which there are no effective English equivalents. Wādī Muḥassir is a *wādī* close by al-Muzdalifa.

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs related it from Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. Qays b. Makrama as being *mursal*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth from al-Muzdalifa before the sun rose.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, from Yūnus al-Aylī, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, (who said) that Usāma was mounted behind the Prophet (ṢAAS), from ʿArafāt to al-Muzdalifa. He then mounted al-Faḍl behind himself from al-Muzdalifa to Minā. Each of these men said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at al-ʿAqaba."

Ibn Jurayj related it from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Muslim related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū Maʿbad, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, who had been mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that the latter said on the evening of the (assembly) at ʿArafāt and on the morning (of the assembly) at Jamʿ when they proceeded on their way, "Proceed with tranquillity." He restrained his camel until he entered Muḥassir while on his way from Minā. He said, "Gather the pebbles that will be used for casting at the *jamara*."[120] Al-Faḍl went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he had cast (stones) at the pillar."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gives the following in a section entitled, *Proceeding on into Wadī Muḥassir.*

He went on to state, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Muqriʾ and Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Hishām b. ʿAmmār and Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. Both the latter men said, 'Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, concerning the *ḥajj* of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He (Jābir) stated, "On arriving at Muḥassir, he had urged his camel on a little."'"

Muslim narrated it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Abū Bakr b. Shayba.

Al-Bayhaqī went on to narrate from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on in a state of *al-sakīna*, '(God's) tranquillity'. And he ordered them to proceed with tranquillity. He went on into Wādī Muḥassir. He ordered them to cast stones that were like pebbles for sling shots. And he said, 'Adopt your rites from me; I may not see you after this year.'"

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[120] The pebbles that the pilgrim uses in the rite of the *rami* (the stoning of Satan) are gathered at Muzdalifa.

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, from Zayd b. ʿAlī, from his father, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from ʿAlī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth from Jamʿ and reached Muḥassir. He slapped his camel until he crossed the *wādī*, then he stopped. Later he mounted al-Faḍl behind himself and went on to the pillar (at Minā) and cast stones at it.

He related it thus, in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa, from Zayd b. ʿAlī, from his father, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at ʿArafāt and said, 'This is the station; and all ʿArafāt is a station.' He proceeded forth when the sun set and mounted Usāma behind himself. He began forcefully urging on his camel, while the people were jostling at his right and left. He did not turn towards them. He was saying, 'Go easy, people!'

"He then reached Jamʿ. There he performed both prayers with them, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*. He spent the night there and next morning went to Mt. Quzaḥ. He stood there and said, 'This station and all Jamʿ is a station.' He then proceeded on until he reached Muḥassir. He stood there, then urged his camel ahead until he had crossed the *wādī*, whereupon he restrained it. Thereafter he mounted al-Faḍl behind himself and travelled on to the pillar, at which he cast stones. He then went on to the sacrifice site and said, 'This is a sacrifice site; all Minā is a site for sacrifice.' A young girl of (Banū) Khathʿam then asked him to make a ruling, saying, 'My father is an old man who is mentally senile. It is time for him to fulfil God's requirement of making the *ḥajj*. Will he be rewarded if I accomplish it on his behalf?' 'Yes; perform it for your father,' he replied."

(The narrator) stated further, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) turned the head of al-Faḍl aside. Al-ʿAbbās asked him, 'Messenger of God, why did you turn aside the head of your cousin?' He replied, 'I saw a young man and a young woman, and I could not trust Satan with them.'

"A man then came up to him and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have shaved (my head) before making sacrifice.' He replied, 'Make sacrifice, despite the prohibition.' Then another man came and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have performed the circumambulation of the *ḥajj* before I shaved (my head).' He replied, 'Shave or cut it short; it's no problem.'

"After that he went to the *kaʿba*, made the circumambulation (of the *ḥajj*) and proceeded on to *zamzam*. He then said, 'Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; were it not that people would have overwhelmed you (in their wanting to emulate me) I would surely have drawn water with you.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Tirmidhī related it from Bandār, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī. Ibn Māja (related it) from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*. We know it as a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī only through this line."

I note that there are testimonies to it from authentic lines of transmission that are given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere. These include the story of the Khathʿamī woman; it is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Faḍl. Reference is made to her above, in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. We will relate further a portion of it.

Al-Bayhaqī related it, with its (full) lines of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the latter denied that there was movement at speed in Wādī Muḥassir. He said, "That was only on the part of the bedouin." And he went on, "And affirmation is to be preferred over denial."

I note that his assertion of affirmation over it is controversial. But God knows best.

That[121] is made authentic according to (reports) of a group of the Companions referring to (the practice of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is also authenticated by the actions of the two sheikhs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, who are referred to as having done that. Al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Najjād and others, from Abū ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. Muʿādh b. al-Mustahill, known as Durrān, from al-Qaʿnabī, from his father, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, that as ʿUmar urged on his mount, he would recite the verse,

> "My camel races towards You (O God), her bridle loose-
> fitting,[122] her faith different from that of the Christians."

Accounts of the casting by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of stones only at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba on the day of the sacrifice. How he cast them and when. And from what position he cast them, and how many they were. Also, his cessation of recitation of the talbiyya when he cast them.

It has been stated above from a *ḥadīth* of Usāma, al-Faḍl and other of the Companions, may God be pleased with them all, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast (stones) at the *jamra* at al-ʿAqaba.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Imām Abū ʿUthmān informed him, quoting Abū Ṭāhir b. Khuzayma, quoting his grandfather – the Imām *par excellence*, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma, that is – quoting ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, quoting Sharīk, from ʿĀmir b. Shaqīq, from Abū Wāʾil from ʿAbd Allāh who said, "I closely watched the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast the first stone at the pillar of al-ʿAqaba."

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[121] The discussion relates to the movement at a fast pace through the Muḥassir valley.

[122] The camel is emaciated due to the distance and the speed of its long journey.

He (al-Bayhaqī) also stated that Ibn Khuzayma related to him, quoting ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Shaybānī, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, quoting Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "I proceeded on with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from ‘Arafāt and he continued reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba, saying *Allāhū Akbar 'God is most Great'* with each stone. He then broke off the recitation of the *talbiyya* with the final stone."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This addition is strange and it is not present in the well-known accounts attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, quoting al-Faḍl, even though Ibn Khuzayma did select it."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Abān b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from ‘Ikrima, who said, "I proceeded on with al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (from ‘Arafāt). I can still hear him reciting the *talbiyya* up until he cast the stone at al-‘Aqaba. When he cast it, he ceased (the recitation). I asked, 'Why is this?' He replied, 'I saw my father ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib recite the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba. And he told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to do that.'"

It is narrated above from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū Ma‘bad, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from his brother al-Faḍl, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the people in Wādī Muḥassir to throw pebbles such as are used in sling shots in casting at the pillar.

Muslim related this.

Abū al-‘Aliyya stated, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that al-Faḍl related to him, saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me on the morning of the day for sacrifice, 'Choose me some pebbles.' So I chose him some like those used in slings. He put them in his hand and said, 'With the like of these! With the like of these! Beware of excess; it was excess in religion that destroyed those before you.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "When he reached Wādī Muḥassir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at *al-jamrat al-kubrā* (at Minā), 'the greater pillar', and then he went on to the pillar and cast seven pebbles at it, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the *wādī*."

Muslim related it thus.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that Jābir, may God be pleased with him, said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) cast stones on the morning of the day for sacrifice. And thereafter he cast them after the sun began to decline."

This *ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī recorded is given by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, who stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar on the morning of the day for the sacrifice, and thereafter, when the sun began to decline."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is given in a *ḥadīth* of al-A‘mash, from Ibrāhīm, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, who said, "‘Abd Allāh cast from the centre of the *wādī* and I commented, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, people cast stones at it from above it.' He replied, 'By Him other than Whom there is no God, this is the station about which revelation came in *sūrat al-Baqara.*'"

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

In one version he quotes, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said the following about ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: "He came to *al-jamrat al-kubrā* and placed himself with the *kaʿba* to his left and Minā to his right. He cast seven (stones) and said, "This is how he to whom *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed cast."

Al-Bukhārī then has a section entitled, *Section on those who cast seven (stones) at the mound, glorifying God with each pebble; Ibn ʿUmar stated this about the Prophet (ṢAAS).*

This is only known in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir, through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father about Jābir, (to the effect that) when the latter arrived, he would approach the pillar and cast seven pebbles, stating *Allāhu Akbar*! "God is most Great", with each pebble that were of the size shot in slings.

In this section, al-Bukhārī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, about ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (to the effect that the latter) cast seven pebbles at the pillar from the middle of the *wādī*, saying God is most Great! with each pebble. He then said, "It is here, by Him other than Whom there is no God, that he to whom *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed stood."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, who quoted Abū al-Zubayr as stating that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast at the mound seven pebbles like those shot in slings."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū al-Qāsim – meaning Miqsam – from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) cast at the mound at al-ʿAqaba on the day of the sacrifice while mounted.

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ Abū Zāʾida, who said, "It is *ḥasan*". Ibn Māja gave it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāṭ.

Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Sulaymān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ahwaṣ, from his mother, Umm Jundab al-Azdiyya, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar from the middle of the *wādī* while he was mounted. He would say, 'God is most Great!' with each pebble; there was a man mounted behind him, shielding (him from view). I asked about the man and people said, 'That is al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās.' People were crowding all around. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'People, don't kill one another! And when you cast at the mound, use pebbles like those shot in slings.'"

This is the phraseology of Abū Dā'ūd.

In one account he gave, she said, "I saw him at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba mounted. And between his fingers I saw stones, and he cast (them). The people also cast (stones). He did not stand at it."

According to Ibn Maja, she said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the sacrifice at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He was mounted on his mule." He went on to complete the *ḥadīth.*

The reference here to the mule is very strange.

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast at the mound while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he was saying, 'You should take your rites (from me) for, I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this *ḥijja* of mine.'"

Muslim also related (it) from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from his grandmother Umm al-Ḥusayn. Yaḥyā related that he heard her say, "I performed the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw him when he cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba and (when) he left mounted on his camel on the day of sacrifice, as he said, 'You should take your rites (from me), for I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this *ḥijja* of mine.'"

In one account, she stated, "I went on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw Usāma and Bilāl; one of them was taking hold of the halter of the camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS), while the other man was raising his gown to shield him from the heat, until he cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Ayman b. Nābil, quoting Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kilābī, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), cast at the mound at al-ʿAqaba from the middle of the *wādī* on the day of the sacrifice mounted upon a reddish-hued camel he owned. And there was no striking, no pushing away and no saying, "Keep away! Keep away!"

Aḥmad also narrated it from Wakīʿ, Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān and Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭāriq al-Zubaydī, all three of whom quoted Ayman b. Nābil. He also narrated it from Abū Qurra, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ayman.

Al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Wakīʿ. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Marwān b. Muʾāwiya, from Ayman b. Nābil. He stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ.*"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh – meaning al-ʿUmarī – from Nāfiʿ, who said, "Ibn ʿUmar would cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he did not go to any of the others thereafter unless on foot. He claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used not to go to them unless on foot, whether going or returning."

Abū Dā'ūd related it from al-Qaʿnabī, from ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī.

DIVISION

Jābir stated, "Then he left for the sacrifice site, where he sacrificed 63 camels by his own hand. He allowed ʿAlī to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own *hadī*. He ordered that a piece of meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy."

We will discuss this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Ḥumayd al-Aʿraj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿādh, from one of the men who was one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The man stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address at Minā and directed them to their places. He said, 'Let the *muhājirīn* stay there.' And he gestured towards the right side of the *qibla*. 'And the *ansār* over here.' And he gestured towards the left side of the *qibla*. 'And let the other people stay round about them.'"

He went on, "He then instructed them in their rites. The hearing of those at Minā was accentuated so that they could hear him at their places. And I heard him say, 'Cast at the pillar (small) pebbles like those shot from slings.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as far as the words, "And let the (other) people stay around them".

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith from his father. And Abū Dā'ūd did so from Musaddad, from ʿAbd al-Wārith. Ibn Māja gave it from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Mubārak, from ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd b. Qays al-Aʿraj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿādh al-Taymī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying."

The remainder of the *ḥadīth* was then given.

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared the *hadī* with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, and that the sacrificial animals brought by ʿAlī from Yemen and those brought with him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 100 camels, and that the latter sacrificed 63 animals by his own hand.

Ibn Ḥibān and others stated, "And that (figure) corresponded with his age, for he was (at the time) 63 years old!"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made sacrifice on the *ḥajj* of 100 animals of which he sacrificed 60 by his own hand. He ordered that the remainder be brought and they were sacrificed. A piece of each one was taken and placed in a pot. He ate from it and drank its gravy.

"On the day at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he sacrificed 70 animals, including the camel of Abū Jahl. When they were blocked from the *kaʿba*, they (the camels) expressed their anguish, as though yearning for their young."

Ibn Māja narrated part of it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad did so from Wakīʿ, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting a man, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid b. Jabr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought with him 100 animals. Of these he sacrificed 30 by his own hand, and then he ordered ʿAlī who sacrificed the remainder. He said, 'Divide up their meat, skins and pack-saddles among the people. Do not give the butcher any of it (as payment). Take a piece of meat from each camel, place them in a single pot so that we may eat from their flesh and drink from their gravy.' And he did so."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mujāhid, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to go over to his sacrificial camels and to give away their meat, skins and pack-saddles, and told me not to give any of them to the butcher. He said, 'We will give him some of our own.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ḥarmala b. ʿImrān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī, who quoted ʿArafa b. al-Ḥārith as saying, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being brought the sacrificial animals. He said, 'Summon Abū Ḥasan to me.' And ʿAlī was summoned to him. He then said, 'Take hold of the lower part of the spear.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its upper part. They then used it to stab the camels. When he had finished, he mounted his mule, seating ʿAlī behind himself."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this. There is some strangeness in both its line of transmission and its content. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū al-Qāsim – meaning Miqsam – from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He then made sacrifice and shaved (his head)."

Ibn Ḥazm claimed that he sacrificed cattle for his wives and sacrificed a cow at Minā. He sacrificed two fine rams for himself.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) SHAVING HIS HEAD.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shaved his head on this *ḥijja*.

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayh – from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, who said, "Nāfiʿ stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) on his *ḥijja*."""

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ related to him, quoting Juwayriyya son of Asmāʾ, from Nāfiʿ, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) as did a number of his Companions; some of them cut (their hair) short."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Nāfiʿ. He added, "ʿAbd Allāh quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, 'May God have mercy on those who shaved (their heads).' He said this once or twice. People asked, 'Messenger of God, does that apply to those who cut (their hair) short?' He replied, 'And those who cut short as well.'"

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Wakīʿ and Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, from his grandmother, who said that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* speak a prayer three times for those who shaved (their heads) and a prayer once for those who cut (their hair) short. Waqīʿ did not include the words, "on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*".

Muslim narrated this *ḥadīth* thus from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. ʿUbayd Allāh gave it from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar. ʿUmāra gave it from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra. Al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related it from his father, from Abu Hurayra.

Muslim stated that Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām, from Ibn Sīrīn, from Anas b. Mālik who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mt. Minā, proceeded to the pillar, cast at it, went to his dwelling at Minā and made sacrifice. He then said to the barber, "Take". He gestured towards his right side (of his head), then to his left side. He began giving the hair to the people.

In one account he gives, he shaved the right side of his head and distributed it, a hair or two at a time, to the people. He gave the hair of the left side to Abū Ṭalḥa. In another account of his, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the hair of the right side to Abū Ṭalḥa, and also gave him the hair of the left side, telling him to distribute it among the people.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the barber was shaving him. His Companions were encircling him, not wanting a hair to fall anywhere but into a man's hand."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Chapter.

After having cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dressed in robes, put on perfume and sacrificed his *hadī*. Before he circumambulated the *kaʿba* ʿĀʾisha put perfume on him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Madīnī related to him, quoting Sufyān – he being Ibn ʿUyayna – quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the latter being the finest of men of his era, who said that he heard his father, the finest man of his era, say that he heard ʿĀʾisha state, "I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with these two hands of mine when he adopted the *iḥrām* state and again when he declared it at an end, before he circumambulated," and that she spread out her hands.

Muslim stated that Yaʿqūb al-Dawraqī and Aḥmad b. Manīʿ both related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Manṣūr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "I would put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he adopted the *iḥrām* state, and on the day of the sacrifice, before he circumambulated the *kaʿba*; I used perfume mixed with musk."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for his state of *iḥrām* when he affirmed it and for his state of *iḥlāl* after he had cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba, before he circumambulated the *kaʿba*."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna informed him, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Sālim, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for both his states, of *iḥrām* and *iḥlāl*."

ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from ʿĀʾisha.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Ibn Jurayj is quoted as saying that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrwa informed him that he heard ʿUrwa and al-Qāsim quoting ʿĀʾisha as having said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), by my own hands, using perfume in powder form, on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, both for the *iḥrām* and the *iḥlāl*."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿUthmān, from Abū al-Rijjāl, from his mother ʿAmra, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as above.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated, on the authority of Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-ʿAwfī, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "When you have cast stones at the pillar, your state of *iḥrām* will be concluded and all things previously *ḥarām* will be *ḥalāl* for you, except for women (they will continue to be *ḥarām* for you); until you circumambulate the *kaʿba*." A man asked, "What about perfume, Abū al-ʿAbbās?" He replied, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rub musk on to his head. And is that perfume, or not?"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Abū ʿUbayda related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa, from his father and his mother, Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who quoted Umm Salama as saying, "It was the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would circulate, the night of the sacrifice. He was with me when Wahb b. Zamʿa came in, accompanied by a man of the family of Abū Umayya. Both men were wearing long shirts. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'Have you performed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāḍa*)?' 'No,' both men replied.

'Then take off your shirts,' he told them, and they did so. Wahb then asked him, 'Why, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'This is a day when you are given permission (to wear the shirts) if you have cast (stones) at the pillar and have sacrificed animals, if you had brought some. Then you would be in a state of *iḥlāl* for all that had previously been *ḥarām* for you, except for women until you have circumambulated the *kaʿba*. If you have cast stones but not completed the *ṭawāf*, you will remain in a state of *iḥrām*, until after you circumambulate the *kaʿba*.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it similarly from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, both of whom quoted from Ibn Abū ʿAdī, from Ibn Isḥāq.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Isḥāq, from Abū al-Muthannā al-ʿAnbarī, from Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn. He adds the following at the end, "Abū ʿUbayda stated that Umm Qays, daughter of Miḥṣan related to him, as follows, 'ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan, along with a group of men of Banū Asad, all dressed in shirts, left my place on the evening of the day of the sacrifice. Then they returned to us that evening carrying their shirts in their hands.' She questioned them and they told her the same as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said to Wahb b. Zamʿa and his companion."

This *ḥadīth* is very *gharīb*. I do not know a single other scholar who quoted it.

Accounts of the visit of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the ancient kaʿba.

Jābir stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode on and proceeded in a throng to the *kaʿba*. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer in Mecca and went over to Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who were distributing the water at *zamzam*. He said, 'Dismiss Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not for the people's preference for you having charge of the water distribution, I would have disputed with you!' They handed him a bucket and he drank from it."

Muslim narrated this. In this text there is evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode to Mecca prior to the decline of the sun and circumambulated the *kaʿba*. Having finished this, he performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer there.

Muslim also stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ informed him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) peformed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāḍa*) on the day of the sacrifice and then returned and performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Minā.

This differs from the *ḥadīth* of Jābir; both are given by Muslim. If we analyze both accounts, it is possible for it to be said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Mecca, then returned to Minā, found the people waiting for him there and prayed with them." But God knows best.

It is possible that he returned to Minā within the time allotted to the *al-ẓuhr* prayers, even though he had done so much that morning, because that was in summer and the day time was long. He proceeded that day from al-Muzdalifa well after the light of dawn had come, but before actual sunrise. He then went to Minā and began casting pebbles at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He proceeded on to sacrifice the 63 camels by his own hand, while ʿAlī sacrificed the remainder of the 100. Thereafter, a piece of the meat of each camel was taken, placed in a pot and cooked until done. He ate some of the meat and drank some of the gravy. In the meantime, he shaved his head and put on perfume. And when he had completed all this, he rode to the *kaʿba*.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a major address that day; I do not know whether that was before his departure to the *kaʿba* or following his return thereafter to Minā. God knows best.

The outcome of this is that he did ride to the *kaʿba* and made seven circumambulations of it while mounted. He did not circumambulate between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwa, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Jābir and ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with them both. He then drank from the waters of *zamzam* and from a beverage of dates made from water from *zamzam*.

All of this substantiates the assertion of those who stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Mecca, as Jābir related. And it is likely that he returned to Minā at the very end of noon and then also performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Minā with his companions."

This was problematic for Ibn Ḥazm, and he did not know what to say about it. And he is to be excused for this, due to the contradictions in the various *aḥādīth* relating to it that are (classified as) *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'authentic'. God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that ʿAlī b. Baḥr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Maʿnī both related to him, quoting Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāḍa*) on the last day (or the latter part of the day) *ḥīna ṣallā al-ẓuhr*,[123] when he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*,[124] casting stones at the pillar when the sun began to decline. Each time he cast seven pebbles, saying 'God is most Great', with each pebble."

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "And so Jābir and ʿĀʾisha agreed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on the day of the sacrifice at Mecca. Both of them – though God knows best – are more accurate in this than was Ibn ʿUmar."

He went on, "This does not mean anything particular; for this account of ʿĀʾisha does not determine that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Mecca, though that would be likely if the correct wording in the account were *ḥattā ṣallā al-ẓuhr* (until he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer). If, however, the statement read *ḥīna ṣallā al-ẓuhr* (when he performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer) – which is more likely – that, then, would be evidence that he performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Minā before he went to the *kaʿba*. This is more likely. But God the Almighty, may He be praised, knows best."

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[123] The words used in this *ḥadīth* are the subject for discussion immediately hereafter.

[124] The three days of the *ḥajj* that follow the day of the sacrifice.

Ibn Ḥazm is therefore contradicting the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. For this would require that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Minā before he rode to the *kaʿba*. Yet the *ḥadīth* of Jābir requires that he rode to the *kaʿba* before he performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, and he did perform it at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Zubayr said, quoting ʿĀʾisha,and Ibn ʿAbbās also said that, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed it", that is the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*, until the night.

This comment given by al-Bukhārī is also narrated by the scholars from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī and Faraj b. Maymūn, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ʿĀʾisha and Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed the circumambulation of the day of the sacrifice until the night. The scholars of the *al-sunan ḥadīth* texts narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ʿĀʾisha and Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night.

If this is interpreted as him having postponed it until after the sun had declined, meaning until the evening, then that could be true. But if this is interpreted as referring to after the setting of the sun, then that would be very unlikely, and contrary to what is established in the authentic and well-known *aḥādīth* which state that he circumambulated the day of the sacrifice during day time and drank from water drawn from *zamzam*.

The circumambulation for which he went out at night was the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ*, "the (so-called) farewell circumambulation". Some narrators refer to it as the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*, "the visit circumambulation", as we will relate, if God so wills it. Or they refer to it simply as the *ṭawāf ziyāra*,[125] "visit circumambulation", before the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* and after the *ṭawāf al-ṣadar*, "the circumambulation of the return from the pilgrimage", that being the *ṭawāf al-farḍ*, "the circumambulation of the divine ordinance".

There is another *ḥadīth* that we will quote in its proper place to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *kaʿba* each of the nights at Minā; this too is unlikely. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Qays, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to his Companions and they visited the *kaʿba* on the day of the sacrifice at midday, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night with his wives."

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[125] Without the definite article, that is.

This too is a very strange *ḥadīth.* (Also) there is a statement of Ṭāwūs and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) postponed the circumambulation on the day of the sacrifice until night time."

What is authentic from the accounts and what is agreed by the majority, is that he circumambulated on the day of the sacrifice during day time. What is likely is that this was before the sun declined, or perhaps thereafter. But God knows best.

What is well established is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the *kaʿba* seven times while he was mounted. He then went to *zamzam* where Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were serving water to themselves and the people. From it he took a bucket from which he drank. It was then emptied over him.

As Muslim stated, "Muḥammad b. Minhal al-Ḍarīr informed us, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzanī, who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, while he was sitting with him at the *kaʿba*, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived on his camel, with Usāma mounted behind himself. They brought a vessel containing *nabīdh*;[126] he drank from it and gave the remainder to Usāma. He said, 'You have acted correctly and done well. Continue in this way.'"

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "And so we do not wish to change what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered."

In an account from Bakr, a bedouin asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "How come I see your uncle's folk pouring milk and honey, while you serve *al-nabīdh*? Is this because of your poverty, or your miserliness?" Ibn ʿAbbās then related to him this *ḥadīth.*

Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from ʿAbd Allāh (who said) that a bedouin asked Ibn ʿAbbās, "How come Muʾāwiya's kinsfolk serve water and honey, the family of so-and-so serves milk, while you serve *al-nabīdh*? Is this due to your miserliness or your poverty?"

"Ibn ʿAbbās replied, "We're neither miserly nor poor; however, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us, Usāma b. Zayd mounted behind himself, and asked to drink. We served him this" – meaning the *nabīdh* – "and he drank from it. He said, 'You have done well. Continue in this way.'"

Aḥmad related it, from Rawḥ and Muḥammad b. Bakr, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, and Dā'ūd b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Isḥāq b. Sulaymān, quoting Khālid, from Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the watering place and asked to drink. Al-ʿAbbās said, 'Faḍl, go to your mother and bring something from her for the Messenger of God to drink.' The latter asked, 'Give me to drink.' He (al-ʿAbbās) replied, 'Messenger of God, they are putting their hands into it.' He asked, 'Give me to drink!' and he drank from it.

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[126] Here "unfermented date juice".

"He then went to *zamzam* while they were serving its water (to the pilgrims) and working in it. He said, 'Work, for you are engaged in proper work.' He then said, 'Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would also have drawn water by placing the rope on this' – meaning his own shoulder, to which he gestured."

He (al-Bukhārī) also gives a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim, from al-Shaʿbī, that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "I served (water) to the Prophet (ṢAAS), from *zamzam*, and he drank it while standing." ʿĀṣim said, "ʿIkrima swore, 'That day he rode on nothing but a *baʿīr*, "a camel".'"

In one account the wording is, "on nothing but his *nāqa*, 'his (she) camel'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥushaym related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* while (mounted) on a camel. He saluted the "black stone" with a staff he had.

He went on, "He came to the watering place and said, 'Serve me to drink.' They replied, 'The people plunge into this; but we will bring you some of it from the *kaʿba*.' He replied, 'I don't need that; serve me from what the people drink.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated from Musaddad, from Khālid al-Ṭaḥḥān, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while we were drawing water. He circumambulated on his camel." He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ and ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays, and ʿAffān stated in his *ḥadīth*, that Qays informed him, from Mujāhid, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to *zamzam*. We drew up a bucket for him, and he drank. Then he spat into it, and we poured it into *zamzam*. After that he said, 'Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would draw it out with my own hand.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it; its line of transmission meets the criteria of Muslim.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not repeat the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa a second time, being content with his first. As Muslim related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection through Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

I note that the reference here to "his Companions" is to those who had brought *hadīs* and who were performing the *ḥajj al-qirān*.

It is similarly established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿĀʾisha, who had joined the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra* and was therefore performing the *ḥajj al-qirān*, "Your circumambulation of the *ka‘ba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (once) suffices for both your *ḥajj* and your *‘umra*."

Those who support the teaching of Imām Aḥmad consider that the statement of Jābir and his companions applies generally, to both those performing the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘* and those who are performing the *ḥajj al-qirān*. Imām Aḥmad, therefore, laid down that for the person performing the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘*, one circumambulation would suffice for both his *ḥajj* and his *‘umra* even if he had been (out of the state of *iḥrām*) during the interim.

This is a strange statement, taking literally from the *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Those who accept the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa regarding the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘*, and also those of the Mālikīs and the Shāfi‘īs, state that those performing the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘* are required to perform two circumambulations (of the *ka‘ba*) and two passages (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa), though the Ḥanafīs (alone) extend that rite to those performing the *ḥajj al-qirān* as well. This, however, is a rule unique to their school (of law). They maintain that the latter (the *qirān*) should also perform both (circumambulations), tracing this back to ‘Alī *mawqūfan* directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

We have already spoken on all that with regard to the circumambulation, and have shown that the lines of transmission for that are weak and contradict *aḥādīth* that are categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ*. But God knows best.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Minā after having performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Mecca, as the *ḥadīth* of Jābir shows. Ibn ‘Umar stated, "He returned and performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer at Minā."

Muslim narrated both (*aḥādīth* relating to this), as we have given above. It is possible to reconcile between both by that having occurred at Mecca and at Minā. But God knows best.

Ibn Ḥazm discussed this issue, but reached no decisive conclusion about it. And he is to be excused for this, since the accounts considered authentic relating to it are contradictory. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā᾿isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on (with the pilgrims) for the rest of that day, when he had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of *ayyām al-tashrīq*, casting (pebbles) at the mound, when the sun began to decline, seven at each mound, and saying 'God is Most Great!' with each one."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

This shows that his proceeding to Mecca on the day of the sacrifice was after the sun began to decline. This contradicts absolutely the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Umar.

And there is also controversy over his contradiction of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. But God knows best.

Chapter.

On that fine day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave a wonderful address that numerous *aḥādīth* reiterate. We will relate those of them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, so enables us.

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, *Chapter on the address made during the days at Minā.*

He went on to state that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, quoting Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the day of the sacrifice. He said, "O people, what day is this?" They replied, "A day that is *ḥarām*, 'sacrosanct'." "And what land is this?" he asked. "A sacrosanct land," they replied. "And what month is this?" he asked. "A sacrosanct month," they replied. He then said, "Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, like this day of yours in this your land in this your month."

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "He repeated this several times. Then, raising his head, he went on, 'O God, have I delivered (the message well)? O God, I have delivered (the message).'"

Ibn ʿAbbās continued, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, it was his testament to his nation. (He then stated), 'Let those witnessing this inform those absent. Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān. He characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū ʿĀmir, quoting Qurra, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father, and a man more worthy in my view that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmām, from Abū Bakra, may God be pleased with him, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice. He said, 'Do you know what day this is?' We replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, 'Is this not the day of the sacrifice?' 'Why, yes,' we replied. 'And what month is this?' he asked. 'God and His Messenger know best,' we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, "Is this not *Dhū al-Ḥijja*?"' 'Yes indeed,' we replied. 'And what land is this?' he asked. 'God and His Messenger know best,' we replied. He was silent so that we thought he was going to change its name. 'Is this not the sacrosanct land?' he asked. 'Yes indeed,' we replied.

"He went on, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month of yours, in this land of yours, until the day you meet your Lord. And have I delivered (the message)?' 'Yes,' we replied. He went on, 'O God, bear witness! Let those present inform those absent; and many who will be informed (of this) will be more conscious than those who hear (it now). Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it through several lines, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Awn, from Ibn Sīrīn, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father. He added at its end, "He then turned aside to two fine rams, both of which he sacrificed. He also (turned towards) a herd of goats and divided them up between us."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā῾īl related to him, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Abū Bakra, (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address on his *ḥijja*, saying, 'Time has run a course, as was its way the day God created the heavens and the earth. The year has twelve months, of which four are sacrosanct. Three follow one another in succession – Dhū al-Qa῾da, Dhū al-Ḥijja and al-Muḥarram. And there is Rajab of (Banū) Muḍar, which is between Jumādā and Sha῾bān.'

"He went on, 'And what day is this?' We replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a different name. He then asked, 'Is this not the day of the sacrifice?' We replied, 'Yes indeed.' He then asked, 'What month is this?' We said, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He was silent so that we thought he was giving it a new name. He then asked, 'Is it not Dhū al-Ḥijja?' 'Yes indeed,' we replied. Then he asked, 'What country is this?' 'God and His Messenger know best,' we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a new name. Then he asked, 'Is it not the sacrosanct land?' We replied, 'Yes indeed.' He then said, 'Your money and your possessions,' – I think he also said 'and your honour' – 'are sacrosanct for you, as this day of yours is sacrosanct in this your month and this your country. You will meet your Lord and he will question you about your deeds. Do not revert after me into error, striking the necks of one another. Have I delivered (the message well)? Let those witnessing deliver the message to those absent. And perhaps those who are informed will be more conscious of it than some of those who heard it.'"

This is how it occurs in the *ḥadīth* collection of Imām Aḥmad, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Abū Bakra. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it similarly from Musaddad. Al-Nasā᾿ī gave it from ῾Amr b. Zurāra, both of whom quoted from Ismā῾īl – he being Ibn ῾Uliyya – from Ayyūb, from Ibn Sīrīn, from Abū Bakra.

It is interrupted in its line of transmission because both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from another route, from Ayyūb and others, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father.

Al-Bukhārī stated also that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting ῾Āṣim b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, from his father, from Ibn ῾Umar. He said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked at Minā, 'Do you know what day this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He went on, 'This day is sacrosanct; and do you know what land this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He went on, 'It is a sacrosanct land.' He asked, 'And do you know what month this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' 'It is a sacrosanct month,' he said. He went on, 'And God made sacrosanct for you your blood, your possessions and your honour, like he made sacrosanct the nature of this your day in this your month in this your land.'"

Al-Bukhārī gave it in various places of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did the rest of the major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhī, through various routes from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from his grandfather, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī (also) stated, "And Hishām b. al-Ghāz stated that Nāfiʿ informed him, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stood between the pillars on the *ḥijja* he made on his pilgrimage and said, 'This is the day of *al-ḥajj al-akbar*, "the major pilgrimage". The Prophet (ṢAAS) then began by declaring, 'O God, bear witness!' He then said farewell to the people and they said, 'This is the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, "the farewell pilgrimage".'"

Abū Dā'ūd gave a line of transmission for this *ḥadith* from Muʾammal b. al-Faḍl, from al-Walīd b. Muslim. Ibn Māja gave it from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from Ṣadaqa b. Khālid, both of whom quoted from Hishām b. al-Ghāz b. Rabīʿa al-Jarashī Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Dimashqī.

His standing at the pillars to make this address renders it possible that it was delivered after his casting at the pillar on the day of the sacrifice and before his circumambulation. It is also possible that it was delivered after his circumambulation, his return to Minā and his casting (the stones) at the pillars.

However, the first possibility is strengthened by what al-Nasāʾī narrated, when he said that ʿAmr b. Hishām al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Salam, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. Ḥuṣayn al-Aḥmasī, from his grandmother Umm Ḥuṣayn. She stated, "I took part in the *ḥijja* of the Prophet (ṢAAS); I saw Bilāl holding the bridle of his camel, while Usāma b. Zayd raised a garment above him, sheltering him from the heat, while he was in the *iḥrām* state, until he cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He then made an address to the people, praising and lauding God and saying many things."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from his grandmother, Umm al-Ḥuṣayn. She stated, "I performed the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw Usāma and Bilāl; one of them was holding the bridle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the other raised his garment sheltering him from the heat until he cast (pebbles) at the mound at al-ʿAqaba."

She went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said many things. I then heard him say, '(Even) if a castrated' – I think he said 'black' – 'slave should become your commander, who leads you with God's Book, then listen to him and obey.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ – he being Dhakwān al-Sammān – from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice and he said, 'Which day is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This day of ours.' He asked, 'Which month is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This month of ours.' He asked, 'Which land is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This land of ours.' He then said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this country of yours in this month of yours are sacrosanct. Have I delivered the message successfully?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'O God, bear witness.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it with this line; it meets the criteria of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba narrated it from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash.

The *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad is given above, from his father, from Jābir in the address given by the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the day at Mt. ʿArafāt. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAlī b. Baḥr related to him, quoting ʿĪsā b. Yūnus, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*", and he proceeded to give it.

Ibn Māja narrated it from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from ʿĪsā b. Yūnus. Its line of transmission meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Abū Hishām related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra, and Abū Saʿīd (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address. He asked, 'What day is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct day.' He said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this month of yours in this land of yours are sacrosanct.'"

Al-Bazzār went on to state, "Abū Muʾāwiya narrated it from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʿīd. Abū Hishām joined both together for us, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʿīd."

I note that the account given by Aḥmad from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṭanāfusī, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, is given above. Perhaps Abū Ṣāliḥ gave it from three (sources).

Hilāl b. Yasāf stated, from Salama b. Qays al-Ashjaʿī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'They are only four in number; do not associate anything with God; do not kill, for God has forbidden this, unless by the right; do not commit adultery; and do not steal.'"

Salama b. Qays al-Ashjaʿī went on, "And no one became more careful regarding these four than myself when I heard them from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from Hilāl b. Yasāf. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna narrated it similarly, as did al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr.

Ibn Ḥazm stated on the subject of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Anas al-ʿUdhrī related to him, quoting Abū Dharr ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Harwī al-Anṣārī, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān, the *ḥāfiẓ* at al-Ahwāz, quoting Sahl b. Mūsā b. Shirzād, quoting Mūsā b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim, quoting Abū al-ʿAwwām, quoting Muḥammad b. Juḥāda, from Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa, from Usāma b. Sharīk, who said, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* while he was delivering an address. He said, 'Your mother, your father, your sister, your brother and then the closest to you, and the closest to you.' Some people then came and said, 'Messenger of God, Banū Yarbūʿ attacked us!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'No person should harm any other.' A man who had forgotten to cast stones at the pillars then asked him what he should do. He replied, 'So cast the pebbles (now); no matter.' Another man then came to him and said, 'Messenger of God, I forgot to circumambulate.' He replied, 'So circumambulate (now); no matter.' Another man came to him who had shaved before he had made sacrifice. He told him, 'Make sacrifice; no matter.' And that day whenever anyone asked him anything, he always replied, 'No matter; no matter!'

"He then said, 'God may make all problems go away – except for a man who borrows money from a man who is a Muslim; for him there is a problem, and he is ruined.' He went on, 'God brought down no disease for which He did not provide a cure – except for senility, that is.'"

Imām Aḥmad and the orthodox scholars give some of this text from this line. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAlī b. Mudrik, who said he heard Abū Zurʿa relate from Jarīr – who was his grandfather – that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, "Jarīr, listen to the people." He then said in his address, "Do not revert into unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another."

Aḥmad then narrated it from Ghundar, and from Ibn Mahdī, both of whom quoted it from Shuʿba. Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, who said, "We were informed that Jarīr stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Listen to the people. I really do not know, after what I see, (whether) you will revert to being unbelievers, striking the necks of one another.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr.

Al-Nasāʾī stated that Ḥannād b. al-Sarrī related to him, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Ibn Gharqada, from Sulaymān b. ʿAmr, from his father, who said, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* as he said, 'People!' He said this three times. 'What day is this?' They replied, 'It is the day of the "greater pilgrimage".'

"He went on, 'Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct among yourselves as this day of yours in this land of yours is sacrosanct. Let no man do harm to his child. Satan has despaired that he will be worshipped in this your land! However, you will be obedient to him in your performance of some acts you think insignificant, and he will be pleased. All usury of the *jāhiliyya* period is abolished. You have (the right to) your capital only. Do no wrong, and you will not be wronged.'" He proceeded to complete the *ḥadīth* as above.

Abū Dā'ūd gives a section entitled, *Chapter of those who stated, 'He gives an address on the day of the sacrifice'.*

He went on to state that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, quoting ʿIkrima – he being Ibn ʿAmmār – quoting al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhilī, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address to the people while on his camel *al-ʿAḍbāʾ* on the day of the immolation at Minā."

Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī narrated it from several lines, from ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from al-Hirmās, who said, "My father was mounted behind myself and I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people at Minā on the day of the sacrifice while on his camel *al-ʿAḍbāʾ*."

This is the wording of Aḥmad. It is from one of the three volumes of his *musnad* compendium.

Abū Dā'ūd stated further that Muʾammil b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jābir, quoting Sulaym b. ʿĀmir al-Kalāʿī, who said he heard Abū Amāma say, "I heard the address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Minā on the day of the sacrifice."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Muʾāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting Sulaym b. ʿĀmir al-Kalāʿī, who said, "I heard Abū Umāma state, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), one day while mounted upon al-Jadʿāʾ, his feet placed in the stirrups, stretching out so that people would hear. He said at the top of his voice, "Do you not hear?" One man in one of the groups of people asked, "Messenger of God, with what do you charge us?" He replied, "Worship your Lord. Perform your five (prayers). Fast for your month. And obey when you are commanded. (Then) you will enter your Lord's garden."'

"I (Sulaym) asked him, 'Abū Umāma, (how old were you) at that time?' He replied, 'At that time I was a man of 30, controlling the camel and urging it forwards towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Aḥmad also narrated it from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Muʾāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, and al-Tirmidhī gave it from Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kūfī, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. He stated that it was *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Mughīra related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbās, quoting Shuraḥbīl b. Muslim al-Khawlānī who stated that he heard

Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in his address on the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadā*ʿ, 'God has given to each worthy man his due, and so there is no testamentary inheritance for an heir. The child applies to the bed (to the parents). For the adulteress there is the stone, and their reckoning is with God. Anyone making a claim to anyone but his father or claims an association with any patron not his own, upon him shall be God's curse that shall follow him till Judgement Day. A woman may not expend from her household (funds) except with the permission of her husband.'

"Someone asked him, 'Messenger of God, not even for food?' He replied, 'That is the best of our possessions.' He then went on to say, 'Things borrowed must be returned.'"

The scholars of the four orthodox schools narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*, "good".

Abū Dā'ūd, may God have mercy upon him, then gave a section entitled, *Section on when he makes an address on the day of the sacrifice.*

He went on to state that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dimashqī related to him, quoting Marwān, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, quoting Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmr al-Muzanī, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address to the people at Minā when dawn arose. He was mounted on a grey she-mule. ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf. Some of the people there were standing, others were seated."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Duḥaym, from Marwān al-Fazārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, from his father, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people at Minā on a she-mule, wearing a red cloak. And there was a man who had participated in the battle of Badr in front of him speaking on his behalf. I then advanced and placed my hand between his foot and his shoe-lace. I was surprised at how cool it (his foot) was."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd related to him, quoting a sheikh of Banū Fazāra, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, who quoted his father as saying, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), mounted upon a grey she-mule; ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʾāwiya, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to give a chapter entitled, *Section on what the Imām refers to in his address at Minā.*

He then stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd al-Aʿraj, from Muḥammmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿādh al-Taymī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying while we were in our dwellings. He started off by instructing them on their rites, until he reached the (method of stoning) the pillars, at which point he raised both index fingers. Thereafter he gave orders to the *muhājirīn* and they positioned themselves at the front of the mosque. He gave orders to the *anṣār* and they went behind the mosque. (The rest of) the people took their places thereafter."

Aḥmad narrated it from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith, from his father. Al-Nasā᾿ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Mubārak, from ‘Abd al-Wārith in similar form.

Hereabove is given the account of Imām Aḥmad, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘ādh, from a man who was one of the Companions. God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Īsā b. Ṭalḥa, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (who said). "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was making an address to us on the day of the sacrifice, a man got up and said to him, 'I used to think that this-and-that was before so-and-such.' Another man then arose and said, 'I used to think that this-and-that was before this.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Do it (thus). No matter.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. Muslim added, "and Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī". He gives many variations, but this is not the right place to scrutinize them. The correct place is (my) work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. From God help is to be sought.

In the wording of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, he stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not that day asked about anything relating (to the sequence of the *ḥajj* rites) without him responding, "Do it; no matter."

Chapter.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then stopped at Minā where the mosque is today, so it is said. He positioned the *muhājirīn* to his right and the *anṣār* to his left, with the rest of the people thereafter around them.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqba al-Shaybānī of al-Kūfa (related to him) quoting Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq al-Zuhrī, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Isrā᾿īl, from Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir, from Yūsuf b. Māhik, from Umm Musayka, from ‘Ā᾿isha, who said, "Someone asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Should we not construct for you at Minā a building to shade you?' He replied, 'No; Minā was a residence of former people.'"

This line of transmission is not bad; however, it is not in *al-Musnad*, nor in the six canonical collections of traditions from this line.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhilī related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥarīz – or Abū Ḥarīz, the doubt stems from Yaḥyā – who stated that he heard ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Farrūkh ask Ibn ‘Umar, "When we do business (during the *ḥijja*) with the people's goods and one of us happens to be in Mecca, is he allowed to spend the night there (or should he return to Minā)?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) overnighted at Minā and went on doing so."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Numayr and Abū Usāma, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "Al-ʿAbbās asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to stay in Mecca for the nights (one is supposed to spend) at Minā because of (his role in) providing the water for the pilgrims; he gave him permission."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it similarly, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr. Al-Bukhārī added, "along with Abū Ḍamra Anas b. ʿIyāḍ". Muslim added, "and Abū Usāma Ḥammād b. Usāma".

Al-Bukhārī traced it from Abū Usāma and ʿUqba b. Khālid, all of them quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar.

At Minā the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would shorten (the daily prayers of four *rakaʿāt*) to two *rakaʿāt*, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Masʿūd and Ḥāritha b. Wahb, may God be pleased with them both.

This is why a number of scholars of the Mālikī school, maintain that the shortening (of the daily prayers, where applicable, to just two *rakaʿāt*) was part of the rites of the *ḥajj*. They say, "Regarding those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used at Minā to say to the people of Mecca, 'Complete (the prayer as normal); we (shorten our prayer because) we are a people who are travelling.'" But these people are mistaken; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only said this in the year of the conquest (of Mecca) while he was staying at al-Abṭaḥ, as we have stated hereabove. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to cast stones at the three pillars every day of those he spent at Minā, after the sun had declined, as Jābir related above. He would do so on foot, as Ibn ʿUmar stated heretofore, casting seven stones saying, "God is most Great!" with each one. He would, moreover, stop and pray at the first and the second and pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, but he would not stop at the third.

Abu Dā'ūd stated that ʿAlī b. Baḥr related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Maʿnī, who both stated that Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar related to them, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṭawāf al-ifāḍa* at the end of his day when he performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. He then returned to Minā and stayed there for the nights of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, casting (stones) at the pillar when the sun began to decline, seven pebbles at each pillar, and saying 'God is most Great!' with each one. He stood and performed prayers at the first and the second, standing at both at length and making humble entreaties to God. At the third he cast (stones) without standing at it."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving it.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from more than one line, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from Ibn ‘Umar, that the latter would cast seven pebbles at the lower pillar, saying "God is most Great!" after each one. He then would go forwards and stand on level ground at length facing the *qibla*, praying and raising his hands. After that he would cast stones at the middle pillar, move to the north and then stand at length, on level ground, facing the *qibla*, praying with his hands raised. Thereafter, he would cast (stones) at the big pillar, from the middle of the *wādī*, but he would not stand at it. Then he would move away, saying, 'It was thus that I saw the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, do it.'"

Wabra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān stated, "Ibn ‘Umar stopped at al-‘Aqaba long enough to recite the *sūrat al-Baqara* (II)." Abū Mijlaz stated, "I estimated his stopping there to be long enough to recite *sūrat Yūsuf* (XII)."

Al-Bayhaqi gave both of these comments.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna related to him, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Qadāḥ, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds that they cast (stones) on one day and graze their flocks for a day.

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to him, and that Rawḥ informed him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, from his father, from Abū al-Qaddāḥ b. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Adī, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds to act consecutively and to cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. They would then pray for a day and a night and cast stones on the following day.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, quoting Mālik, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Quddāḥ b. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Adī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the camel herdsmen to overnight at Minā until they (could) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. After having done this, they would also cast stones on the next day, or on the day thereafter, for two days. And they would then cast stones on the *yawm al-nafr*, "the day of the return from Minā".

He narrated it similarly from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Mālik. The scholars of the *al-sunan* texts narrate it from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, and from that of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "The account of Mālik is more authentic; it is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

Chapter: Aḥādīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the second, the middle that is, day of the ayyām al-tashrīq.

Abū Dā'ūd gave a section entitled, *Chapter regarding which day it was that he made an address to the people.*

He went on to state that Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā᾿ related to him, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi‘, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, from two men of Banū Bakr, both of whom stated, "We saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address around the middle of the days of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*; we were close by his camel. This was the address he made at Minā."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥuṣayn, quoting his grandmother Sarrāʾ, daughter of Nabhān, who had headed a household before the coming of Islām. She said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the *yawm al-ruʾūs*, 'the day of the heads'. He (Rabīʿa) asked, 'And what day is that?' We stated, 'God and His Messenger know best!' He asked, 'Is that not the middle day of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*?'"

Abū Dā'ūd was alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd went on, "The uncle of Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqāshī stated that he made the address on the middle day of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this *ḥadīth* with a fully connected line of transmission and at length. He stated that ʿUthmān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqāshī, from his uncle, who said, "I was holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the middle of the days of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, keeping the people away from him. He said, 'O people, do you know on which day of which month and in which land you are?' They replied, 'On a sacrosanct day, of a sacrosanct month, in a sacrosanct land.' He went on, 'Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, as is this your day, in this your month, in this your land, on until you meet Him.' "He went on, 'Listen to me and live. Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! The property of a Muslim is not permitted to you, except by his wish. All blood, money and deeds done in the *jāhiliyya* are (crushed) beneath these feet of mine until Judgement Day. The first blood debt abolished is that of Ibn Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – he was fostered among Banū Saʿd, and Hudhayl killed him. All the usury charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. God has decreed that the first usury charges to be abolished are those of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Your capital is your own; do not do wrong and you will not be wronged.'

"'Time has revolved as was its fashion the day God created the heavens and the earth.' He then recited, 'The number of the months with God is twelve months in God's ordinance since the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these four are sacrosanct. That is the correct reckoning. Therefore do not harm yourselves regarding them' (*sūrat al-Tawba* (al-Barāʾa); IX, v.36). 'Do not revert after me into unbelievers, striking the necks of one another. Satan has despaired that those who pray will worship him. However, he is present in the dissention between yourselves.

"'Fear God in (your relationships) with women. They are (as) captives with you. They own nothing but themselves. They have rights over you, and you have rights over them – that they not allow anyone other than yourselves to set foot in your furnishings, and that they not give permission (to anyone you dislike) to enter your homes. If you fear those of them who are fractious, then admonish them and leave them in the beds and strike them, but not viciously. They have rights to their provisions and their clothing, in kindness. It was only by God's covenant that you took them; and it is by God's word that you are permitted access to their sexual organs. And whoever has a covenant should discharge it to whomever entrusted it to him.'

"He then spread out his hands and said, 'Have I delivered the message? Have I delivered the message?' He went on, 'Let those witnessing inform those absent. Many of those who are informed are happier than those who hear.'"

Ḥumayd stated that when these words reached al-Ḥasan he commented, "They have indeed delivered the message to peoples who were happier by it."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated an account in the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* chapter of his work *al-Sunan*, from Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jad‘ān, from Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqqāshī – his given name being Ḥanīfa – from his uncle, that makes some reference to the "women who are fractious" (in the above *ḥadīth*).

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "It is said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address on the *yawm al-ru᾽ūs*, that being the second day, following the day of the sacrifice, as the Meccans do not dispute. It is said also that this is the *awsaṭ*, 'the middle', of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*. It is likely that the word *awsaṭ* is being used here in the sense of *ashraf*, "most noble", as in the words of God Almighty, "And likewise we have made of you a nation that is *awsaṭ*, 'most noble'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

This view adopted by Ibn Ḥazm is implausible. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Walīd b. ‘Amr b. Miskīn related to him, quoting Abū Hammām Muḥammad b. al-Zabraqān, quoting Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Dīnār and Ṣadaqa b. Yasār from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, who said, "This *sūrat* was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Minā during the *awsaṭ* of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, on the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘*: 'When God's help and the victory came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1). He knew that it was the farewell, and he ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā᾽ be brought. It was saddled for him and he mounted it and stood for the people at al-‘Aqaba. There assembled around him as many of the Muslims as God wished. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God and then he said, 'To proceed: O people! All blood debts of the *jāhiliyya* are made null and void; the first blood debt so rendered is that of Ibn Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith – who was suckled among the Banū Layth and killed by Hudhayl. All usury of the *jāhiliyya* is abolished. The first such usury abolished is that of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

"'O people! Time has revolved as is its fashion (since) the day God created the skies and the earth. The number of the months with God is twelve, of which four are sacrosanct. (These are) Rajab of (Banū) Muḍar that is between Jumādā and Sha‘bān, Dhū al-Qa‘da, Dhū al-Ḥijja and al-Muḥarram. "That is the correct faith; do not wrong yourselves in them" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.36). And "*al-nasī*', 'intercalation', is an excess of disbelief; by it those who disbelieve are led astray. One year they make it permissible and another year they make it prohibited, in order to conform (outwardly) with the number that God made sacred" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.37). One year they would make Ṣafar *ḥalāl* and another year they would make al-Muḥarram *ḥarām*. One year they would make Ṣafar *ḥarām* and another they would make al-Muḥarram *ḥalāl*. That is *al-nasī*', 'intercalation'."

"'O people, those having deposits should award them to those who entrusted them with them. O people, Satan has despaired that he will be worshipped in your land till the end of time. Yet he may be pleased with you, by (your) despicable acts. Beware of him (harming) your religion by despicable acts. O people! Women are (as) captives with you. You took them with God's covenant and you are permitted access to their sexual organs by God's word. You have rights over them and they have rights over you. One of your rights you have over them is that they not allow others than yourselves to set foot upon your furnishings. And they should not disobey you in (your) permissible requests. If they so obey, then you have no right to (chastise them). They are due their food and their clothing in kindness. If you strike (them), then do so without viciousness. No man should have access to his brother's funds, unless with his goodwill. O people! I have left among you that with which, if you adopt it, you will not go astray, the Book of God; behave by it.

"'O People! What day is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct day.' He said, 'What land is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct land.' He asked, 'What month is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct month.' He said, 'God has made sacrosanct your blood, your possessions and your honour, just as this day in this land and this month are sacrosanct. Let those of you who witness inform those of you who are absent. There will be no prophet after me, and no nation after you.' He then raised his hands and said, 'O God, bear witness!'"

REFERENCES TO A ḤADĪTH IN WHICH IT IS STATED THAT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WOULD VISIT THE KAʿBA EVERY NIGHT OF THOSE AT MINĀ.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "It is recounted from Abū Ḥassān from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *kaʿba* during the days at Minā."

He related it thus, with a comment that it was a weak tradition.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting al-ʿUmarī, quoting Ibn ʿArʿara, who said, "Muʿādh b. Hishām presented us a document, saying, 'I heard it from my father; he did not read it.' He went on, 'In it it states, "from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *kaʿba* every night for so long as he was at Minā." He commented, 'I never saw anyone agree with him over this.'"'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Thawrī narrated in the book *al-Jāmi'*, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would perform the circumambulation (of the *ka'ba*) every night" – those at Minā, that is. This *ḥadīth* is *mursal.*

Chapter.

The sixth day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, according to some, is said to have been known as the *yawm al-zīna*, "the day for decoration", because on it the sacrificial camels would be adorned with garlands and other things.

The seventh day is known as the *yawm al-tarwiyya*, "the day for the provisioning with water", because on it they refresh themselves with the water and carry away what they need of it for the *al-wuqūf*, "the stationing" (at 'Arafāt), and thereafter.

The eighth day is known as *yawm Minā*, " the day at Minā", because pilgrims proceed then from al-Abṭaḥ to Minā.

The ninth day is known as *yawm 'Arafāt*, "the day at Mt. 'Arafāt', because they stand upon it that day.

The tenth day is known as *yawm al-nahr*, "the day of the sacrifice", and *yawm al-aḍḥā'*, "the day of the immolation", and as *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbaru*, "day of the greater *ḥajj*".

The day following that is known as *yawm al-qarr*, "the day of rest", since on that day pilgrims rest. It is also known as *yawm al-ru'ūs*, "the day of the heads", because on that day they eat the heads of the animals sacrificed. It is the first of the *ayyām al-tashrīq.*

The second day of the *ayyām al-tashrīq* is known as the *yawm al-nafr al-awwal*, "the first day of the departure", because it is permissible to leave on it. It is also said to refer to the day known as the *yawm al-ru'ūs.*

The third day of the *ayyām al-tashrīq* is known as the *yawm al-nafr al-ākhir*, "the other day of the departure". God Almighty stated, "Those who hasten away in two days shall not be considered sinful; and those who remain behind are not considered sinful" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.203).

On the *yawm al-nafr*, the third day of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, that being a Tuesday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him got upon their mounts. He departed with them from Minā and stopped at al-Muḥaṣṣab, a *wādī* between Mecca and Minā. There he performed the *al-'aṣr* prayer.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Isḥāq b. Yūsuf, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay', who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'Tell me about something you heard related about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Where did he perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-tarwiyya*?' He replied, 'At Minā'. I asked, 'Where did he perform the *al-'aṣr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr*?' 'At al-Abṭaḥ; do as your leaders do,' he replied."

It is also narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Abṭaḥ; that is al-Muḥaṣṣab. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī (also) stated that ʿAbd al-Mutaʿālī b. Ṭālib related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said) that Qatāda related to him that Anas b. Mālik related to him that, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā*ʾ prayers and laid down to rest at al-Muḥaṣṣab, rode to the *kaʿba* and circumambulated it."

I note that he is referring to the *ṭawāf al-wadā*ʿ, the farewell circumambulation (after completion of the *ḥijja*).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to him, quoting Khālid b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh was asked about al-Muḥaṣṣab and so ʿUbayd Allāh related to us, from Nāfiʿ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there, as did ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar.'"

And from Nāfiʿ (it is narrated that), "Ibn ʿUmar would pray there – meaning al-Muḥaṣṣab – for the *al-ẓuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers. I think he said, 'and the *al-maghrib* prayer'." Khālid (b. al-Ḥārith) stated, "I have no doubt about the *al-ʿishā*ʾ prayer. He would then lie down and sleep; and he would narrate that about the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab.

I saw it thus in the *musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī, from Nāfiʿ.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this *ḥadīth* from Isḥāq b. Manṣūr. Ibn Māja promulgated it from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, both quoting from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān would stay at al-Abṭaḥ."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "And on this subject (there are *aḥādīth*) from ʿĀʾisha, Abū Rāfiʿ and Ibn ʿAbbās. The *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar is *ḥasan gharīb*. And we only know it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar."

Muslim narrated it from Muḥammad b. Mahrān al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would stay at al-Abṭaḥ.

Muslim also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣakhr b. Juwayriyya, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that he would stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab, and that he would perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Ḥasaba.

Nāfiʿ stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at al-Muḥassab, and that the caliphs did so after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama – from Ayyūb and Ḥumayd, from Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā*ʾ prayers at al-Baṭḥāʾ and he then slept. Thereafter he entered" – meaning Mecca – "and circumambulated the *kaʿba*."

Aḥmad also narrated it from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from Ibn ʿUmar.

At the end of this *ḥadīth* he added, "Ibn ʿUmar would do this."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it like this from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting al-Walīd, quoting al-Awzāʿī, quoting al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salama, from Abū Ḥurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that as from tomorrow, the day for the sacrifice at Minā, (they would stay in the *khayf*): "Tomorrow we will stay at the *khayf*[127] of Banū Kināna, where they pledged disbelief to one another." By this he was referring to al-Muḥaṣṣab.

Muslim narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzāʿī. He related it the same.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Where will you stay tomorrow?' This was on his *ḥijja*. He replied, 'Has ʿAqīl left us anywhere to stay?' He then said, 'Tomorrow, if God wills it, we will stay at the *khayf* of Banū Kināna' – meaning al-Muḥaṣṣab – 'where they made a pact of unbelief with Quraysh.'"

This referred to how Banū Kināna made a pact with Quraysh regarding Banū Hāshim – that they would not intermarry, nor ally with them, nor accommodate them – until the latter had delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is.

He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) went on to say, "Muslims shall not inherit from unbelievers, nor unbelievers from Muslims."

Al-Zuhrī stated that the word *al-khayf* meant *al-wādī*, "the dry river bed".

They (the authors of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) both gave it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

These two *aḥādīth* provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) planned to stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab to spite them for the agreement the Quraysh unbelievers had made when they signed the pact to boycott Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib until they delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have explained above in the appropriate place.

He similarly stayed there in the year of the conquest (of Mecca). His having stayed there therefore constitutes a *sunna* to be emulated. This is one of the two comments made by the scholars.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only stayed there since it would be more convenient for his departure." This reference was to al-Abṭaḥ.

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[127] Al-Zuhrī is quoted hereafter as interpreting this obscure word to mean *wādī*, "dry river bed".

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Hāshim. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab so that it would be more convenient for his departure. It is not a *sunna*. Staying there is a matter of personal preference."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, who said, "ʿAmr stated, quoting ʿAṭāʾ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Al-Taḥṣīb is nothing (of importance); it is just somewhere the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed."

Muslim narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and others from Sufyān, the latter being Ibn ʿUyayna.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba al-Maʿnī and Musaddad stated that Sufyān related to them, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, who said, "Abū Rāfiʿ stated, 'He' – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – 'did not order me to stay there. However, his pavilion was pitched and so he did stay there.'"

Abū Dā'ūd quoted Musaddad as stating, "He was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." Abū Dā'ūd also quoted ʿUthmān as stating that this (place) reference was to al-Abṭaḥ.

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Abū Bakr and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

The outcome of the above is that all of these are agreed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab when he left from Minā. However, they do differ somewhat. Some (scholars) maintain that he had not actually planned to stay there but had done so by chance and for the conveneince of his departure. Others interpret his words to imply his having stayed there intentionally. This is more likely.

That is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered people that they spend their last time there at the *kaʿba*; before that they would leave from all parts, as Ibn ʿAbbās stated. And so he ordered people that their last time there should be at the *kaʿba* – this reference being to the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* "the farewell circumambulation". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted himself and those Muslims there with him to perform the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ*. He had departed from Minā at around noon and had not been able to come to the *kaʿba* for the rest of that day, to circumambulate it and travel on into the outskirts of Mecca on the Medina side, since that would have been impossible for so numerous a throng. And so he needed to spend the night near Mecca.

There was no place more appropriate for him to stay than al-Muḥaṣṣab, where Quraysh had made a pact against Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib. But God did not fulfil anything for Quraysh, but crushed and defeated them instead, making His religion dominant, aiding His Prophet and enhancing his influence. God fulfilled for him the true religion and through him made clear the straight path.

And so he went on pilgrimage with the people and made clear to them God's rites and regulations. He had made his departure after having completed the rituals and then stayed in that place where Quraysh had sworn a pact for evil, aggression and boycott. There he performed the prayers for the *al-ẓuhr*, the *al-῾aṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-῾ishā᾽* and then he went to sleep.

He had dispatched ῾Ā᾽isha, "mother of the Believers", along with her brother ῾Abd al-Raḥmān, to perform the *al-῾umra* from al-Tan῾īm and to come to him after finishing. When she had completed her *῾umra* and returned, he gave permission to the Muslims to proceed to the ancient *ka῾ba*.

As Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Wahb b. Baqiyya related to me, quoting Khālid, from Aflaḥ, from al-Qāsim, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who said, 'I declared myself in a state of *iḥrām* for the *῾umra* from al-Tan῾īm, entered Mecca and performed it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) waited for me at al-Abṭaḥ until I had finished and then ordered the people to set off. He went to the *ka῾ba*, circumambulated it and left.'"

Both (authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) included it, from a *ḥadīth* of Aflaḥ b. Ḥumayd.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Abū Bakr – meaning al-Ḥanafī – quoting Aflaḥ, from al-Qāsim, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who said, "I went forth with him" – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – "on the occasion of the final departure, and he stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab."

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Ibn Bashshār mentioned her having been sent to al-Tan῾īm. She said, "I then came (back shortly) before daybreak. He gave his Companions permission to depart and did so himself. He passed by the *ka῾ba* before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. When he left, he circumambulated it and proceeded off to Medina."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Bashshār.

I observe that it is clear that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with his Companions that day at the *ka῾ba*. In that prayer of his, he recited, "By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed on a stretched leather! By the inhabited house and the raised roof! And by the swelling sea" (*sūrat al-Ṭūr*; LII, v.1–6).

This (conclusion) stems from what al-Bukhārī narrated. He stated that Ismā῾īl related to him, quoting Mālik, from Muḥammad b. ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal, from ῾Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him I was in pain. He replied, 'Circumambulate at the rear of the people, while mounted.' I did so while he was praying that day beside the *ka῾ba* and reciting, 'By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed . . .'"

The rest of the scholars of the *aḥādīth*, except for al-Tirmidhī, gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, with a similar line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ῾Urwa, from his father, from Zaynab, from Umm Salama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Mecca and wished to leave; however, Umm Salama had not yet circumambulated but wanted to leave. He then told her, "When the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer is being performed, circumambulate on your camel while the people are praying." He then gave the rest of the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad narrated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "ordered her to circumambulate at Mecca with him at the time of the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer on the day of the sacrifice".

This obviously has a line of transmission that meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. However, no one (else) gave it with this terminology from this line. Perhaps this is because of the words "the day of the sacrifice" – an error from the narrator or from the copyist. In fact it was the *yawm al-nafr*, "the day of the departure". This is substantiated by the account we have given above from al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

The outcome of this is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, he performed seven circumambulations of the *kaʿba* and stood at the *al-multazam*[128] that is between the corner bearing the "black stone" and the door of the *kaʿba*. He said a prayer to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and pressed his body close to the *kaʿba*.

Al-Thawrī stated, from al-Muthannā b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, who quoted his grandfather as saying, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) press his face and his chest to the *al-multazam*."

Al-Muthannā is a weak source.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made his departure from the lower part of Mecca. As ʿĀʾisha stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from its upper part and left from its lower part." Both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include this.

Ibn ʿUmar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper pass at al-Baṭḥāʾ, and left by the lower pass."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated this.

In one version the wording is, "He entered from Kadāʾ and left from Kudā."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl related to him, quoting Ajlaḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed from Mecca at sunset. He did not pray until he reached Sarif, which is nine miles from Mecca."

This is very strange. There are differing views about Ajlaḥ. Perhaps this related to some occasion other than the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. As we have stated above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* after the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. What could have delayed him until sunset? This is very strange.

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[128] The word means here, "the place against which the faithful press while supplicating God".

Unless, that is, the claim made by Ibn Ḥazm is true. Namely, that he returned to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca after his having made the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* circumambulation. The only evidence he gave for this was the statement of ʿĀʾisha when she returned after having made her *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm, meeting the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Saʿda, whether while he was going down to the people of Mecca or while she was descending and he ascending.

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "One thing beyond doubt is that she was going up from Mecca and that he was descending. This is because she had come in for the *ʿumra* and he was waiting until she came. He then arose to make the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* and met her on his way out to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca."

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, *Chapter on those who stayed at Dhū Ṭuwān when he returned from Mecca.*

Al-Bukhārī went on to quote Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā as stating that Ḥammād b. Zayd related to him, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, to the effect that when Ibn ʿUmar came (on the pilgrimage to Mecca) he spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwān and went in (to Mecca) next morning. When he departed (from Mecca) he would pass by Dhū Ṭuwān where he would pass the night till next morning. He would relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did this.

He related this thus, with a fully connected line of transmission, and in certainty. He, along with Muslim, substantiated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd; however, there is no mention in it of staying at Dhū Ṭuwān on his return. God knows best.

An invaluable addendum that gives the information that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took away some of the water of zamzam with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Kurayb related to him, quoting Khallād b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī, quoting Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, (who said) that she would carry water from *zamzam* and she reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry it.

He (al-Tirmidhī) then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*; we know of it only from this line."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn al-Mubārak – quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim and Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition or from the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra*, be would thrice proclaim, 'God is most Great!'. Then he would say, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate! Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. We return, repenting, worshipping, prostrating to our Lord, praising. God has fulfilled His promise, given aid to His servant, and defeated the factions (by Himself) alone.'"

The accounts stating this are numerous. And to God all praise and reliance are due.

Chapter: On the narration of the ḥadīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave an address in a place between Mecca and Medina on his way back from the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ, near al-Juḥfa, a place called Ghadīr Khumm.

At this place he made clear the virtue of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and how his honour was untainted by the charges made against him by some of those who had been with him in Yemen on account of the awards he had issued then that some thought to be unjust, inadequate and miserly. However, he was in the right in this.

When, therefore, the Prophet (ṢAAS) had finished explaining the pilgrimage rituals and returned to Medina, on the way he clarified that issue, making a major address on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year. It was a Sunday; it was delivered beneath a tree at Ghadīr Khumm and in it he clarified a variety of concerns. He emphasized ʿAlī's virtues, his trustworthiness and his closeness to himself, all of which erased the doubts that many people had about him.

We will, through God's power and help, present the most significant of the accounts relating to this, making clear what in them is authentic and what is questionable.

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, author of the Qurʾān exegesis and the history, greatly concerned himself with this *ḥadīth*. He collected two volumes of material relating to it, giving its variations in lines of transmission and terminology. He distinguished between the authentic and inauthentic reports (contrary) to the practice of many of the early authorities on the *ḥadīth* literature, who presented in this section all that came to them without discriminating between those of doubtful quality from others of clear authenticity. The same may be said of the great *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, who gave many *aḥādīth* relating to this address.

We will give the major relevant accounts with notice that none of it (contains material) from the Shīʿa community; what we will present and explain will provide them neither support nor evidence.

To proceed – and God's help is sought – Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated in his text on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿAmra, from Yazīd b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna, who said, "When ʿAlī arrived from Yemen to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca, he hurried ahead leaving behind one of his men in command of his troops. The latter proceeded to dress each of his men in a special robe made from the cloth that ʿAlī had.

"When the army approached, he (ʿAlī) went out to meet them and was surprised to see them dressed in robes. 'What is all this?' he asked. He (his deputy commander) replied, 'I dressed up the men so that they would look well when they arrive among the people.' 'Confound you!' ʿAlī exclaimed. 'Take them off before you get to the Messenger of God.' His deputy proceeded to remove their robes and replaced them in the store of cloth. The army expressed complaints at how he (ʿAlī) had treated them."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maᶜmar b. Ḥazm related to him, from Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Kaᶜb b. ᶜUjra, from his aunt Zaynab, daughter of Kaᶜb, who was married to Abū Saᶜīd al-Khudrī, who quoted Abū Saᶜīd as saying, "People complained about ᶜAlī and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose among us to make an address. I heard him say, 'People! Don't complain about ᶜAlī! I swear by God, he is too rigorous regarding God and His cause than for him to be the object of complaint.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting him as stating, "He is very rigorous regarding God and His cause."

Imām Aḥmad also stated that al-Faḍl b. Dukayn related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ghaniyya, from al-Ḥakam, from Saᶜīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, from Burayda, who said, "I went on the expedition to Yemen with ᶜAlī and considered his behaviour harsh. When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I referred to ᶜAlī with criticism. I saw the expression on the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change and he said, 'Burayda, do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?' 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God,' I replied. He said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is ᶜAlī his lord.'"

Al-Nasā᾽ī narrated it thus from Abū Dā'ūd al-Ḥarrānī, from Abū Nuᶜaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Abū Ghaniyya; his line of transmission is similar. This line is excellent and firm; all the men quoted are considered trustworthy.

Al-Nasā᾽ī narrated in his *al-sunan* from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād, from Abū Mu᾽āwiya, from al-Aᶜmash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the *ḥijjat al-wadā*ᶜ and stayed at Ghadīr Khumm, he ordered that the area under the large trees be swept. He then said, 'It is as if I have received an invitation and have accepted. I have left among you the two treasures: the Book of God and my family, my household. Watch how you succeed me in both these. They will never split apart until they come to me at *al-ḥawḍ*.'[129]

"He then said, 'God is my Lord, and I am the guardian of every believer.' He then took ᶜAlī by the hand and said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is this (man) his guardian. O God, protect all who protect him, and oppose all who oppose him.'"

"I (Abū al-Ṭufayl) asked Zayd, 'You actually heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'There was no one in the tents who did not see him with his own eyes and hear him with his own ears.'"

Al-Nasā᾽ī is alone in giving this from this line.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū ᶜAbd Allāh b. Dhahabī said that this was an authentic *ḥadīth*.

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[129] The pool or basin near which on Judgement Day the Prophet (ṢAAS) is to meet his community.

Ibn Māja stated that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū al-Ḥusayn, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān, from ʿAdī b. Thābit, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, "We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that he attended. He made a halt on the way and gave orders that there be a general prayer. He took ʿAlī by the hand and said, 'Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?' They replied, 'Yes, indeed!' He then asked, 'Do I not have a higher claim on each Muslim than he has on himself?' 'Yes, indeed,' they replied. He then said, 'This (man) is the lord of all those whose lord I am. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose all who oppose him.'"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it thus, from Maʿmar, from Alī b. Zayd b. Judʿān, from ʿAdī, from al-Barāʾ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī and al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān stated that Hudba related to them, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd and Abū Hārūn, from ʿAdī b. Thābit, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. When we came to Ghadīr Khumm, the ground beneath two trees was swept for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). A call was made for a general prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned ʿAlī, took him by the hand and placed him to his right. He then asked, 'Do I not have a higher claim on each man than he has on himself?' They replied, 'Yes, indeed.' He then said, 'This man is lord of all those whose lord I am. O God, protect all who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb met him and he said, 'Good for you! Morning, noon and night you're to be lord of every believing man and woman!'"

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Abū Zurʿa, from Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd and Abū Hārūn al-ʿAbdī – both of whom are weak sources – from ʿAdī b. Thābit, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib.

Ibn Jarīr narrated this *ḥadīth* from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUthmān al-Ḥaḍramī – a very weak source – from Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from al-Barāʾ and Zayd b. Arqam. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Kindī, from Zādhān Abū ʿUmar, who said, "I heard ʿAlī at al-Raḥba while he was addressing the people saying, 'Who witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day at Ghadīr Khumm when he spoke as he did?'"

Zādhān went on, "Twelve men arose and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Those whose lord I have been have ʿAlī as their lord.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; the "Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥīm" quoted is not known.

ʿAbd Allāh, son of al-Imām Aḥmad, stated in his father's *musnad ḥadīth* collection, "A *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAzdī quoted Sharīk, from Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, and from Zayd b. Yuthayʿ, who said, 'ʿAlī addressed those at al-Raḥba, asking, "Anyone who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at Ghadīr Khumm should rise."

"'Six men arose on behalf of Saʿīd, while six men arose on behalf of Zayd. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to ʿAlī on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, "Is not God more solicitous of the Muslims than (they are) of themselves?" "Yes indeed," they replied. He then asked, "O God, those whose lord I have been have ʿAlī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him."'"

ʿAbd Allāh went on to state that ʿAli b. Ḥakīm related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr Dhū Amr, a *ḥadīth* similar to that of Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd and Zayd, that is. He added to it the words, "Aid those who aid him and forsake those whom he forsakes."

ʿAbd Allāh stated that ʿAlī related to him, quoting Sharīk, from al-Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as above.

Al-Nasāʾī stated in the book *Khaṣāʾiṣ ʿAlī* that al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Isḥāq, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, who said, "ʿAlī said at al-Raḥba, 'I adjure by God any man who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that day at Ghadīr Khumm say, "God is the lord of the Believers and those whose lord I have been have this (man) as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him and aid those who aid him" (to rise and so testify)'"[130]

Shuʿba narrated it thus from Abū Isḥāq. And this is an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Nasāʾī also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr Dhū Amr, (who said) "ʿAlī adjured the people at al-Raḥba and some men got up and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, 'Those whose lord I have been (now have) ʿAlī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him, and favour those who favour him; hate those who hate him and aid those who aid him.'"

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Zayd b. Wahb and ʿAbd Khayr, from ʿAlī.

Ibn Jarīr also narrated it from Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā, who is a Shīʿī considered a trustworthy source, from Maṭar b. Khalīfa, from Abū Isḥāq, from Zayd b. Wahb, Zayd b. Yuthayʿ, and ʿAmr Dhū Amr (who said) that ʿAlī adjured the people at al-Kūfa. He then gave the *ḥadīth* as above.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Qawārīrī related to him, quoting Yūnus b. Arqam, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā (who said) "I witnessed ʿAlī at al-Raḥba adjuring the people. He said, 'I adjure by God anyone who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, say, "Anyone whose guardian I have been, has ʿAlī as his guardian" to get up and so testify.'"

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[130] This phrase, necessary for the sense of the text, seems to have been omitted in error from this one narration.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went on, "So twelve men arose; it is as though I am at this moment looking at one of them. They said, 'We testify that we heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, 'Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves? And are not my wives like their own mothers?' 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God,' we replied. He went on, 'Those whose lord I have been have ʿAlī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

This line of transmission is *ḍaʿīf gharīb*, "weak and anomalous".

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. Numayr al-Wakīʿī stated, quoting Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, quoting al-Walīd b. ʿUqba b. Ḍirār al-Qaysī, quoting Simāk, from ʿUbayd b. al-Walīd al-Qaysī, who said, "I went in to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā and he related to me that he witnessed ʿAlī at al-Raḥba. He said, 'He adjured any man who had heard and witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day at Ghadīr Khumm to rise; only those who had actually seen him should arise. Twelve men got up and said, 'We saw and heard him when he took him, (ʿAlī) by the hand, saying, "O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him. Aid whoever aids him and forsake any who forsake him." (All) except three (who had heard him) stood up; these three did not. He then cursed them (the three) and his curse was effective.'"

It was also narrated from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿĀmir al-Thaʿlabī and others, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Aḥmad b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqdī and Ibn Abū ʿĀṣim narrated, from Sulaymān al-Ghallabī, from Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqdī, quoting Kathīr b. Zayd, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from his father, from ʿAlī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present near a tree at Khumm. He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* which contained the words, "Whose lord I have been, has ʿAlī as his lord".

Some authorities narrated it from Abū ʿĀmir, from Kathīr, from Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from ʿAlī, with a line of transission that is *munqaṭiʿ*.

Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Bajalī – he being a weak source – stated, from Misʿar, from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣrif, from ʿUmayra b. Saʿd (who said) that he witnessed ʿAlī on the *minbar* adjuring the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had heard the latter on the day at Ghadīr Khumm (to stand up). Twelve men did stand; these included Abū Hurayra, Abū Saʿīd and Anas b. Mālik. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him."

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it from Hāniʾ b. Ayyūb – he being considered a trustworthy source – from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir related to him, quoting Shabāba, quoting Nuʿaym b. Ḥakīm, quoting Abū Maryam and a man who was a close companion of ʿAlī, who quoted ʿAlī as saying that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, 'Anyone whose lord I have been, has ʿAlī as his lord.' He went on to say that, 'Some people add to that the words, "protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him".'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated with this line of transmission the *ḥadīth* of al-Mukhdij.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Abū Nuʿaym al-Maʿnī both stated that Qaṭn quoted Abū al-Ṭufayl as having said, "ʿAlī assembled the people at al-Raḥba – meaning the courtyard of the mosque at al-Kūfa – and said, 'God calls upon all who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak at Ghadīr Khumm to stand (and say) what they heard.' Many people did stand and testified to his having taken ʿAlī by the hand and having asked the people, 'Do you know that I have a higher claim on the people than they have on themselves?' They replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God.' He continued, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'

"I then left, feeling somewhat disturbed, and met Zayd b. Arqam. I told him what I had heard ʿAlī say. He asked, 'What is it you are disputing? I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that to him.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus in the *musnad* ascribed to Zayd b. Arqam, may God be pleased with him.

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd b. Arqam. This is given above.

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from Bandār, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, who said, "I heard Abū al-Ṭufayl relate from Abū Sarīḥa" – or Zayd b. Arqam, Shuʿba was unsure – "that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord.'"

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim, from Abū Nuʿaym, from Kāmil Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Yaḥyā b. Jaʿda, from Zayd b. Arqam.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from al-Mughīra, from Abū ʿUbayd, from Maymūn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "Zayd b. Arqam said, while I listened, 'We made a halt at a place called Wādī Khumm. He ordered prayers and performed it at midday.

"'He made an address to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected from the sun by a cloth placed over a tree. He said, "Do you not know" – or "do you not bear witness" – "that I have a higher claim on any believer than he has on himself?" "Yes indeed," they replied. He went on, "Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him."'"

Aḥmad proceeded to narrate it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Maymūn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, from Zayd b. Arqam, up to the words, "Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord". Maymūn then stated, "Some authorities quote Zayd as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

This line of transmission is excellent. Its sources are men considered trustworthy according to the criteria of the *sunan*. Al-Tirmidhī categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ* a tradition with this line of transmission dealing with *al-rayth*, "tardiness".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥya b. Ādam related to him, quoting Ḥanash b. al-Ḥārith b. Laqīṭ al-Ashjaʿī, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "A group of men came to ʿAlī at al-Raḥba and said, 'Peace be upon you, lord of ours!' He replied, 'How can I be your "lord" when you are Arabs?' They responded, 'We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, "Anyone whose lord I have been has this man as his lord."'"

Rabbāḥ went on, "When they left, I went in after them and asked, 'Who were those?' They replied, 'A group of *anṣār*; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was one of them.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥanash related to us, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "I saw a group of *anṣār* go in to see ʿAlī at al-Raḥba. He asked, 'Who are these people?' They replied, 'Your *mawālī*, "subjects", Commander of the Believers.'" And he completed the *ḥadīth* similarly.

This is his phraseology; the *ḥadīth* is one of those that only he gives.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān Abū al-Jawzāʾ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAthama, quoting Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb al-Zamʿī – he being entirely trustworthy – quoting Muhājir b. Mismār, from ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Saʿd, who quoted her father as saying, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at al-Juḥfa. He took ʿAlī by the hand and made an address. Then he said, 'People, I am your guardian.' 'You are right,' the people responded. He then raised ʿAlī's hand and said, 'This is my *walī*, "my deputy",[131] and *muʾaddī*, "the one deputized by me". God is the protector of those who protect him and the opponent of those who oppose him.'"

Our teacher al-Dhahabī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*, "good yet anomalous".

Ibn Jarīr then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Bakr, from Muhājir b. Mismār. His version tells of the Prophet (ṢAAS) stopping until those behind him caught up and of his ordering back those who had advanced. He then addressed them as in the *aḥādīth* above.

Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī stated in the first part of his book *Ghadīr Khumm*, that his teacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī stated that he found the following in a manuscript quoting Ibn Jarīr as stating that Muḥmūd b. ʿAwf al-Ṭāʾī related, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Kashīṭ, from Jamīl b. ʿAmmāra, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar – Ibn Jarīr stated, "I think he added, 'from ʿUmar', but that is not in my notes" – who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, as he held the hand of ʿAlī, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has this man as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him, and oppose those who oppose him.'"

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[131] The term could well have been used to imply "appointed successor". However, other meanings are also possible for this word that normally gains specificity from some succeeding term, absent here, to which it is paired.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*; indeed, it is *munkar*, "objectionable", and its line of transmission is *ḍaʿīf*. Al-Bukhārī stated that Jamīl b. ʿAmmāra is a questionable source.

Al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād stated, quoting from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "We were at the dry-well at Ghadīr Khumm when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to us and said, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord.'"

Our teacher, al-Dhahabī, stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'." Ibn Lahīʿa narrated it from Bakr b. Sawāda and others, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Jābir similarly.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Ibn Abū Bukayr related to him, that Isrāʾīl related to them both, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda – who had, Yaḥyā b. Ādam stated, been present on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* – and stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'ʿAlī is of me, and I am of him; and only I or ʿAlī direct from me.'"

Ibn Abū Bukayr said (that the words spoken were), "No one settles debts on my behalf except myself or ʿAlī."

Aḥmad also narrated it thus from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from Isrāʾīl.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda in similar terms, "I", (Shurayk) "asked Abū Isḥāq, 'Where did you hear him say this?' He replied, 'He stood over us on a mare at our *majlis*, "assembly", at the al-Sabīʿ cemetery.'"

Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Aswad b. ʿĀmir, as did Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Shurayk. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā, from Shurayk. Ibn Māja did so from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, as also did Suwayd b. Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā, all three of these quoting it from Shurayk. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Isrāʾīl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*.

Sulaymān b. Qarm – whose traditions are rejected – narrated it from Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda, who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, "Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him." He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū Yazīd al-Azdī, from his father, who said, "Abū Hurayra came in to the mosque and the people gathered about him. One young man went up to him and said, 'I adjure you by God to tell whether you heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him." "Yes," he replied.'"

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Abū Kurayb, from Shādhān, from Shurayk. Idrīs al-Azdī concurred with him, quoting it from his brother Abū Yazīd, whose name was Dā'ūd b. Yazīd. Ibn Jarīr also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Idrīs and Dā'ūd, from their father, from Abū Hurayra.

Also there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Ḍamra from Ibn Shawdhab, from Maṭar al-Warrāq, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Abū Hurayra, which states, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took ʿAlī by the hand, he said, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord.' And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, 'Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you'" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.3).

Abū Hurayra went on, "This was the day at Ghadīr Khumm; whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months."

This is a highly objectionable *ḥadīth*; indeed it is mendacious! Because contradictory material is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to the effect that this verse was revealed on the Friday, the day at ʿArafāt, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing there. We have given this above.

Similarly, his statement, "whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months" is untrue. For what is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections is that fasting the month of Ramaḍan brings credit of 10 months. And so how could it be that fasting one day would be counted as 60 months? This is nonsense.

After relating this *ḥadīth*, our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī commented, "This *ḥadīth* is extremely objectionable."

Habshūn al-Khallāl and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nīrī, both highly trustworthy sources, narrated it from ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Ramalī, from Ḍamra, who said, "This *ḥadīth* is narrated from those (traced to) Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mālik b. al-Ḥuwayrith, Anas b. Mālik, Abū Saʿīd and others, with weak lines of transmission."

Ḍamra went on, "The beginning part of the *ḥadīth* is successively given, with high certainty that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke it. Regarding the words, 'O God, protect those who protect him', it is an addition that has strong lines of transmission. This reference to fasting, however, is inauthentic. And, by God, this verse quoted was definitely revealed on Mt. ʿArafāt, some days before that at Ghadīr Khumm. But God, Almighty is He, knows best."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that ʿAlī b. Isḥāq, al-Wazīr al-Isbahānī, related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Muqaddimī, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muqaddimī, quoting ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Shabbān b. Mālik b. Masmaʿ, quoting Sahl b. Ḥanīf b. Sahl b. Mālik, the brother of Kaʿb b. Mālik, from his father who quoted his grandfather as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina from the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, he mounted the *minbar*, gave praise and thanks to God and said, 'People, Abū Bakr never did me harm; give him credit for that. People, I am well pleased with Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and the initial *muhājirīn*. Give them all credit for that. People, preserve me in my Companions, my relatives and my friends. God does not seek for you to harm any one of them. People, keep your tongues off the Muslims, and if one of them should die, then say good of him.'"

THE YEAR 11 AH.

This year commenced after the return of the noble Prophet (ṢAAS), to that city of prophecy, Medina, "the purified", following his completion of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.

Momentous events took place that year, among the most shocking being the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he was in fact transported by Almighty God from this transient abode away into eternal ease in an elevated place on high, the most exalted and most splendid level of paradise. As the Almighty stated, "The afterlife is better for you than the former; your Lord will give to you, and you will be pleased" (*sūrat al-Ḍuḥā*; XCIII, v.4).

That was after he had completed carrying out the mission that God Almighty had ordered him to announce. He had given advice to his nation and had directed them to the very best that he knew for them. He had warned them and restrained them from what would have harmed them here on earth and in their afterlife.

We have given above the *ḥadith* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb narrated by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, to the effect that the words of the Almighty: "Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you, and willed that Islam be your religion" (*sūrat al-Māʾida*; V, v.3) were revealed on Friday, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing on ʿArafāt.

We have narrated, from a fine line of transmission, that when this *sūrat* was revealed, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wept. He was asked, "What makes you weep?" He replied, "After perfection there can only be loss." It was as though he had sensed the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The latter pointed to this in what was narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that, "the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba and said to us, 'Take from me your rituals, for I may perhaps not make the pilgrimage after this year.'"

We have given above what the two *ḥuffāẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī narrated from the *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUbayda al-Rabadhī, from Ṣadaqa b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "This *sūrat*: '(Remember) when God's help and the victory came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1) was revealed in the middle days of *al-tashrīq*, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew that it meant the farewell.

He therefore ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā᾽ be brought, and it was saddled." He went on to refer to the address the Prophet (ṢAAS) made that day, as is told above.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, spoke similarly to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when he asked him about the interpretation of this *sūrat* in the presence of many of the Companions, to show them the virtue of Ibn ʿAbbās, his superiority and knowledge. This related to his having been brought forwards and seated (in a prominent position) with the elders who had participated in the battle of Badr. He (ʿUmar) said, "You know from where he came." He proceeded, in the presence of Ibn ʿAbbās, to question them on the interpretation of this *sūrat*: "(Remember) when God's help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God's religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is Forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX v.1–3). They replied, "We were ordered, after having been given (God's) help, to speak His name, to praise Him and to seek His forgiveness."

"He (ʿUmar) asked, 'What do you say, Ibn ʿUmar?' He replied, 'It (referred to) the impending death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was being notified of it.' ʿUmar commented, 'I know of it only what you know.'"

We have referred, in our exegesis of this *sūrat*, to the various sources substantiating Ibn ʿAbbās's statement, even though that does not contradict interpretations offered by the Companions.

What is narrated by Imām Aḥmad is similar. (He stated) that Wakīʿ related to him, from Ibn Abū Dhi᾽b, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Taw᾽ama, from Abū Hurayra, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage accompanied by his wives, he said, "There will only be this *ḥijja*, and then they will remain in confinement."

Aḥmad is alone in giving it from this line. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in his work *al-sunan*, from another excellent line.

What is implied here is that this year the people sensed the (impending) death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

We will refer to all that and present the accounts and evidences relating thereto. And God's help is to be sought.

In way of preface to that, we will refer to what the *imām* Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr and Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated prior to his death, in their enumerations of his pilgrimages, military expeditions and raids, documents and messages to rulers. Our references will be concise and abridged, and we will follow this material with the death.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is stated in a *ḥadīth* of Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī, from Zayd b. Arqam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on nineteen military expeditions and, following his *hijra*, performed the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* but made no pilgrimage thereafter.

Abū Isḥāq stated that there was one other at Mecca.

Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī stated the same. Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb stated, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three pilgrimages – two before his Hijra and one thereafter, along with which he also performed an *ʿumra*. To the latter he brought thirty-six camels for sacrifice and ʿAlī brought the complement thereto from Yemen.

We have presented information above given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from more than one of the Companions, including Anas b. Mālik, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times, that at al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, and the *ʿumra* that accompanied his *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.

Regarding the military expedition, al-Bukhārī narrated, from Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, "I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and in nine with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed in command of us."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections a *ḥadīth* is given from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Zayd, from Salama who said, "I went on seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and on nine others he dispatched (without himself participating). On one Abū Bakr was in command of us, and on another it was Usāma b. Zayd."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *ḥadīth* from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on fifteen military expeditions."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated in a *ḥadīth* from Shuʿba, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made nineteen expeditions, in seventeen of which he participated. The first of these was that to "al-ʿUshayr" or "al-ʿUsayr".

Muslim narrated from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Muʿtamir, from Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in sixteen military expeditions.

There is also an account of Muslim, through al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated in nineteen military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in eight of which he engaged in combat.

In another account from him with this line of transmission, it is said that he dispatched twenty-four military expeditions, and that he engaged in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysīʿ, Khaybar, Mecca and Ḥunayn.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr, Jābir is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged in twenty-one military expeditions. I took part with him in nineteen, and did not fight at Badr or Uḥud because my father prevented me. When the latter was killed at Uḥud, I never missed any military expedition he sent out."

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that Maʿmar related to him, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized eighteen military expeditions.' And once I heard him say that they totalled twenty-four. But I don't know whether I imagined that or heard it thereafter."

Qatāda stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized nineteen military expeditions in eight of which he himself engaged in combat. He also sent out twenty-four missions. His expeditions and raids together totalled forty-three."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, al-Zuhrī, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār and other scholars expert in this subject state that the Prophet (ṢAAS) fought at Badr in Ramaḍān in 2 AH, then at Uḥud in Shawwāl of 3 AH, at al-khandaq and against Banū Qurayza, also in Shawwāl, of 4 AH – for which date 5 AH is also given – against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq at al-Muraysīʿ in Shaʿbān of 5 AH, and at Khaybar in Ṣafar of 7 AH, dated by some as 6 AH. What is correct is that it occurred at the beginning of 7 AH and the end of 6 AH. Then he fought against the Meccans in Ramaḍān of 8 AH, and against (Banū) Hawāzin, then besieged the inhabitants of al-Ṭāʾif in Shawwāl and part of Dhū al-Ḥijja in 8 AH, as is told above in detail. In 8 AH ʿAttāb b. Usayd, the Governor of Mecca, made the pilgrimage with the people and then in 9 AH, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", did so. Thereafter, in 10 AH the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage with the Muslims.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The number of military expeditions which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized totalled twenty-seven. These were, in order, Waddān, also known as al-Abwāʾ; Buwāṭ, over towards Raḍwa; al-ʿUshayra, in the Yanbuʿ valley; the first Badr battle, in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir; 'the great battle of Badr', in which God slew the Quraysh chiefs; Banū Sulaym, proceeding as far as al-Kudr; al-Sawīq, in pursuit of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; Ghatafān, also known as Dhū Amarr; Baḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz; Uḥud; Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad; Banū al-Naḍīr; Dhāt al-Riqāʿ of Nakhl; the 'other' battle of Badr; Dūmat al-Jandal; al-khandaq; Banū Qurayẓa; Banū Lihyān of Hudhayl; Dhū Qarad; Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa; al-Ḥudaybīyya, where he did not intend to do battle and was blocked by the polytheists; Khaybar; the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā* pilgrimage; al-Fatḥ; Ḥunayn; al-Ṭāʾif; and Tabūk."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "He actually engaged in combat in nine expeditions – Badr; Uḥud; al-khandaq; Qurayẓa; al-Muṣṭaliq; Khaybar; al-Fatḥ; Ḥunayn; and al-Ṭāʾif."

I note that all this is narrated in detail above in the appropriate places and with reference to various witnesses and evidence. And to God praise is due.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that the missions and raids he dispatched totalled thirty-eight. And he proceeded to present details of these.

All or most of this material we have presented above in the proper place. And to God goes all praise and credit.

Let us, then summarize what Ibn Isḥāq referred to here: the dispatch of ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith to below Thaniyat Dhū al-Marwa; the dispatch of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to the coast, over towards al-ʿĪṣ; some predate this to the dispatch of ʿUbayda, as mentioned hereabove. God knows best.

The dispatch of: Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakhla; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Qarada; Muḥammad b. Maslama to Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf; Marthad b. Abū Marthad to al-Rajīʿ; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr to Biʾr Maʿūna; Abū ʿUbayda to Dhū al-Qaṣṣa; ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turba in Banū ʿĀmir territory; ʿAlī to Yemen.

(The dispatch of) Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalbī to al-Kadīd, where he fought Banū al-Mulawwaḥ. He attacked them by night, killed a number of them and took away their livestock. Some of them pursued to retrieve the livestock and when they drew near a *wādī*, a flood intervened. On their way the Muslims captured al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣāʾ.

Ibn Isḥāq gave account of this here, as we have dealt with it above.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on), "The dispatch of: ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to the territory of Fadak; Abū al-Awjāʾ al-Sulamī to Banū Sulaym, both he and his men being killed; ʿUkāsha to al-Ghamra; Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad to Qaṭan, a well in Najd belonging to Banū Asad; Muḥammad b. Maslama to al-Qartāʾ of Hawāzin; Bashīr b. Saʿd to Banū Murra at Fadak; also Bashīr b. Saʿd out towards Ḥunayn; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Jumūm, territory of Banū Sulaym."[132]

Regarding the expedition of Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha to Judhām, territory of Banū Khushayn. Ibn Hishām commented that this was part of the territory of Ḥashmī. The reason for this, as told by Ibn Isḥāq and others, was that when Diḥya b. Khalīfa returned from his trip to the Byzantine emperor, having taken to him the document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), inviting him to God and having received treasures and gifts, he arrived in a valley in Banū Judhām territory called Shanār. At that time al-Hunayd b. ʿŪṣ and his son ʿŪṣ b. al-Hunayd, men of (Banū) al-Ḍulayʿ, a clan of Judhām, attacked him. They took all he had with him. One group of them, who had accepted Islam, fled from them, retrieving for Diḥya what had been seized from him.

(Ibn Isḥāq went on), "When Diḥya returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he told him what had happened and asked his permission to take the blood of al-Hunayd and his son ʿŪṣ. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha with a force of men against them. They approached from near al-Awlāj, attacking Māqiṣ from the direction of the lava field. They captured the men and property they could find and killed al-Hunayd, his son, two men of Banū al-Aḥnaf and one of Banū Khaṣīb.

"After Zayd had captured their livestock and families, a group of them met with Rifāʿa b. Zayd, who had received a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), inviting them to Islam. Rifāʿa read it out to them and a group responded. Zayd b. Ḥāritha did not, however, know this.

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[132] At this point Ibn Kathīr abbreviates and edits the account given by Ibn Isḥāq. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* page 662 *et seq.*

"After three days riding they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. They gave him the letter and he ordered that it be read out in public. He then asked aloud, three times, 'What should I do about those slain?' One of their men, named Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr, replied, 'Release those who are alive, Messenger of God. Those dead are already beneath these feet of mine.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to accompany them. ʿAlī responded, 'Zayd will not obey me.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him his own sword as a sign. ʿAlī then left with them, riding one of their camels. At Fayfāʾ al-Faḥlatayn they met up with Zayd, and ʿAlī gave back to them all that had been taken from them; they lost nothing at all.

"He also dispatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha to Banū Fazāra at Wādī al-Qurā, where a number of his men were killed. He was wounded, along with those killed. When he returned home, he swore that no water would touch his head after a *janāba*[133] until he had attacked them again. When he had recovered from his wound, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him off once more in command of a force. He fought them at Wādī al-Qurā, taking prisoner Umm Qirfa, Fāṭima, daughter of Rabīʿa b. Badr, the wife of Mālik b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, who was accompanied by a daughter of hers. Zayd b. Ḥāritha gave orders to Qays b. al-Musaḥḥar al-Yaʿmurī and he killed Umm Qirfa, allowing her daughter to live. Umm Qirfa had been held in very high honour, maxims being in common use referring to her nobility. Salama b. al-Akwa took charge of her daughter and he petitioned the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to award her to him, which he did. Thereafter the Messenger of God[134] (ṢAAS) presented her to his (Salama's) uncle, Ḥazn b. Abū Wahb, to whom she bore his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

"He twice sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to Khaybar. On one expedition he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām who had been assembling Ghaṭafān to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter therefore dispatched ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa with a force of men that included ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays. When they approached al-Yusayr b. Rizām, they wished to conduct him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He did proceed with them, but when they were at al-Qarqara, some six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr regretted having come. His son, ʿAbd Allāh, attacked him while he was drawing his sword and used his own to strike him, cutting off his father's leg. Al-Yusayr struck him back on the head with a staff of *shawḥaṭ* wood. Each Muslim then attacked and killed his Jewish companion. One of them, however, escaped on foot.

"When ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat upon his head and his wound did not suppurate or cause him pain."

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[133] The word in Islamic practice means a "major ritual impurity". That is, he would abstain from sexual relations until he had again fought Banū Fazāra.

[134] In the version of Ibn Isḥāq translated by Guillaume, it was Salama who presented the woman to his uncle. *Op. cit.* page 665.

I note that I think the other expedition to Khaybar to have been when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to the date-palms at Khaybar. But God knows best.

(Ibn Isḥāq continued) “He dispatched ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atīk and his men to Khaybar and they killed Abū Rāfi‘, the Jew. He dispatched ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays to Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ, whom he killed at ‘Urana.”

Ibn Isḥāq narrated here his story at length. Reference is made to him in the account of events of 5 AH. But God knows best.

He sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Ja‘far and ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to Mu᾽ta in Syria, where they were killed as was related above.

He sent Ka‘b b. ‘Umayr (and a force) to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ, in Syria, and they too were killed.

He sent ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr to Banū al-‘Anbar of Tamīm, whom he attacked. He killed a number of their men and then a delegation from them accompanied the prisoners to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He set some of them free and accepted ransom for others.

He also sent Ghālib b. ‘Abd Allāh to Syria where Mirdās b. Nahīk, their ally from al-Ḥurqa of (Banū) Juhayna was struck down. He was killed by Usāma b. Zayd and one of the *anṣār* who overtook him. When they drew their swords upon him, he uttered the words, “There is no god but God” (but they still killed him). When the two men returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) criticized them severely. They excused themselves by maintaining that he had only spoken these words to avoid being killed. He asked Usāma, “And so did you tear up his heart (to learn whether he was feigning belief)?” He began saying to Usāma, “And what will happen to you on Judgement Day, when confronted by the statement ‘There is no god but God’?” Usāma said, “And he went on repeating this until I wished I had myself not become a Muslim before that (incident).” We have discussed this above.

He sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to Dhāt al-Salāsil in Banū ‘Udhra territory to encourage the Arabs to attack Syria. This was because the mother of al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il was from Balī; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore sent ‘Amr to enlist them, believing he would be received most favourably by them.

When he reached a well of theirs called al-Salsal, he grew fearful of them. He therefore sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for help. The latter dispatched to him a force that included Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and was commanded by Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When they reached him, ‘Amr took command over them all, saying, “You have only been dispatched as reinforcements for myself.” Abū ‘Ubayda, an easy-going man who cared little for prestige, accepted submissively. ‘Amr would lead the prayer with all of them. Upon his return, therefore, he asked, “Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?” “‘Ā᾽isha,” he replied. “And of the men?” ‘Amr asked. “Her father,” he responded.

He dispatched ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad to the Iḍam valley. That was prior to the conquest of Mecca. The story of Muḥallim b. Haththātha, given above with reference to 7 AH, is narrated at length above.

He also dispatched Ibn Abū Ḥadrad to al-Ghāba.

THE DISPATCH OF ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAWF TO DŪMAT AL-JANDAL.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that someone above suspicion quoted ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ as having said, "I heard a man from Baṣra ask ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about a man's allowing his turban, if wearing one, to fly freely behind him." ʿAbd Allāh stated, "I will tell you about that, if God so wills it. You should know that I was the tenth in a group of Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), in his mosque. The others were Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ibn Masʿūd, Muʿādh b. Jabal, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. I was there with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a young *anṣārī* came in, greeted him and sat down. He then asked, 'Messenger of God, which of the Believers is the best?' 'The most virtuous,' he replied. He then asked, 'And which of the Believers is the most intelligent?' 'The one who is the most aware of death and best prepared for it before it comes; those like that are the most intelligent.' The young man became silent.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came over to us and said, '*Muhājirs*, there are five faults that I pray to God will never befall you. If immorality ever settles upon and overcomes a people, plague and disease will appear among them such as never did among their forefathers. If they give short measure and weight, they will be overwhelmed by famine and the ruler's tyranny. If they ever refuse to give the *zakāt* from their wealth, they will be deprived of moisture from the sky; for were it not for the animals, no rain would fall on them. If ever they break the pact with God or His Messenger, an enemy will overpower them and take some of what they had. If their *imāms* should ever rule without God's book and what God revealed, then He will bring calamity among them.'

"He then ordered ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to make preparations for an expedition on which he was sending him. Next morning he wore a turban made of black cotton. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him to approach, and untied and then rearranged the turban so that four or so fingers' length were lying behind him. He said, 'That's the way, Ibn ʿAwf. Put your turban on thus – that is better and more usual.'

"He then told Bilāl to present him with the banner, and he did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised God, spoke a prayer for himself and said, 'Take it, Ibn ʿAwf. Combat all in God's cause and do battle against those who disbelieve in Him. Do not defraud or use deceit, mutilate, or kill children. This is God's covenant and the way of your Prophet among you.'

"And so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took the banner." Ibn Hishām added, "He proceeded out to Dūmat al-Jandal."

He also despatched Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. They were some 300 riders who travelled to the coast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) provisioned him with a stock of dates. The story of the *ʿanbar*, "the great whale", cast ashore from the sea, relates to this expedition. It provided food for them all for close to a month. It restored them to health and they cut it up into steaks to provision themselves for their return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They gave him some of it and he ate it. This story is narrated above.

Ibn Hishām stated, "There were other expeditions to which Ibn Isḥāq did not refer here." There was the dispatch of ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to fight Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, after the killing of Khubayb b. ʿAdī and his companions. We have related above what became of him.

With ʿAmr b. Umayya there was Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. It did not so happen that they killed Abū Sufyān; in fact, they killed a different man and brought down Khubayb's body from his stake.

He sent Sālim b. ʿUmayr, one of the *bukāʾīna*, "the weepers", to Abū ʿAfak, of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. He had made his hypocrisy apparent when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, as was told above. He mourned him with the following verses, criticizing – may God damn him – his acceptance of the faith:

> "I have lived for an age and I have never seen a house
> nor a group
> More true, when called upon, to promises, nor more
> trustworthy to those who have compacted with them
> Than the sons of Qayla[135] in their assembly, making
> mountains shake and never submitting.
> A rider who came to them split them apart (by saying)
> 'Permissible!' 'Forbidden!' to various things.
> If you had believed in glory or kingship, you would
> have followed Tubbaʿ."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who will take care of this foul fellow for me?" And so this man Sālim b. ʿUmayr volunteered and killed him.

Umāma al-Murīdiyya spoke the following verses on this subject:

> "You deny the veracity of God's religion and the man
> Aḥmad! By the life of him who bore you, evil is he who did
> so!
> A *ḥanīf* presented you with a thrust in the night,
> (saying) 'Take that, Abū ʿAfak, despite your age!'"

He dispatched ʿUmayr b. ʿAdī al-Khaṭmī to kill al-ʿAsmāʾ, daughter of Marwān, of Banū Umayya b. Zayd. She had been satirizing Islam and those practising it. When Abū ʿAfak, mentioned above, was killed, she made her hypocrisy plain, speaking the verses:

> "Confound Banū Mālik, al-Nabīt, ʿAwf and Banū al-Khazraj!

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[135] A reference to the supposed ancestry of the *anṣār* of Medina.

> You have obeyed a stranger not of yourselves, not a man
> of (Banū) Murād or (Banū) Madhḥij.
> You have hopes of him, after his having killed the
> chiefs, as you might hope for blossoms after fruit
> ripens!
> Is there no proud man to ambush him and so
> destroy the hope of the pretender?"

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered her with the verses:

> "Banū Wā'il, Banū Wāqif and Khaṭma are beneath Banū al-Khazraj.
> Having asked for folly, may woe be upon her in her
> lamenting; and death will come.
> She upset a hero of fine ancestry, a man noble both in
> his entering and in his exit.
> He smeared her with blood shortly after the daytime and
> he has no regrets."

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard her words, he had said, "Will no one rid me of Marwān's daughter?" ʿUmayr heard this and the evening of that night he attacked and killed her. Next morning, he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "Messenger of God, I have killed her!" He responded, "ʿUmayr, you have given help both to God and to His Messenger." ʿUmayr asked, "Messenger of God, will I be held accountable for what happened to her?" He replied, "Not even two goats will clash about her!"

ʿUmayr returned to his people who were in disagreement about her death; she had five sons. ʿUmayr said, "It was I who killed her! Come at me, all of you; don't wait!" That was the first day that Islam gained strength among Banū Khaṭma. A large number of them became Muslims when they recognized the power of Islam.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to refer to those who captured Thumāma b. Uthāl al-Ḥanafī and the circumstances relating to his acceptance of Islam. We have referred to this above in relating authentic *aḥādīth.*

Ibn Hishām stated that it was in relation to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The Believer eats with one stomach, the unbeliever with seven!" This was because of the little food Thumāma ate after his acceptance of Islam. He related how, having left Medina, he entered Mecca to make the *ʿumra*, reciting the *talbiyya*. The Meccans forbad him from doing this, but he disobeyed them, threatening to cut off their supply of grain from Yamāma. When he returned home there, he did deny them grain until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to him and he restored it to them. A man of Banū Ḥanīfa said, "Among us is he who recited the *talbiyya* in Mecca, though forbidden, in spite of Abū Sufyān, in the sacrosanct months."

He sent ʿAlqama b. Mujazziz al-Mudlijī to take vengeance for his brother Waqqāṣ b. Mujazziz the day he was killed at Dhū Qarad. He asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to follow their tracks; he gave it and appointed him commander of a force of men. When they were on their way, he ordered a group of them to come to him, and he appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa to be their leader. He liked to joke. He lit a fire and ordered the men to enter it. When some were about to do so, he said, "I was only joking!" When this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he commented, "Do not obey someone who orders you to disobey God."

The *ḥadīth* on this subject was related by Ibn Hishām from al-Darāwardī, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAlqama, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥakam b. Thawbān, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

He sent Kurz b. Jābir to fight those men who had come to Medina. They were of Qays of (Banū) Bajīla. They found Medina unhealthy and became sick and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to go out to his camels and to drink their urine and their milk. When they recovered, they butchered Yasār, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was the camels' herdsman and stuck thorns into his eyes. They then took away all the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent after them Kurz b. Jābir with a force of his men and they brought them back from Bajīla following the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the expedition to Dhū Qarad. He gave his order and their hands and feet were cut off and their eyes were gouged out.

It may well be that these are the men referred to in the well-accepted *ḥadīth* of Anas – a group of eight men of ʿUkl or ʿUrayna who came to Medina with the same consequences. It seems obvious that these were they; we have narrated their story at length above. Should they have been different men, we have given here the major information given by Ibn Hishām. God knows best.

Ibn Hishām went on to relate the expedition (to Yemen) made twice by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. Ibn Hishām quotes Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched ʿAlī to Yemen and Khālid with a different force. He had stated that if the two forces were to combine, then ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was to be their commander.

He (Ibn Hishām) went on, "Ibn Isḥāq made reference to the dispatch of Khālid, but did not include it in the total of expeditions and raids dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The number of these he should have given would be 39."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha to Syria. He ordered him to have the cavalry patrol the al-Balqāʾ and al-Dārūm regions of Syria. The men equipped themselves and it was the initial *muhājirūn* who accompanied Usāma."

Ibn Hishām added, "This was the last expedition dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Mālik, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out a force under the command of Usāma b. Zayd, but that the people criticized his appointment. The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore arose and said, "Your criticism of his leadership is similar to your earlier criticism of his father's appointment to command. The former was, by God, qualified for command and one of those most beloved by me. And this man is also of those most loved by me."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. He categorized it as a *ḥadīth* that was *ṣaḥīḥ ḥasan.*

A large number of the senior initial *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* took part in this army. The most important of these was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Those who say that Abū Bakr was among them are in error. The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was increasing in severity while the force was encamped at al-Jurf. The Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time apointed Abū Bakr to lead the prayer, as will be recounted. How, then, could he have been in the army while being the *imām* for the Muslim community, by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the lord of the worlds? Even if it be supposed that he had proceeded out with them, the law-giver (the Prophet) selected him out from among them by appointing him to leadership of the prayer, one of the most important of the pillars of Islam. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Abū Bakr sought ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's exclusion (from the expedition) from Usāma, so the latter allowed ʿUmar to remain at the side of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr, "the trusting", then led Usāma's force (for a short distance to the outskirts of Medina).

THE VERSES IN THE QUR'ĀN AND AḤĀDĪTH FOREWARNING OF THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND HOW THE ILLNESS FROM WHICH HE DIED COMMENCED.

God Almighty stated, "You (will be) dead and they shall be dead. Then, on resurrection day, you will be contending with one another before your Lord" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.30–31). And, "We ordained no immortality for any person before you; and if you die, shall they be immortal?" (*sūrat al-Anbiyyā'*; XXI, v.34). And, "Every soul will taste death, and you shall only be fully paid your wages on the day of resurrection. Those drawn away from the fire and brought into paradise will be those who succeed. Life on earth is nothing but the baggage of vanity" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.285).

The Almighty also stated, "Muḥammad is nothing but a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. If he dies or is killed, you might turn away on your heels. Whoever runs away on his heels will cause no harm to God. And God will reward the grateful" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.144). It was this verse that Abū Bakr, "the trusting", recited on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When the people heard it, it was as though they had not done so previously.

The Almighty also stated, "(Remember) when God's help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God's religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your Lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.13).

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "This was (referring to) the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which he was being informed" Ibn ʿUmar stated, "This was revealed in the middle part of Tishrīn, during the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew it meant farewell and he delivered to the people an address in which he gave them instruction and prohibition." This famous address was as given above.

Jābir stated, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), casting at the pillars. He stopped and said, 'You should take your rites and ceremonies from me. I might perhaps not perform the pilgrimage after this year.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the following to his daughter Fāṭima, "Gabriel would review the Qurʾān with me once each year; he did so twice this year. I can only think that this means the approach of my death."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, that Abū Hurayra stated, "Each month of Ramaḍān the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would practise *iʿtirāf*, withdraw into seclusion (in the mosque) for ten days. The year he died he so withdrew for twenty days. The Qurʾān was reviewed to him each Ramaḍān; the year he died, it was reviewed to him twice."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned in Dhū al-Ḥijja for the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* and stayed in Medina for the remainder of that month, and for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He dispatched Usāma b. Zayd (on an expedition).

"While the people were engaged in that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began to suffer from that illness in the course of which God took him away to that mercy and honour He wished for him. This occurred shortly before the end of Ṣafar or early in Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

"When the first symptoms appeared from which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered, so I have been informed, he went out to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad[136] in the middle of the night and prayed for forgiveness for them (the dead), then returned home to his family. Next morning and from that day on he began suffering pain.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to me, from ʿUbayd b. Jubayr, the freed-man of al-Ḥakam, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, from Abū Muwayhiba, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me out in the middle of the night, saying, "Abū Muwayhiba, I have been ordered to ask for forgiveness for those in this Baqīʿ. So come with me."

"'I left with him and when he halted among them, he said, "Peace be upon you, you people in the graves! May you be content that you do not experience the same as people here. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first."

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[136] The cemetery outside Medina.

"'He then came over to me and said, "Abū Muwayhiba, I have been given the keys to the treasuries of the world, remaining here a long time and the (going to) paradise. I have been given the choice between this and meeting my Lord and (going to) paradise (soon)."

"'I said, "By my parents' lives, choose the keys of the world's treasuries, long life here, and then paradise." He replied, "No, Abū Muwayhiba, I have, by God, chosen to meet my Lord and paradise."

"'He then proceeded to pray for forgiveness for the dead of al-Baqīʿ, then left. And so began the illness in which God took him.'"

None of the authors of the books (of traditions) gave this. However, Aḥmad did narrate it from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, who quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Fuḍayl, quoting Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭāʾ, from ʿUbayd b. Jubayr, who quoted Abū Muwayhiba as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ordered to pray for the dead at al-Baqīʿ. He prayed for them three times and after the third, he said, 'Abū Muwayhiba, saddle up my mount.'

"He rode while I walked until we reached them. He then dismounted. I held the mount, while he stood" – or he said "he remained standing" – "over them. He then said, 'May your present state make you more happy than the people are. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first. So may your present state make you more happy than the people are.'

"He then came back and said, 'Abū Muwayhiba, I have been awarded' – or he said 'asked to choose between' – 'the keys of what will be conquered by my nation after myself and then paradise, or meeting my Lord.'

"I said, 'By my father and mother, choose us!' He replied, 'To reverse what God intended? I have chosen to meet my Lord!'

"And it was no more than seven or eight days thereafter that he died."

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, who quoted his father as saying, "I was given aid through terror and was awarded the treasuries. Then I was given the choice between remaining (alive) to see what would be conquered for my people and acceleration (of my death). I chose acceleration."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*; it does testify to the *ḥadīth* of Abū Muwayhiba."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba related to me, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn Masʿūd, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the cemetery and found me suffering from a pain in my head. I was complaining, 'O my head!' He commented, 'I swear by God, ʿĀʾisha, I'm the one with the headache!' He then asked, 'Would you mind if you died before me, and I were to stand over you, put you in your shroud, pray over you and bury you?' I replied, 'I imagine that if you did that you would return to my house and celebrate a wedding night there with one of your wives!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled. The pain persisted in him while he visited in turn his wives. He was overcome by it in the home of Maymūna. He summoned his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my home; this was agreed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, being helped along by two men of his household, al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās and another man. He had his head bound and he was dragging his feet when he entered my house."

ʿUbayd Allāh stated, "I related this to Ibn ʿAbbās and he said, 'Do you know who the other man was? That was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib.'"

This *ḥadīth* has testimonials that will come shortly.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to me while suffering from a headache while I was complaining about my own head. I said, 'O my head!' He said, 'I swear by God, ʿĀʾisha, I'm the one with headache!'

"He then said, 'Would you mind, if you were to die before myself, if I were to take care of you, prayed over you and buried you?' I replied, 'I swear by God, I believe that if that happened, you would closet yourself with one of your wives in my house as soon as the day was over!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed.

"His pain persisted and became severe while, visiting his wives in turn, he was at the house of Maymūna. His family assembled, and al-ʿAbbās said, 'We think the Messenger of God has pleurisy. Let's give him medicine through the corner of his mouth.' They did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to. 'Who did this?' he asked. 'It was your uncle al-ʿAbbās; he is afraid you have pleurisy.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'It is from Satan! God would never have inflicted me with it! You should not omit giving medicine to anyone in my house except for my uncle al-ʿAbbās!' And all the household were given medicine – even Maymūna, who was fasting. That was done in the sight of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Thereafter he asked permission of his wives to be nursed in my home; he received permission. So he left, between al-ʿAbbās and another man" – she did not name him – "his feet dragging on the ground."

ʿUbayd Allāh said that Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "The other man was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. ʿUfayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, quoting ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba as stating that ʿĀʾisha, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became ill and his pain intensified, he asked permission from his wives to be nursed in my home. And he was given permission. He left between two men, dragging his feet on the ground between ʿAbbās, Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, that is, and another man."

ʿUbayd Allāh said, "I told ʿAbd Allāh" – meaning Ibn ʿAbbās – "what ʿĀʾisha had said. He asked me, 'Do you know who was the other man whom ʿĀʾisha did not name?' I replied, 'No.' He said, 'It was ʿAlī.'"

ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), used to relate, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered my house and his pain was severe, he said, 'Pour over me from seven water-skins the tops of which have not been untied so that I will (be well enough to) give advice to people.'

"We seated him in a tub belonging to Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Then we set about pouring over him water from those skins until he gestured to us with his hand saying, 'You have done it now.'

"He then went outside to the people, spoke a prayer for them and made them an address."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in other places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim gave it with various lines of transmission from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, quoting Hishām b. ʿUrwa, quoting his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ask during the illness in which he died, "Where will I be tomorrow? Where will I be tomorrow?' He was referring to ʿĀʾisha's day (for his visit to her). His wives permitted him to be wherever he wished, so he was in ʿĀʾisha's house until he died there.

(The account narrates that) "ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, stated, 'He died on the day he would come to visit me in my house. God took him while his head lay between my breasts and my throat. His saliva mixed with mine.'"

She went on, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr came in carrying a tooth-pick with which he was cleaning his teeth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at him and I asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 'Give me the tooth-pick, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.' He gave it to me, and I chewed and softened it and gave it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He cleansed his teeth with it while he rested against my chest."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf informed him, quoting al-Layth, quoting Ibn al-Hād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died while between my breast and my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "ʿUrwa informed me that ʿĀʾisha narrated to him that whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in pain, he would breathe over himself, recite the *al-muʿawwidhāt*[137] and wipe his hands over his body. And so when he was in pain during the illness from which he died, I set about reciting the *al-muʿawwidhāt* over him, breathing over him as he had, and using the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to wipe over him."

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[137] The final two *sūrats* of the Qurʾān.

Muslim narrated this from a *ḥadith* of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī, from al-Zuhrī. Al-Fallās and Muslim gave it from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim and all of them.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAwāna, from Firās, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having stated, "The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) all assembled around him; none of them was left out. Fāṭima came in, her footsteps not missing the style of his own walk. He said, 'Welcome indeed to my daughter!' He sat her down at his right, or his left. He then spoke something confidentially to her, and she wept. He then spoke to her quietly again, and she laughed. I commented to her, 'The Messenger of God speaks secrets to you alone, and yet you cry!'

"When she arose, I asked her, 'Tell me what he spoke to you.' She replied, 'I could not disclose a secret of the Messenger of God.' After he had died, I asked her, 'I ask you, by my rights over you, to tell me.' She replied, 'Now I can do so. The first comment he made in confidence to me was, "Gabriel would review the Qurʾān with me once each year. This year he has done so twice. I can see this only as meaning the approach of my death. Fear God and be patient; I am a worthy predecessor to you." And so I wept. He then whispered to me again, saying, "Will it not please you to be mistress of the women of the Believers, or mistress of (all) the women of this nation?" I laughed.'"

This *hadīth* has various lines of transmission from ʿĀʾisha.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh and al-Fallās, as did Muslim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, all of them quoting from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Mūsā b. Abū ʿĀʾisha, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We poured medicine into the corner of the mouth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during his illness and he began gesturing to us not to do so. We said, 'It's just the dislike of a sick person for his medicine.' When he recovered somewhat, he asked, 'Did I not forbid you to put medicine in my mouth?' We replied, '(We thought it) dislike of a sick person for his medicine.' He then said, 'Let all in the house have medicine poured into their mouths while I look on – except for al-ʿAbbās who did not witness what you did.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ibn Abū al-Zinād narrated it from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yūnus stated that al-Zuhrī quoted ʿUrwa as saying, "ʿĀʾisha stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) would say during the illness in which he died, "ʿĀʾisha, I still suffer pain from the food I ate at Khaybar. At this time I sense my aorta being severed by that poison."'"

Al-Bukhārī gave this as being *muʿallaq*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ashqar,from Yūsuf b. Mūsā, from Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, from ʿAnbasa, from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Murra, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "I would prefer to swear nine times over that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was murdered than to do so once that he was not killed! That is because God assigned him to be a prophet and a martyr as well."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Isḥāq related to him, quoting Bishr b. Shuʿayb b. Abū Ḥamza, quoting his father, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik al-Anṣārī – Kaʿb b. Mālik having been one of the three men who had received forgiveness[138] – informed me that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās told him when ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came out after having been with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during the illness in which he died, people asked him, 'Abū al-Ḥasan! How is the Messenger of God, doing this morning?' He replied, 'Thanks be to God, he is recovered.'

"ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Malik took ʿAlī by the hand and said, 'Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be 'slave of the staff'.[139] I swear, I can see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will die from this illness. I well know how members of the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib family look when near death. Let us go to the Messenger of God, and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us.'

"ʿAlī stated, 'I swear by God, if we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for it (the rule) and he refused it, then the people would never give it to us after him. So I swear, I'll not ask the Messenger of God for it.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, who said, "Ibn ʿAbbās stated, 'What a terrible Thursday that was! The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worsened. Then he asked, "Bring me writing materials with which I can write you a document after which you will never go astray." People disputed over this – and there should never be disputation in the presence of a prophet. Some said, "What is wrong with him; is he delirious? Question him." So they went to him to ask him. He told them, "Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me." He then advised them to do three things. He said, "Remove the unbelievers from the Arabian peninsula. Treat with dignity delegations as you saw me treat them." And he either did not speak the third request, or he spoke it but I have forgotten it.'"

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it elsewhere; Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ῾Abbās, who said, "When death was close for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there were men present in his home, he said, 'Come close; I will write a document for you after which you will never go astray.' Some of them then said, '(But) the Messenger of God is overcome by illness, and you have the Qur᾿ān. God's Book is enough for us.'

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[138] A reference to the three Muslims who had held back from participation in the attack on Tabūk ordered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). See above, Vol. IV, pages 29–33.

[139] Under a new ruler, that is.

"The household differed among themselves and disputed. Some said, 'Go over near him and let him write something after which you will never stray.' Others said the contrary. When their disputation increased, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Go away!'

"῾Ubayd Allāh said, 'Ibn ῾Abbās stated, "It was truly disastrous that, due to their noise and disputation, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was prevented from writing that document for them."'"

Muslim narrated it from Muḥammad b. Rāfi῾, as did ῾Abd b. Ḥumayd, both quoting from ῾Abd al-Razzāq in the same way. Al-Bukhārī gave it in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadith* of Ma῾mar and Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī.

This *ḥadīth* has served to feed the imaginations of certain foolish persons, who advocate improper innovative practices. These adherents of the *shī῾a* and others, all claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to write in the document referred to above what they purpose in their own statements. This claim of theirs constitutes adherence to reasoning by allegory and disregard for what is fully established.[140]

Orthodox scholars accept what is fully established and reject what might be viewed as allegorical. This is the methodology of those firmly rooted in knowledge, *al-rāsikhūna fī al-῾ilm*, as God, the Almighty and Glorious characterized them in His Book (*sūrat Āl ῾Imrān*; III, v.7).

This area is one of those where the feet of many of the noisesome slip. Orthodox scholars, however, follow no 'school of thought' but pursue the truth alone, moving with it along whatever path it leads.

Whatever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to write came previously in those *aḥādīth* that lend themselves to clear and unambiguous interpretation.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mu᾿ammil related to him, quoting Nāfi῾, from Ibn ῾Amr, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ῾Ā᾿isha who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering from that illness from which he died, he said, 'Summon Abū Bakr and his son, so that no one will lust after, or aspire to, Abū Bakr's role.' He went on, 'God and the Believers reject that.' He said this twice."

῾Ā᾿isha is quoted as then having said, "And God and the Believers did indeed reject that!"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu᾿āwiya related to him, quoting ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Qurashī, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ῾Ā᾿isha, who said,

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[140] The Arabic terms are *mutashābih* and *muḥkam*.

"When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worsened, he told ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū Bakr's son, 'Bring me a shoulder bone[141] or a tablet so that I can write for Abū Bakr a document about which no one can dispute.' When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to do this, he said, 'God and the Believers reject there being any disagreement over you, Abū Bakr!'"

Aḥmad is also alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I plan to send for Abū Bakr and his son to make a covenant, lest people argue or have ambitions.' He went on, 'Either God rejects or the Believers impel, or God impels and the Believers reject.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and in that of Muslim, there is a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mutʿim, who quoted his father as saying, "A woman came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told her to return to him again. She asked, 'But supposing I came and did not find you?' – she seemed to be implying his death. He replied, 'If you do not find me, then go to Abū Bakr.'"

It seems obvious – though God knows best – that she only said that to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during the illness from which he died.

On the Thursday, five days before he died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had delivered an address in which he had asserted the superiority of Abū Bakr, "the trusting", over the other Companions, as part of his direction that he (Abū Bakr) lead them (in prayer).

It may perhaps be that this address should be viewed as a substitution for what he intended to write in the document.

He had washed himself prior to making that noble address. They had sprinkled over him water from seven water-skins, the openings of which had not been untied. This is referred to (in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) in the chapter, *Seeking a cure by seven (washings)*; *aḥādīth* referring to this are also given elsewhere than in this section.

The point here is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) washed, went out and performed prayer with the people, and then made an address to them. This is shown above in the *ḥadīth* quoting ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her.

THE AḤĀDĪTH MAKING REFERENCE TO THAT.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Ayyūb b. Bashīr, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during his illness, 'Pour water over me from seven water-skins from seven different wells so that I can go out and make a covenant with the people.'

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[141] Paper not yet having been invented, sources tell us that Arabs wrote on large bones and pieces of leather, etc.

"They did so and he went out and sat upon the *minbar*. The first thing he did, after praising and thanking God, was to refer to his Companions who had attended the battle of Uḥud; he asked God's forgiveness for them and said a prayer for them. He then said, '*Muhājirūn*, you have become very numerous while the *anṣār* have remained as they were and have not increased in number. They are my saviours, those with whom I sought refuge. Honour them for their exploits and disregard their shortcomings.'

"He went on, 'People, one servant of God has been given by God to choose between what is upon earth and what is with God. And he has chosen what is with God.'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was one among the people there who understood this and he wept, saying, 'We would redeem you with ourselves, our children and our possessions!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take it easy, Abū Bakr! Look at these doors leading in to the mosque and close them all off, except for the one from Abū Bakr's house. I know of no one whom I consider a finer Companion than him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, incomplete in its line; there are many testimonies to it. Al-Wāqidī stated that Farwa b. Zabīd b. Ṭaws related to him, from ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Saʿd, from Umm Dharr, who quoted Umm Salama, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside wearing a piece of cloth around his head. When he sat down on the *minbar* people stared hard at the *minbar* and flocked around him. He said, 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, I am at this hour standing at the *ḥawd*, "the pool".' He then spoke the *shahāda*. When he had finished this, the first words he spoke were to ask forgiveness for the martyrs killed at Uḥud. He then said, 'One servant of God has been asked to choose between this world and that with God; and this servant has chosen that with God.'

"Abū Bakr wept; we were surprised at his weeping. He said, 'By my father and my mother! We would redeem you with our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our possessions!' It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had been given the choice, and Abū Bakr was the most aware of us what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had meant. The latter then said to him, 'Take it easy, Abū Bakr!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Fulayḥ, from Sālim Abū al-Naḍr, from Bishr b. Saʿīd, who quoted Abū Saʿīd as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people and said, 'God had a worshipper make a choice between this world and that with him. That worshipper chose that with God.'

"Abū Bakr wept. We were surprised at his weeping at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having made a reference to a 'worshipper'. For it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who had been given the choice and Abū Bakr was the most aware of us what he meant. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The person most faithful to myself in his friendship and his wealth is Abū Bakr. If I were to take any other than God as my Companion, I would so take Abū Bakr. However, (what I do have with him) is the companionship of Islam and his love. Every door in the mosque has been shut except that of Abū Bakr.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqadī.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Yūnus, from Fulayḥ, from Sālim b. Abū al-Naḍr, from ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn and Bishr b. Saʿīd, from Abū Saʿīd.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it similarly, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Fulayḥ; Mālik b. Anas gave it from Sālim, from Bishr b. Saʿīd and ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn, both of whom quoted from Abū Saʿīd in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Hishām, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from ʿAbd al-Malik, from Ibn Abū al-Muʿallā, from his father (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) one day made an address and said, 'A man has been given by his Lord to choose between living on earth so long as he wishes and eating on earth whatever he wishes, and between meeting his Lord. And he has chosen to meet with his Lord.'

"Abū Bakr wept. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked one another, 'Aren't you surprised at this sheikh and the Messenger of God, referring to a fine man to whom God has given the choice of remaining on earth or meeting his Lord and him choosing to meet his Lord?' For it was Abū Bakr who was most aware of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had meant. And Abū Bakr responded, 'No, we will redeem you with our possessions and our children!' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'No person is more faithful to us in his friendship and generosity than (Abū Bakr) Ibn Abū Quḥāfa. And were I to take someone as my Companion, that person would be Ibn Abū Quḥāfa. However, there (is between us) love, brotherly feelings and faith. Your friend is the companion of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. The correct name in the above line of transmission is "Ibn Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā". However, God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayḥ – who quoted Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAdī, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Raqqī, from Zayd b. Abū Anīsa, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who quoted Jundab as having said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saying, five days before his death, "From (all of) you I have had brothers and friends. I release each companion from his companionship. If I were to take from my nation one companion, then that would be Abū Bakr. My Lord has taken me as His companion, as He did Abraham. A people who came prior to yourselves treated the graves of their prophets and holy men as mosques. Do not treat graves as mosques; I prohibit you from doing that."

Muslim narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Isḥāq b. Rahawayh in similar terms.

This day that preceded his death by five days was that Thursday referred to above by Ibn ʿAbbās.

We have given this address from Ibn ʿAbbās. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muqriʾ informed him, quoting al-Ḥasan b.

Muḥamad b. Isḥāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Yaᶜqūb – he being Ibn ᶜAwāna al-Isfarāyīnī – who said, "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, who said, 'I heard Yaᶜlā b. Ḥakīm relate from ᶜIkrima, who quoted Ibn ᶜAbbās as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went outside during the illness from which he died with his head bandaged by a piece of cloth. He mounted the *minbar*, gave praise and thanks to God, then said, 'Not one of the people has been more faithful to me with both himself and his possessions than Abū Bakr. If I were taking any one of the people as a companion, that person would be Abū Bakr. However, (what I have with him) is the companionship of Islam, which is best. Close off from me every entry-way into the mosque except that of Abū Bakr.'"'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Juᶜfī, from Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from his father. In the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Close off from me every *khawja*, 'entry-way'" – by which he meant the small doors – 'into the mosque except that of Abū Bakr", he was making a reference to the caliphate. That is, so that he (Abū Bakr) could pass through it to lead the prayer with the Muslims.

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from the *ḥadīth* of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Ḥanẓala b. al-Ghasīl, from ᶜIkrima, from Ibn ᶜAbbās. He stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out in the illness from which he died with his head wrapped in a blackish cloth, with a mantle over his shoulders and sat upon the *minbar*. Ibn ᶜAbbās went on to quote the address, including his counsel to the *anṣār*, and concluded with the words, "It was the last meeting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attended until he died." By this he meant that this was the last address made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

This *ḥadīth* is also recorded (as follows) from an anomalous and different line of transmission from Ibn ᶜAbbās; its wording is also *gharīb*, "anomalous".

Al-Bayhaqī stated that ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. ᶜUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ibn Abū Qammāsh – he being Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā – quoting Mūsā b. Ismāᶜīl Abū ᶜImrān al-Jubbulī, quoting Maᶜan b. ᶜĪsā al-Qazzāz, from al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Unays al-Laythī, from al-Qāsim b. Yazīd b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Qasīṭ, from his father, from ᶜAṭā᾽, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, from al-Faḍl b. ᶜAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to me while severely ill and having bandaged his head. He said, 'Faḍl, take my hand.' I did so until he had mounted the *minbar*. He then said, 'Summon the people, Faḍl.' I cried out, 'General assembly for prayer!'

"People assembled and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to address them. He said, 'To proceed, my absence from among you is near at hand. You will not longer see me among you in this place. I have been thinking that there was no one who could dispense with my affairs unless I do it among you (personally). If there is anyone whose back I have whipped, then here is my own back; let that person retaliate. Anyone whose money I took: here is mine from which he may take. Anyone against whose honour I have cursed should retaliate against mine.

Let no man say, 'I fear rancour from the Messenger of God.' Indeed not; rancour is not my nature or my character. Those of you I like best are those who will either take their due if I am in their debt or release me therefrom, that I meet Almighty God, without any injustice on anyone because of me.'

"One of the men arose and said, 'Messenger of God, you have three *dirhams* of mine.' He replied, 'I will not give the lie to anyone, nor will I ask him to swear an oath. Why do I have your money?' The man answered, 'Don't you remember how once a beggar passed you and you gave me orders, so I awarded him three *dirhams*?' He said, 'Give it to him, Faḍl!' And he told the man to sit.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to his original address and said, 'Anyone of you who still has anything resulting from deception should return it.' A man got up and said, 'Messenger of God, I have three *dirhams* I took by deceit.' 'Why did you do so?' he asked. 'I needed it,' he replied. 'Take it from him, Faḍl,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"He again reverted to his original address, then said, 'People, if any of you are troubled, stand and I will say a prayer for you.'

"One man arose and said, 'Messenger of God, I am a hypocrite, a liar and I sleep to excess.' ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb interjected, 'Confound you, fellow! God would have covered for you (your shortcomings) if only you had done so for yourself!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Quiet, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Scandal on earth is easier to bear than scandal in the afterlife! O God, favour him with veracity and faith and take away his sleep, if he so wishes that.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'ʿUmar is with me, and I with ʿUmar. And the truth after me is with ʿUmar.'"

In both the line of transmission and the text of this *ḥadīth* there is much that is anomalous.

An Account of the order by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Abū Bakr, 'The Trusting', to lead the prayer with all the Companions, in the presence of them all. And how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out and prayed behind him, emulating him in some of the prayers, as we shall relate, and how the latter acted as imām for the former and for those of the Companions after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Hishām, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, who said, "When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grew more intense, I was there with him, along with a group of his Companions. Bilāl made the call to prayer and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'Tell someone to lead the people in prayer.'

"So I went off and found ʿUmar among the people, Abū Bakr being absent. I said, 'ʿUmar, get up and lead people in prayer.' When ʿUmar made the declaration that 'God is most Great!' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard his voice – he was a man with a loud voice – and asked, 'Where is Abū Bakr? God refuses that, as do the Muslims! God refuses that, as do the Muslims!'

"He then sent for Abū Bakr and he came after ʿUmar had led that prayer. And then Abū Bakr prayed with the people."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa went on, "ʿUmar said to me, 'Confound you! What have you done, Ibn Zamʿa! By God, I only thought that it was the Messenger of God who told me to do it. Otherwise, I would not have led the prayer.' I replied, 'I swear that was not what the Messenger of God ordered. However, when I did not see Abū Bakr, I thought you the most deserving man present at the prayer.'"

That is also how Abū Dā'ūd narrated it, from the *ḥadith* of Ibn Isḥāq quoting al-Zuhrī. Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa, as above.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa related to him the following account, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard ʿUmar's voice, he came out, so that his head could be seen looking out from his room. Then he exclaimed, 'No! No! Only Ibn Abū Quḥāfa shall lead the people in prayer!' He spoke this in anger."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ related to him, quoting his father, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm (who stated that) al-Aswad said, "We were with ʿĀʾisha at her home and made reference to the assiduity (of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), to prayer and to her. She said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering from the illness from which he died, and the time for the prayer arrived and Bilāl made the call to it, he said, "Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." He was told, "Abū Bakr is a grievously sad man; if he were to stand up in your place, he would not be able to proceed with the prayer." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said and the same response was given him. He said it a third time, then went on, "You women are like Joseph's companions. Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer with the people!"

"'Abū Bakr went out (to perform the prayer). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt somewhat better and went out, being helped forward between two men; I seem to see now his two feet dragging in pain. Abū Bakr wanted to stay back, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to him to remain in his place. He was then brought and seated at his side.'"

(Al-Bukhārī's account continues) "Someone asked al-Aʿmash, 'Was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praying and Abū Bakr praying as he did, with the people then following the prayer of Abū Bakr?' Using his head, al-Aʿmash answered in the affirmative."

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Abū Dā'ūd narrated this in part from Shuʿba. Abū Muʾāwiya added the following to the account given by al-Aʿmash, 'He sat at the right side of Abū Bakr; Abū Bakr was standing as he prayed.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in several places in his work. Muslim, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja narrated it along various lines of transmission from al-Aʿmash. In one of these al-Bukhārī gave it from Qutayba; Muslim gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Abū Muʾāwiya.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, to the effect that she stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during his illness, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, 'I opposed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in this; the only thing making me oppose him was my concern that the people would perceive Abū Bakr's praying as an evil portent, though I knew that would be the case no matter who took his place. What I wanted was to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) deflect this away from Abū Bakr to someone else.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated in a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar informed me that ʿĀʾisha stated, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came into my house, he said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in the prayer.' I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; if he recites the Qurʾān, he will not be able to restrain his tears. What if you were to tell someone else?'"

"ʿĀʾisha went on, 'I swear by God, I only did this out of my dislike that the people would blame the first man who prayed in place of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as an evil portent. I reiterated this two or three times, but he said, "Let Abū Bakr lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph's companions."'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who quoted his father as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ill and said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.'

"ʿĀʾisha said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; when he stands up in your place, he won't be able to pray with the people.' He said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph's companions.' And so Abū Bakr did lead the prayer throughout the (remainder of) the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Zāʾida, from Mūsā b. Abū ʿĀʾisha, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I went in to ʿĀʾisha and asked, 'Would you tell me about the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'Certainly. When he became very ill, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God." He then said, "Pour some water into the wash basin for me." We did so. He then washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted.

When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, 'No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God." "Pour some water into the wash basin for me," he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God." He said, "Pour some water into the wash basin for me," he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No; they are waiting for you."'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "The people were still in the mosque, waiting for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a message to Abū Bakr saying that he should lead the people in prayer. Abū Bakr was a sensitive man and he asked, 'ʿUmar, you lead the people in prayer.' He replied, 'No; you are more worthy of that.' But he did lead them in prayer for those days.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recovered somewhat and went out, being led between two men, one of them al-ʿAbbās, to perform the *al-ẓuhr* prayer. When Abū Bakr saw him, he went to move to the back, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to him not to do so and ordered the two men to seat him beside Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr began praying, standing while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed while seated."

ʿUbayd Allāh went on, "I then went in to Ibn ʿAbbās and said, 'Should I tell you what ʿĀʾisha told me about the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' 'Let's hear it,' he replied. So I did tell him, and he contradicted nothing. He did ask, 'Did she name to you the man who was with al-ʿAbbās?' I replied, 'No.' 'That was ʿAlī,' he said."

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus, from Zāʾida. In one account, the text states, "Abū Bakr began praying with the prayer of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while standing; the people repeated the prayer delivered by Abū Bakr, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "In this it is stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) led that prayer and that Abū Bakr joined his prayer to it."

He went on, "Al-Aswad and ʿUrwa related it thus, from ʿĀʾisha. Al-Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl narrated it thus from Ibn ʿAbbās."

By this he is referring to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida related to him, quoting his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) became sick, he ordered Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer. He then recovered and went out. When Abū Bakr became aware of him, he wanted to withdraw, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to him and he sat down next to Abū Bakr, on his left. He commenced with the verse at which Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, had finished."

He then narrated it again from Wakīʿ, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Arqam, from Ibn ʿAbbās at greater length.

Wakīʿ stated one time, "Abū Bakr would follow the Prophet (ṢAAS) (in that prayer) and the people, Abū Bakr."

Ibn Māja narrated it from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Wakīʿ, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shabāba b. Sawwār related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Nuʿaym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wāʾil, from Masrūq, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "During the illness from which he died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while seated, prayed behind Abū Bakr."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from the *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba and al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Aḥmad stated that Bakr b. ʿĪsā related to him that he heard Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj quote from Nuʿaym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wāʾil, from Masrūq, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as stating, "Abū Bakr led the people in prayer while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in the row (of worshippers)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān informed him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Shuʿba, from Sulaymān al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed behind Abū Bakr.

The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major compilers) did not give it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ḥumayd narrated it thus, from Anas b. Mālik, as did Yūnus, from al-Ḥasan as being *mursal.* He then gave this from the line of Hushaym, quoting Yūnus from al-Ḥasan."

Hushaym stated that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out while Abū Bakr was leading the people in prayer and sat down by his side. He was wearing a cloak, the ends of which he crossed over. Abū Bakr prayed, as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿUbayd b. Shurayk, quoting Ibn Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Ḥumayd, who said that he heard Anas say, "For the last prayer performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with the people, he was wearing one piece of clothing wrapped around himself, and he was positioned behind Abū Bakr."

I note that this line of transmission is excellent and conforms with the criteria of the (compilers of) the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; they did not include it.

This addendum is excellent – that it was the final prayer that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed with the people.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sulaymān b. Bilāl and Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed while behind Abū Bakr, wearing one garment the ends of which were crossed over. When he wished to get up, he said, "Call Usāma b. Zayd for me." He came and the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS), rested his back against Usāma's chest. This was the last prayer he performed.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "In this there is evidence that this prayer was that of the morning of Monday, the day on which his death occurred, because that was the last prayer he performed and because it is established that he died in the forenoon of Monday."

What al-Bayhaqī stated here he had taken intact from the work on the military expeditions by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, for he related it thus. Abū al-Aswad narrated it similarly, from ʿUrwa.

That conclusion is weak. This was indeed the last prayer he performed with the people, as is in accord with his addendum given above in the other account. Because (both) are one (in meaning) it is necessary to understand the general *muṭlaq* tradition in light of the specific *muqayyad* tradition.

Moreover, it is not possible that this be the prayer of the early morning of the Monday that was the day he died. Because he did not perform it with the community, but in his home; this was due to his weak condition.

Proof of this is what al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhrī, quoting Anas b. Mālik, who had followed the Prophet (ṢAAS), and been his servant and companion. He stated, "Abū Bakr would pray before them during the illness from which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. This was until the Monday. They (the Muslims) were in lines for the prayer when the Prophet (ṢAAS) withdrew the curtain across his chamber and looked out at us. He was standing, and his face was like that of a sheet from a *muṣḥaf*.[142] He smiled and laughed. We were becoming overwhelmed with delight at sight of the Prophet (ṢAAS), when Abū Bakr turned around to straighten the line. He thought that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was coming out for the prayer. But the latter gestured to us to complete the prayer. He then drew down the curtain. That was the same day he died."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Ṣabīh b. Kaysān and Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that Abū Maʿmar related, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not come out for three days. Then the prayer was held. Abū Bakr went to advance and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take the screen.' He raised it. And when the face of the Prophet (ṢAAS) became visible, we felt as though we had never seen any more wonderful sight than it. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to Abū Bakr to go forward. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then released the screen. He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, from his father.

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[142] The word means a book or manuscript and is commonly applied to the Qur'ān. A footnote in the Arabic printed text states that the phrase suggests the beauty of the face and the clarity and luminosity of his skin.

This provides very clear evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with the people on the Monday, and that he had withdrawn from them, not having gone out to them for three days.

We note that therefore the last prayer he performed with them was that of *al-ẓuhr*, as is clearly stated in the *ḥadīth* given above from ʿĀʾisha. That would have been on the Thursday, not the Saturday, nor the Sunday, as al-Bayhaqī told it from the work on the military campaigns by Mūsā b. ʿUqba. That *ḥadīth* is weak, especially in light of the address he made following it, and of his having been absent from them on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday, these being those full days.

Al-Zuhrī stated, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, that Abū Bakr led them in prayer 17 times. Others give that number as 20. God knows best.

Then his noble visage appeared before them early in the morning of the Monday, and he bad them farewell with a gaze that almost overwhelmed them with delight. That was the last occasion on which he gathered with them. One who might have spoken for them would have agreed with the poet, who said:

"I looked on as though death were only an hour away;
how would it be if the time remaining were to end with
Judgement Day!"

It is strange that the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī would give this *ḥadīth* from these two lines and then say, in effect, "Perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained secluded from them for the first *rakaʿa* then emerged for the second *rakaʿa* and performed the prayer behind Abū Bakr, as ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, that fact not being apparent to Anas b. Mālik. Or perhaps he gave part of the information, but remained silent about the rest of it."

This statement of his is all the more improbable because Anas said, "He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died." In one account he stated, "That was his last contact with them." Precedence is to be accorded to the statements of the *al-ṣaḥābī*, "a Companion", over that of the *al-tābiʿī*, "an authority of the following generation".

But God knows best.

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did select Abū Bakr, "the trusting", as *imām* for all the Companions in the prayer assembly, what is in actuality the most important of the pillars of Islam.

Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī stated, "This selection (of Abū Bakr) is a fact about the religion of Islam necessarily to be recognized."

He went on, "The selection of him by the Prophet (ṢAAS) is proof that Abū Bakr was the Companion who was the most learned and the best reciter (of the Qurʾān). This is established in that statement of the Prophet (ṢAAS), accepted as authentic by the scholars, in which he said, 'The person to act as the people's *imām* is to be the one who best recites the Book of God. Should several be equal in this, then the *imām* should be the one most knowledgeable in the *sunna*. If equal in this too, then the oldest of them. If equal in this, then the one of them who first accepted Islam."

I note that these words of al-Ash῾arī, may God have mercy upon him, ought to be inscribed in gold! All these qualities, moreover, were combined in Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

The fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself prayed behind Abū Bakr at some of the prayers, as we have narrated above in authentic accounts, does not (of course) negate the statements recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to the effect that Abū Bakr in fact followed him (in prayer). This is because those occasions were at different prayer assemblies, as al-Shāfi῾ī and other *imāms*, may God the Almighty and Glorious have mercy upon them all, state.

In addition, Mālik, al-Shāfi῾ī and a group of scholars including al-Bukhārī drew evidence from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performing the prayer seated, as Abū Bakr imitated him while standing, the people meanwhile imitating Abū Bakr. This, they maintain, renders invalid the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reported in the *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*, which tells of when, while seated, he performed prayer with some of his Companions. He had fallen from a horse and his side had been injured. They then prayed while standing behind him. He gestured to them to sit. When he had completed (the prayer), he said, "Thus should you pray. By Him who bears my soul in His hand, would you behave like the practice in Persia and Byzantium? It is they who stand over their elite who sit!" He also said, "The *imām* is made solely to be imitated; if he says *Allāhu Akbar*! 'God is most Great!', then you say it. If he performs a *rak῾a*, then you do so. If he gets up, you get up. If he prostrates, you prostrate too. If he prays seated, then you all pray seated."

They stated, "Then while he was ill, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated while acting as their *imām* and they remained standing."

This indicates the abrogation of what is stated above. But God knows best.

The scholarly community has responded in many and various ways to this evidence. The proper place to deal with it is in my large work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

In summary, there are those who claim that the Companions sat in accord with his previous order while Abū Bakr only remained standing to report to them from him.

Others maintain that Abū Bakr was actually and essentially acting as the *imām*, as some of the narrators affirm, as was told above. And that Abū Bakr, due to extreme politeness with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), would not act prior to him but imitated him. Thus it was as though the Prophet (ṢAAS) acted as the *imām* of the *imām*. This is why they did not sit – because of their imitating Abū Bakr while he stood. And Abū Bakr did not sit because he was an *imām* and because he was reporting to them the times of movement, being stationary and the transitions in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaging. But God knows best.

Yet others maintain that there is a difference between a situation when the prayer begins behind the *imām* when he is standing and continues to do so, even if he might happen to sit during the prayer, as was the case here, and a situation when the prayer begins behind the *imām* when he is seated. In such a latter case it would be necessary to sit, because of the *ḥadīth* narrated above. But God's knows best.

THE MANNER OF HIS DYING, AND HIS ACTUAL DEATH.

ʿImām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd, from ʿAbd Allāh, he being Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "I went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), when he was ill and I touched him. I told him, 'Messenger of God, you are seriously ill.' 'Yes,' he replied. 'I am ill enough for two!' I commented, 'You shall be doubly rewarded.' 'Yes,' he agreed, 'by Him in whose hand is my soul, every single Muslim who suffers illness shall have God cast away his sins, just as a tree drops its leaves.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it through various lines from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated in his *musnad* collection that Isḥāq b. Abū Isrāʾīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Zayd b. Aslam, from "a man", from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (who said) that he placed his hand upon the Prophet (ṢAAS), and told him, "By God, I can't bear to place my hand upon you, your fever is so severe!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "For us prophets affliction is doubled, just as our rewards are doubled. If one is a true prophet one might be afflicted unto death by lice. A man might be so afflicted by nakedness as to take his *ʿabā'a* and make a *jubba* out of it.[143] People should rejoice in deprivation as they do in prosperity."

The line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* contains reference to "a man", who is utterly unidentified. God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadith* of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, to whom Muslim added Jarīr. All three quote from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, the brother of Ibn Salama, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I never saw the pain of any person more intense than that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. al-Hādd, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, ʿĀʾisha is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died (while resting) his head between my breast and my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

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[143] That is, turn a lightweight wrap into a long, wide-sleeved outer garment.

There is another *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Those persons most suffering affliction are the prophets. Then come the pure, and then so on down. A man is afflicted to the degree of his faith; if firm in his faith, he will be severely afflicted.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbāq from Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Zayd, from his father Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became severely ill, I came down, along with others, to Medina. I went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him totally silent, not speaking at all. He began raising his hands towards the sky, then dropped them down on to me. I know that he was praying for me."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Isḥāq. He categorized it as *ḥasan gharīb.*

In his work *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* Imām Mālik quoted Ismāʿīl b. Abū Ḥakīm as saying that he heard ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz say, "The last of the statements made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, 'May God destroy the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques. Two religions shall not remain on the land of the Arabs!'"

He narrated it thus in the *mursal* mode from the Commander of the Believers ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba, from ʿĀʾisha and Ibn ʿAbbās, both of whom stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received revelation, he would immediately throw a *khamīṣa*[144] over his face. If he felt depressed, he would take it off his face. While thus, he once said, 'May God damn the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques!' He was cautioning against what they did."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Rajāʾ al-Adīb informed him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say three times before his death, 'Think well of God!'"

In one *ḥadīth* it is narrated by Muslim from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥa b. Nāfiʿ, who quoted Jābir as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Let none of you die without thinking well of God, Almighty is He.'"

In another *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim, God Almighty is quoted as having stated, "I am as My worshippers regard Me; let them therefore think well of Me."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, quoting Jarīr, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The general testamentary statement spoken by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess'. (He was saying this) until he began to gurgle over it and his tongue could not pronounce it clearly."

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[144] A black-bordered cloak.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated this from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Ibn Māja gave it from Abū al-Ashʿath, from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who quoted it from his father.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Asbāṭ b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess', until his chest began to gurgle as he spoke, and his tongue could scarcely express it."

Al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān, he being al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas.

It is also given by al-Nasā'ī from Qatāda, from a companion of his, from Anas.

Aḥmad stated that Bakr b. ʿĪsā al-Rāsibī related to him, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Faḍl, from Nuʿaym b. Yazīd, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to take him a thin bone on which he could write what would prevent his nation from going astray after him. I was afraid that his spirit would slip away before (my return). I told him, 'I will memorize and be alert.' He said, 'I charge you (to attend to) the prayer, the *zakāt* and what your right hands possess.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it from this line.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū al-Nuʿmān Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl related to him, quoting Abū ʿAwāna,from Qatāda, from Safīna, from Umm Salama, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at his death was, 'prayer and what your right hands possess' until he was gurgling with it in his chest and his tongue was not producing it."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from Ḥamīd b. Masʿada, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Safīna, from Umm Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "What is true is what ʿAffān narrated, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Safīna, from Umm Salama."

Al-Nasā'ī also narrated it thus, as did Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Ṣāliḥ Abū al-Khalīl, from Safīna, from Umm Salama.

Al-Nasā'ī also narrated it from Qutayba, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Qatāda, from Safīna, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "He narrated it from Safīna who gave it similarly."

Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Zayd b. al-Hādd, from Mūsā b. Sarjis, from al-Qāsim, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "I watched the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was dying. With him there was a vessel containing water. He would put his hand into the vessel then wipe his face with the water. Then he would say, 'O God, spare me the pangs of death.'"

Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā᾿ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *gharīb*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, from Ismāʿīl, from Muṣʿab b. Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥa, from ʿĀ᾿isha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, "It eases me that I have seen the whiteness of ʿĀ'isha's palm in paradise."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is not bad.

This gives evidence of the intensity of the love of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for ʿĀ᾿isha, may God be pleased with her.

People have made many comments relating to the magnitude of love, but none of them has reached this extent. They, moreover, exaggerate in their words that have no truth to them. These words are truth, definitely and unquestionably.

Ḥammād b. Zayd stated, from Ayyūb, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who said, "ʿĀ᾿isha stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in my house. And he died between my chest and my throat. Gabriel would protect him by saying a prayer when he was sick; I started to ask God to protect him, and he raised his sight to the sky. And he said, "With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!"

"'ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr came in carrying a fresh date-palm leaf. He looked at it, and I thought he needed it. So I took it and chewed on it and gave it to him. He cleaned his teeth with it with more care than he ever did. He then went to give it to me, but it fell from his hand. And so God mixed my saliva with his on his last day on earth, (which was) also his first day in the Hereafter.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Sahl, the jurist at Bukhārā, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḥafiẓ of Baghdād, quoting Dā'ūd, from ʿAmr b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, quoting ʿĪsā b. Yūnus, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka (who said) that Abū ʿAmr Dhakwān, the freed-man of ʿĀ᾿isha informed him that ʿĀ᾿isha used to say, "It is one of God's blessings to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on the day of my turn, in my house, between my chest and my neck, and that he mixed my saliva with his at his death."

She went on, "My brother came in carrying a palm-wood toothpick. I was resting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on my chest and saw him looking at the toothpick. I knew that he was accustomed to and enjoyed using them. I asked him, 'Shall I get it for you?' He nodded in assent. I softened it for him and he used it in his mouth. Between his hands he was holding a pot or a tin containing water. He began putting his hand in the water and wiping his face with it. After that he raised his hands and said, 'There is no god but God! Death has its pangs.' Then he lifted his left (fore-finger) and began saying, 'With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!' until he died and his hand slipped into the water."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from Muḥammad (b. ʿUbayd), from ʿĪsā b. Yūnus.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Shuʿba related to him, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, who said that he heard ʿUrwa quote ʿĀ'isha as having said, "We used to tell one another that a prophet would not die until given to choose between this world and the hereafter. And during the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from which he died, I offered him a seed and heard him say, 'With those prophets, holy men, martyrs and men of purity – they would be fine Companions.' And we thought that he had been given to choose."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from Shuʿba.

Al-Zuhrī stated that Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr were among various scholars who quoted ʿĀ'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say – while healthy – that no prophet would be taken by death until he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been asked to make a choice. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put his head down upon my thigh, he lost consciousness for a period. Then he came to and fixed his gaze upon the ceiling. He said, 'O God, the Highest Companion!' I know it related to what we had been talking about when he was healthy, that a prophet would not be taken in death before he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been offered a choice. So I commented, 'Then he is not choosing (to remain with) us.' And those words, 'the Highest Companion' were the final words uttered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave them on more than one line of transmission from al-Zuhrī. Sufyān – Sufyān al-Thawrī, that is – quoted from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Burda, from ʿĀ'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness while he was in my lap. I set about wiping his face and praying for a cure for him. He said, 'No; I ask God, the Most Gracious, the Highest Companion, with Gabriel, Mīkā'īl and Isrāfīl.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and others informed them that Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, quoting Anas b. ʿIyāḍ, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that ʿĀ'isha narrated to him that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and listened to him before he died while resting on her chest, saying, "O God, forgive and have mercy on me; and let me join the Highest Companion!"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Ibn ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from his father ʿAbbād, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died between my chest and my neck and in my domain. And I did not do harm to anyone therein. And it is because of my comfort and my youth that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken while in my lap. Then I placed his head upon a pillow and arose to slap myself and strike my face along with the women."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, quoted Kathīr b. Zayd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Allāh, who quoted ‘Ā᾿isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'Every single prophet has his spirit taken, and he sees the reward and thereafter it is returned to him; and he is made to choose between having it returned to him or joining (God).' I had learned that from him. As I rested him against my chest, I looked at him as he turned his neck and I said, 'He has decided.' I knew what he had said. I was looking right at him when he raised himself up and stared. I said, 'Then, by God, he is not choosing us!' He said, 'With the Highest Companion, in paradise with those prophets, men of trust, martyrs and men of purity . . . fine, those men, as companions.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. They (the other major compilers of the traditions) did not include it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Hammām, quoting Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā᾿isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while his head was between my breast and my neck. And when his soul came forth, I had never experienced a finer scent than it."

This line of transmission is *ṣaḥīḥ*, according to the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; not one of the compilers of the six (canonical) books of traditions gave it.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadith* of Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, from ‘Affān. Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Abū Ma‘shar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, from Abū ‘Urwa, from Umm Salama, who said, "I placed my hand upon the chest of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day he died, and a mouthful passed on to me. And (even though) I perform the ablutions the scent of musk never leaves my hand."

Aḥmad stated that both ‘Affān and Bahz stated to him, "Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Abū Burda, who said, 'I went in to visit ‘Ā᾿isha and she brought out to us a coarse wrap like those made in Yemen and one of those garments they call *al-mulabbada*, "closely woven". She said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while wearing these."'"

All the scholarly community narrated this, except for al-Nasā᾿ī, from several lines, back to Ḥumayd b. Hilāl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Abū ‘Imrān al-Jawnī, from Yazīd b. Bābanūs, who said, "I and a companion went to ‘Ā᾿isha and asked if we could visit with her. She set down a cushion for us and threw a veil over herself. My companion asked, 'Mother of the Believers, what do you have to say about the *al-‘irāk*, "the death agony"? She replied, 'What do you imply with that word, *al-‘irāk*?' I knocked against my companion's shoulder and she commented, 'Careful! You hurt your brother!' She went on, 'By *al-‘irāk* do you mean *al-maḥīḍ*, "menstruation"? Speak what

God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said about menstruation! Well, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would put a cloak over me and touch my head. There would be a blanket between myself and him when I was menstruating.

"'Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by my door, he would speak words with which God would help me. One day he went by without saying anything. Then he passed by again twice or thrice without speaking. I told my servant girl, "Put out a cushion for me at the door." I then bandaged up my head. He passed by and asked, "What is wrong with you, ʿĀʾisha?" "My head hurts," I replied. He commented, "And mine too!"

"'Soon after that he was brought back, being borne in a cloth. He entered my quarters and sent a message to the (other) wives saying, "I am ill and unable to make my round to you. Permit me to remain with ʿĀʾisha." I would nurse him, though I had never nursed anyone before. One day, while he was resting on my shoulder, he turned his head towards mine. I thought he wanted something from my head, but a cold discharge came from inside his mouth and fell at the opening of my neck. My skin shivered at it, and I thought he had fainted. So I covered him with a blanket.

"'ʿUmar and al-Mughīra arrived and asked to come in; I invited them in, drawing the veil over myself. ʿUmar then looked at him and exclaimed, "What a faint! The Messenger of God is totally unconscious!" They both arose, and when they drew near the door, al-Mughīra said, "ʿUmar, the Messenger of God has died." I exclaimed, "You're lying! You must be planning some mischief! The Messenger of God would not die before God had wiped out the hypocrites!"

"'Abū Bakr came. I drew aside the veil and he looked at him. Then he said, "To God we belong, and to Him we return! The Messenger of God has died!" He then moved towards his head, lowered his own mouth and kissed his forehead. He then said, "Alas for a prophet!" He raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, "Alas for a man of purity!" Again he raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, "Alas for a bosom friend. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead."

"'He left for the mosque while ʿUmar was making an address to the people in which he was saying, "The Messenger of God would not die before God wiped out the hypocrites."

"'Abū Bakr then spoke, praising and thanking God and went on to say, "God states, 'You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead'" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.30), reciting the verse to its conclusion. He went on to recite, "Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels? And those who turn on their heels" . . . (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.143).

"'He continued, "To those of you who have been worshipping God, (I say) God is alive and will not die. To those of you who have been worshipping Muḥammad, (I say) Muḥammad is dead."

"'ʿUmar asked, "And is that in God's Book? I never was aware that that was in God's Book!" He went on, "People, this is Abū Bakr. He is the most prominent of all the Muslims. Pledge allegiance to him!" And they did pledge allegiance to him.'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated it in *al-Shamāʾil*, from a *ḥadīth* of Marḥum b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAṭṭār, from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, who gave it in part.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Malḥān. quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting Abū Salama, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who stated that ʿĀʾisha told him that Abū Bakr rode in on his horse from his house in al-Sunḥ.[145] He dismounted and entered the mosque, but did not speak to the people before he went in to see ʿĀʾisha. He went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was shrouded in a striped cloak. He uncovered his face, bent over him, kissed him and wept. He then said, "How I wish I could ransom you with my father and mother! I swear by God, God will not ever lay upon you two deaths, and you have now suffered the death decreed for you."

Al-Zuhrī stated that Abū Salama related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Bakr came out while ʿUmar was speaking with the people. He said, "Sit down, ʿUmar." But ʿUmar declined to sit. Again he said, "Sit down, ʿUmar!" but again ʿUmar declined to sit. Abū Bakr made the invocation, "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God" and the people assembled around him. He then said, "To proceed, to those of you who have been worshipping Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. To those of you who have been worshipping God, God will not die. God, Almighty is he, recited, 'Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels?'" (*sūrat Āl ʿImrān*; III, v.143).

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "And I swear by God, it was as though the people did not know that God had revealed this verse until Abū Bakr recited it. The people all learned it from him and that was all you could hear, people reciting it."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed me that ʿUmar said, 'I swear by God, no sooner did I hear Abū Bakr reciting it than I knew that it was the truth and I was so awe-struck that my legs would not bear me, and I fell to the ground. And I knew, when I heard him recite it, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ibn Lahīʿa, quoting Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr concerning the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as follows, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then got up to address the people, threatening anyone who might say that he died by violence. He was saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would be under a covering if there had been any violence.' ʿAmr b. Qays b. Zāʾida b. al-Aṣamm b. Umm Maktūm was at the back of the mosque, reciting, 'Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him' while the people there in the mosque were weeping in confusion, not listening.

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[145] A suburb of Upper Medina.

"ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then went out to the people and said, 'People, does any one of you have any agreement from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), relating to his death about which he should tell us?' 'No,' they replied. He then asked, 'ʿUmar, do you have (any such) knowledge?' 'No,' he replied.

"Al-ʿAbbās went on, 'Bear witness, people, that no one is testifying that they have any claim against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), due upon his death. I swear by the God than whom there is no other, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has tasted death.'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then arrived on his camel from al-Sunḥ and dismounted at the door of the mosque. He came in looking grief-stricken and depressed. He asked permission to enter the apartment of his daughter ʿĀʾisha and she invited him in. He entered. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died on the mattress, and the women were all around him. They veiled their faces, concealing themselves from Abū Bakr, except in the case of ʿĀʾisha. He uncovered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and bent over him, kissing him and weeping, saying, 'Whatever Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb says is nothing; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead, by Him who holds my life in His hands! May God have mercy upon you, Messenger of God! How fine you are, alive or dead!' He then covered him with the cloth.

"Thereafter he hurried into the mosque, passing through the throng of people, and reached the *minbar*. ʿUmar sat down when he saw Abū Bakr approaching. Abū Bakr stood beside the *minbar* and called out to the people, who sat down and listened. He reiterated the *shahāda* several times, then said, 'God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has announced to His Prophet his own death. Yet He is alive among you and is making announcement to you too, of death. Eventually none of you will remain – (all will die) except God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Almighty stated, "Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him."'

"ʿUmar asked, 'And this verse is in the Qurʾān? By God, I never knew before today that this verse had been revealed! God Almighty did say to Muḥammad, "You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.30). And He did say, "Every thing perishes except for His face. Judgement is His, and to Him you shall be returned" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.88). And He said, "Every one upon it will pass away; and the face of Your Lord, Possessor of glory and honour, shall endure" (*sūrat al-Raḥmān*; LV, v.26, 7). And he also said, "Every soul shall taste death and you will only receive your rewards in full on Judgement Day"' (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.184).

"He (Abū Bakr) went on, 'God gave life to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), and kept him alive until he had established God's religion, made God's orders plain, delivered His message and fought in His cause. Thereafter God took him to Himself and left you upon the path. And none shall perish except after clear signs and pain. Those whose Lord is God (shall know) that God is alive and will not die. For those who worshipped Muḥammad and treated him as a god (should know) that their god has expired. Fear God, people! Hold fast to your religion and put your trust in your Lord. God's religion is established. God's word is complete. God will help those who support Him and who revere His religion. God's Book is among us. It is both the light and the cure. By it God led Muḥammad (ṢAAS). In it it states what God considers *ḥallāl*, "permissible", and what *ḥarām*, "prohibited". And, by God, we will not care who of God's creation descend upon us. God's swords are still unsheathed; we have not yet put them down. We will fight vigorously against those who oppose us, just as we fought with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Let no one depend upon other than himself.'"

The *muhājirūn* then left with him for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The *ḥadīth* proceeds to relate his being washed, and placed in a shroud, how prayers were spoken over him and he was buried.

I note that we will relate all this in full detail and all evidence hereafter, if God Almighty so wills it.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from his sheikhs. They stated, "When there was doubt about the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), some people said, 'He is dead!' Others said, 'He is not dead.' Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, then placed her hand between the shoulders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead. And the "seal" has been removed from between his shoulders!' It was by this that his death was known."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave it thus in his work the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, through al-Wāqidī. The tradition is considered *ḍa'īf*, "weak". The sheikhs whom he quotes are unidentified and the *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭi'*, "truncated', in any case, and it contradicts what is true. It contains what is exceedingly strange – the removal of the "seal". But God knows what is correct.

Al-Wāqidī and others have given many reports about the death that are very strange and objectionable. We have omitted most of these, due to the weakness of their lines of transmission or the objectionable nature of their content, especially material given by many of the tellers of narratives, and others; much of that is definitely invented.

In the authentic and good *aḥādīth* related in the famous works, material containing untruths and of unknown lines of transmission are avoided. And God knows best.

Section: An account of important events that occurred after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before his burial.

One of the most important and significant of these in consequence for Islam and its followers was the pledging of allegiance to Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him.

What happened was that on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr had performed the *al-subḥ* prayer with the people. At that time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had briefly recovered from the throes of the illness from which he was suffering; he had drawn aside the curtain to his apartment and had looked out at the Muslims lined up in prayer behind Abū Bakr. This sight delighted him and he smiled at the Muslims, who, in their pleasure at seeing him, were almost distracted from the prayer in which they were engaged. And Abū Bakr had been about to return to the line of worshippers, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) signalled to them to remain where they were and let down the curtain. This was their last experience of him.

When Abū Bakr had completed the prayer, he came in to him and said to ʿĀʾisha, "I see that the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is somewhat alleviated. This is the day assigned to Bint Khārija." He was referring to one of his two wives, who resided in al-Sunḥ, over towards the east side of Medina. He then mounted a horse he owned and went to his house there.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in the late morning of that day; some say after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Upon his death, the Companions fell into disagreement. Some said he had died, some that he had not. Sālim b. ʿUbayd went after Abū Bakr in al-Sunḥ and told him of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter left his house when he received the news and went in to the apartment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He drew back the covering from over his face, kissed him and established that he had died.

Then he went out to the people and, from the side of the *minbar* addressed them. He told them about the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have related above, and put an end to their confusion and doubt. All the people came back around him, and a number of the Companions pledged their allegiance to him in the mosque.

Some of the *anṣār* had doubts and it occurred to certain of them that it would be acceptable to appoint one of the *anṣār* as *khalīfa*, "caliph", "successor". Others of them compromised and suggested that one leader be appointed for the *muhājirīn* and one for the *anṣār*. Eventually Abū Bakr made clear to them that the caliphate could only be from Quraysh. They therefore came back to him and resolved unanimously on him, as we will narrate and elucidate.

The Story of the hall of Banū Sāʿida.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā al-Ṭabbāʿ related to him, quoting Mālik b. Anas, quoting Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās reported to him that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf returned to his baggage. Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "I had been teaching ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to recite and (on his return) he found me waiting for him; that was at Minā, during the last *ḥijja* performed by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf said, ‘A man came to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, “So-and-so is saying that if ʿUmar were to have died, I would have pledged allegiance to so-and-so.” At this ʿUmar said, “I intend to stand up among the people this evening, if God so wills it, and I will warn them against that band who wish to seize power over them!’”’”

“ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went on, ‘I told him, “Commander of the Believers, don’t do that; the pilgrimage brings together all kinds of low-class riff-raff and they will be in the majority in your assembly should you rise to address the people. I am afraid you may say something they will report all over the place without understanding or placing in the right context. You should first arrive in Medina, the seat of the Hijra and the home of the *sunna*, and which only consists of scholars and the leading men. Say (in Medina) whatever you want in security. They will understand and properly interpret your words.”’”

“‘ʿUmar replied, “If I reach Medina safely, I certainly will tell the people of it at the first assembly I hold.”’”

“‘After reaching Medina, at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja, when it was Friday, I hurried over in (a state of) *ṣakkat al-aʿmā*. [I, (Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā al- Ṭabāʿ) asked Mālik, “What did the narrator mean by *ṣakkat al-aʿmā*?” He replied, “It means approximately when one doesn’t care what the time is or how hot or cold it may be.”]

“ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf went on, ‘I found Saʿīd b. Zayd at the right corner of the *minbar*, he having preceded me there. I sat down facing him, my knee touching his. ʿUmar was there right away. When I saw him, I said, “This evening he is going to speak on this *minbar* what no one has ever expressed before.”’”

“Saʿīd b. ʿUmar disputed this, saying, ‘What might he say that no one has said before?’”

“ʿUmar sat on the *minbar* and when the *muezzin* had finished making the call to prayer, he got up and gave appropriate praise to God. Then he said, “To proceed, I am about to speak what it was decreed for me to say. I do not know whether it will prove to be immediately before my death. Those who listen and understand it should talk about it wherever they may travel. Those who do not understand it I do not permit to tell lies about me.

“‘“God sent Muḥammad with the truth and revealed the Book to him. One part of what He revealed to him was the verse relating to stoning. We recited it and fully appreciated and understood it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones, and we did so after him. I fear that eventually people may say, ‘We don’t find any verse referring to the stoning to be present in God’s Book.’ And so they will go astray by abandoning an ordinance revealed by God the Almighty and Glorious. The stoning in God’s Book is a punishment upon married men and women who commit adultery when proof is present, or there is a pregnancy or a confession.’

“‘“Moreover, we used to recite, ‘Do not deny your own forebears, for it is unbelief for you to deny your forebears.’ And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, ‘Do not praise me to excess as people would do about Jesus, son of Mary. I am only a servant; say (he is), “The servant and Messenger of God.”’

"""It has reached me that one of you is saying, 'If ʿUmar had died, I would have pledged allegiance to so-and-so.' Let no man deceive himself by saying, 'The allegiance paid to Abū Bakr was accidental and then became established.' Indeed, it was that way, except that God prevented it causing evil. There is none among you today who could command such allegiance as was the case for Abū Bakr. He was the best of us when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died."

"""ʿAlī, al-Zubayr and their associates withdrew to the house of Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while all the *anṣār* went off in opposition to the hall of Banū Sā'ida. The *muhājirūn* assembled around Abū Bakr.

"""I told him, 'Abū Bakr, let us go and join our *anṣār* brothers.' We set off to join them and were met by two fine men. They reported to us what the people were doing. They asked, 'Where are you *muhājirūn* going?' I replied, 'We want to join our *anṣār* brothers.' They replied, 'No; you should not go near them. Make your own decision, you *muhājirūn*.' I told them, 'I swear by God, we will go to them!'

"""We proceeded further and joined them in the hall of Banū Saqīfa. They were assembled there and among them was one man heavily shrouded. I asked, 'Who is that?' They replied, 'That is Saʿd b. ʿUbāda.' I asked, 'What's wrong with him?' They replied, 'He is ill.'

"""When we sat down, their speaker arose, spoke appropriate praise for God, and went on, 'To proceed, we are the *anṣār* of God, the "squadron of Islam" and you *muhājirūn* are the people of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But apparently a group of you wish to sever us from our origins and block us from gaining authority.'"

""ʿUmar continued, "When he had finished, I wanted to speak, for I had readied a speech I much liked that I wanted to deliver before Abū Bakr and mitigate some of his tartness. But he was wiser and more dignified than myself, and, by God, when I remained silent he did not omit a word that I would have wished to utter, and he did so better.

"""What he said was, 'To proceed, you fully deserve every credit of which you spoke. However, the Arabs will recognize this authority only in this tribe of Quraysh, for they are the finest of the Arabs in descent and residence. I therefore recommend to you either of these two men you might prefer.' He then took my hand and that of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. This was the only thing he had said that I disliked. I would rather have been taken off to be beheaded without having committed a sin, or when dying, to have had my soul succumb to temptation, than to be given command of those that included Abū Bakr!

"""One of the *anṣār* then arose and said, 'I am, as it were, my people's rubbing post, and their fruitful, propped-up date-palm. One ruler should come from us, and another from you, Quraysh.'

"""I asked Mālik, 'What does he mean by "rubbing post" and "fruitful, propped up date-palm"?' He replied, "He's saying, 'I am their most clever man'."

"""Voices rose in heated debate so that we feared a break-up. I then said, 'Hold out your hand, Abū Bakr!' He did so, and I pledged allegiance to him, as did all the *muhājirūn* and then the *anṣār* did so too. And we leaped upon Saʿd b. ʿUbāda.[146] Someone shouted, 'You have killed Saʿd!' I responded, '(May) God kill Saʿd!'"

"'ʿUmar went on, "We felt we could not have been more successful than we had been, in having allegiance pledged to Abū Bakr. We had feared that if we had left them without there having been a pledge, one would have been made after we had left; either we would have had to accept their decision that we did not want, or we would have had to oppose them, which would have meant disaster. Allegiance made to a leader without consultation with the Muslim community is invalid for the person making it, as is that of someone who so pledges out of fear of being killed."'"

Mālik stated, "Ibn Shihāb quoted ʿUrwa as having said, 'The two men who met them were ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida and Maʿn b. ʿAdī.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab reported to me that the 'rubbing post' was al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir."

The scholarly community all gave this *ḥadīth* in their works, along various lines from Mālik and others, all of whom drew it from al-Zuhrī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muʾāwiya related to him from ʿAmr, quoting Zāʾida, quoting ʿĀṣim, and I have also been informed by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from Zāʾida, from ʿĀṣim, from Zirr, from ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the *anṣār* said, 'A leader from us and a leader from you.' ʿUmar went to them and said, '*Anṣār*, do you not know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Abū Bakr to act as the people's *imām*? Who of you would feel at ease taking precedence over Abū Bakr?'

"The *anṣār* responded, 'We seek refuge in God from ever taking precedence over Abū Bakr!'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh and Ḥannād b. al-Sarrī, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī, from Zāʾida.

ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī narrated it from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, who said, "It is *ṣaḥīḥ*. I know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Zāʾida, from ʿĀṣim."

Al-Nasāʾī also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Salama b. Nubayṭ, from Nuʿaym b. Abū Hind, from Nubayṭ b. Sharīṭ, from Sālim b. ʿUbayd, from ʿUmar similarly. It is also narrated from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb similarly through another line of transmission.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar, who stated, "I said, 'Muslims, the one most worthy of the authority of the Prophet of God should be the second of the two who were in the cave;[147] and Abū Bakr is the foremost and the senior (candidate).'

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[146] The Arabic phrase given is *wa nazawnā ʿalā Saʿd*, that is, we "jumped upon", "mounted" or "served" Saʿd. Saʿd had offered an *anṣārī* candidate for Caliph. The text suggests that the *muhājirūn* had thwarted Saʿd's plans, rather than done violence to him. In any case, Saʿd, an important figure in the early history of Islam, went into retirement thereafter and died some two years after ʿUmar's accession to the caliphate.

"I then went to take his hand but an *anṣārī* anticipated me and touched his hand before I did. I then took his hand and the (other) people followed."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated it from ʿĀrim b. al-Faḍl, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. His account is similar to the above; he gave the name of the man who preceded ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr as Bashīr b. Saʿd, the father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr.

An Account of the recognition by Saʿd b. ʿUbāda of the truth of what Abū Bakr stated that day at the hall.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from Dā'ūd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī, from Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was in his summer residence outside Medina.

"He arrived, uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, 'Would that my mother and my father could ransom you! There was none finer than you, alive or dead! Muḥammad has died, by the lord of the *kaʿba*.'"

He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* as above and stated, "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar hurried off and joined them. Abū Bakr spoke, omitting nothing that had been revealed about the *anṣār* or that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said about them. He stated, 'You well know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'If the people were to take a path along a valley while the *anṣār* followed a different one, I would take that of the *anṣār*.' You well know, Saʿd, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – while you were seated – 'Quraysh are those entrusted with this authority. Those of the people who are righteous are but followers of the righteous (of Quraysh), while the sinners would do the same.' Saʿd said to him, 'You are right; we are the viziers, you the princes!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Yazīd b. Saʿīd b. Dhū ʿAḍwān al-ʿAbsī, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr al-Lakhmī, from Rāfiʿ al-Ṭā'ī, the companion of Abū Bakr, "the trusting", on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil, who said, "I asked him what had been said when allegiance was pledged to him. He replied, (while telling him what the *anṣār* had been discussing, what he had said to them and what ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said to the *anṣār*) 'and he reminded them of my being appointed their *imām* by order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during his illness. And they therefore pledged allegaince to me, and I accepted this from them. I was worried that (otherwise) there would be unrest after which would come secession.'"

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[147] A reference to *sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.40.

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong.

The implication of this is that Abū Bakr only accepted the appointment as *imām* due to his concern that there would be unrest worse than if he had refused to accept it.

I note that this activity took place during the remainder of that Monday. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, the people gathered in the mosque where the pledge of allegiance was made by the entire body of the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*. This preceded the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhrī, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said that he heard the final address when ‘Umar sat upon the *minbar*. That was the day following that of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr was there, not speaking. ‘Umar said, "What I wanted was for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to live on until he *dabbaranā*" – by this word[148] he meant until he was the last one of them alive – "however, even if he has died, God has placed among you a light by which you may be guided. God led Muḥammad (ṢAAS) aright; Abū Bakr, his Companion and 'the second of two' is the Muslim most fitted to have authority over you. Come forward and pledge allegiance to him."

A group had pledged allegiance to him before that, in the hall of Banū Sā‘ida; the general pledge occurred at the *minbar*.

Al-Zuhrī quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, "I heard ‘Umar say that day to Abū Bakr, 'Mount the *minbar*.' And he kept on saying this until Abū Bakr did mount the *minbar* and there was a general pledge of allegiance made to him."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that al-Zuhrī quoted to him Anas b. Mālik as having said, "When Abū Bakr received the pledge of allegiance in the hall, it being the day after (the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Bakr was seated on the *minbar*. ‘Umar arose and spoke prior to Abū Bakr. He spoke appropriate words of praise and thanks to God, then he said, 'People, I made a new address to you yesterday, one I did not find in God's Book, and one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not authorized me to deliver. However, I had thought that he would *dabbara* us' – he meant 'be the last of us'. 'God has preserved among you His Book by which He gave guidance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If you adhere to it, then God will lead you to that to which He led him. God has given responsibility for your affairs to the very best man among you, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the second of two when they were together in the cave; arise and pledge allegiance to him.'

"And the people did make a general pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr after the pledge made at the hall.

"Abū Bakr then spoke. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, 'To proceed: people, I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you. If I do well, then help me. If I err, then set me straight.

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[148] The word can also, more normally, mean "organize", "arrange".

Honesty is loyalty; dishonesty is perfidy. It is the weak among you who are powerful in my view until I can do away with their infirmity. It is the strong among you who are weak until I can draw forth from them the right, if God so wills it. No people abandons the fight for God's cause without God afflicting them with degradation. Depravity never spreads over a people without God making them experience calamity. Obey me for as long as I obey God and His Messenger. If I disobey God and His Messenger, then I should expect no obedience from you. Proceed with your prayer, and may God have mercy upon you!'"

This has a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

His statement , "I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you" stems from (a sense) of forbearance and modesty. They were united in belief that he was the most virtuous and best of them, may God be pleased with them all.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Isfarāyīnī related to him, quoting Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma and Ibrāhīm b. Abū Ṭālib, both of whom stated, "Bandar b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Abū Hāshim al-Makhzūmī, quoting Wuhayb, quoting Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, quoting Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the people gathered in the home of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda; they included Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

"'The spokesman for the *anṣār* arose and said, "You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one of the *muhājirīn* and that his successor will be from the *muhājirīn*. We have been the *anṣār*, "the Helpers", of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and we will be the *anṣār* of his caliph, just as we were his *anṣār*.'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then arose and said, "Your speaker is correct. If you had said anything other than this, we would not have agreed with you." He then took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, "This is your leader; pledge allegiance to him." ʿUmar pledged allegiance to him, as did the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār*."

He went on, "Abū Bakr mounted the *minbar* and, looking out into their faces, he did not see al-Zubayr. And so he summoned al-Zubayr and said, 'I ask, would you, the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his disciple, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?' He replied, 'Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he arose and made his pledge of allegiance to him.

"Abū Bakr then looked out into the faces of the people and did not see ʿAlī. He then summoned ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, and he came. Abū Bakr said, 'I ask, would the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his son-in-law, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?' He replied, 'Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he pledged to him his allegiance. This is approximately what was said."

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ stated, "I heard Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma say, 'Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj came to me and asked me about this *ḥadīth*; I wrote it down for him on a scrap (of cloth) and read it aloud to him.'

"This *ḥadīth* is worth a camel offered in sacrifice."

I say it certainly is; indeed, it is worth a whole hoard of cash!

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated it from al-Ḥākim and Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Maqburī, both of whom quoted from Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Shākir, from ʿAffān b. Salam, from Wuhayb. However, he reported that it was Abū Bakr, not ʿUmar, who responded to the *anṣār* spokesman. And in that account he stated that it was Zayd b. Thābit who took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, "This is your leader; pledge him allegiance." He stated that, "They then left, and when Abū Bakr mounted the *minbar*, he looked out into the faces of the people there and, not seeing ʿAlī, asked after him. Some of the *anṣār* then got up and brought him." He proceeded thereafter to refer to the account relating to al-Zubayr. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated it from trusted authorities from Wuhayb, in abbreviated form. ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim narrated it from al-Jarīrī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. His account is similar to the above.

The line of transmission for this is *ṣaḥīḥ* and *maḥfūẓ*, "authentic and appropriate", from a *ḥadith* of Abū Naḍrat al-Mundhir b. Mālik b. Natʿa, from Abū Saʿīd Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khudrī.

This account has clear value; it refers to the pledge of allegiance made by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, either on the first day or the second following the death. This is true. For ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib never once, at any time, opposed Abū Bakr and never failed to be present behind him at any one of the prayers, as we will relate. He also went out with him to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa when Abū Bakr proceeded forth, his sword unsheathed, to do battle with those in secession from Islam.

However, when it so happened that Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, criticized Abū Bakr because she fancied that she had rights to inherit from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this was due to her not having known what Abū Bakr told her of the latter's statement, "What we leave shall not be inherited but will become a *ṣadaqa*, 'a charitable trust'". He therefore blocked her and others of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as well as his uncle from the inheritance, due to this clear statement as we will explain in its proper place. She then asked him that ʿAlī look into the land at Khaybar and Fadak made into a *ṣadaqa*. Abū Bakr did not, however, respond favourably in this because he – that man who was truthful, pious, upright and virtuous – thought it his duty to administer all those matters entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She, a very human woman with no aspirations for infallibility, felt resentful and angry and never again spoke to Abū Bakr before she died. ʿAlī was obliged to respect her feelings somewhat. When she died, some six months following the death of her father (ṢAAS), ʿAlī thought it best to renew his pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, in addition to the pledge he had made earlier, prior to the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The authenticity of all this is further established by the statement made by Mūsā b. ʿUqba in his work on the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). In it he quotes from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, to the effect that his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, was with ʿUmar and that Muḥammad b. Maslama broke the sword of al-Zubayr.

(The *ḥadīth* states) "Abū Bakr then made an address in which he apologized to the people, saying, 'I was never ambitious for power, not for a single day or night; I never asked for it, secretly or openly.' And the *muhājirūn* accepted his statement."

ʿAlī and al-Zubayr both stated, "The only thing that angered us is that we were too late for the *mashūra*, 'the consultation activity'. We consider that Abū Bakr is the most deserving of the people for power. He is the 'companion of the cave' and we well know his nobility and goodness. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did, while alive, appoint him to lead the people in prayer."

The line of transmission for this is excellent. And to God be all praise and credit.

Division

Anyone contemplating what we have been reporting will clearly recognize that the precedence awarded by both the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* to Abū Bakr was unanimous. They will see in this proof of the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that "God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abū Bakr".

It will be apparent to them, nevertheless, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not assign the caliphate to any specific person, not to Abū Bakr, as one group of the orthodox maintain, nor to ʿAlī, as a group of the *al-rāfiḍa*,[149] "the rejectionists", argue.

He did, however, make an indication (of preference) so strong that any person of perception and intelligence would recognize, for Abū Bakr, as we have shown above and will refer to hereafter. And to God be praise.

It is similarly established in both *ḥadith* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when ʿUmar was stabbed, he was asked, "Will you not appoint a successor, Commander of the Believers?" He replied, "If I were to appoint a successor, someone better than myself did so" – meaning Abū Bakr – "and if I do not, someone else better than myself did not" – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿUmar went on, "I knew, when he mentioned the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he was not going to appoint a successor."

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[149] From the verb *rāfaḍa*, "reject", the term, sometimes used perjoratively, is applied to the Shīʿī community of Islam who "rejected" the legitimacy of the succession to the caliphate of *al-shaykhayn*, "the two elders", Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated that ʿAmr b. Qays quoted ʿAmr b. Sufyān as having said, "When ʿAlī took command over the people, he said, 'People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left us no instructions regarding power. We considered it appropriate to appoint Abū Bakr as his successor. And he took various action, and so it went until he passed away. Then Abū Bakr decided to appoint ʿUmar as his successor. And he took various actions and so it went till he passed away' – or he said, 'until his authority was formly established'. And so on."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Shurayk, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from ʿAmr b. Sufyān, who said, "A man made an address at the battle of Basra at which ʿAlī was victorious and ʿAlī spoke, saying, "(Regarding) this uneven speaker, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came first, Abū Bakr came second and ʿUmar came third. After them we were rocked by disorders in which God performed His will."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zakī of Merv, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madāʾinī, quoting Shabāba b. Sawwār, quoting Shuʿayb b. Maymūn, from Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Shaʿbī, from Abū Wāʾil, who said, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib was asked, 'Will you not appoint a successor over us?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not appoint a successor, so should I appoint one? If God wishes the people well, He will unite them, after me, behind the best man among them, as He united them behind the best man among them after their prophet.'"

The line of transmission for this is excellent; the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections did not give it.

We have quoted hereabove al-Bukhārī's account of the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that when ʿAbbās and ʿAlī came away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a man asked them, "How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) this morning?" ʿAlī responded, "Thanks be to God, he is recovered." Al-ʿAbbās then said, "Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be 'slave of the staff'. I well know how members of Banū Hāshim look when near death. And I see death in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Let us go to him and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us." ʿAlī said, "I'll not ask him that, I swear by God. If he refused it to us, the people would never give it to us after him."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq gave this from al-Zuhrī. That account, "They both went in to him the day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died", ends with the words "and he died when the heat grew intense of the late morning of that day".

I note that this was a Monday, the day on which he died; this is evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died without leaving a testamentary statement concerning the leadership.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Ibn ʿAbbās is quoted as having stated, "It was truly disastrous that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was prevented from writing that document."

We have narrated above how the Prophet (ṢAAS) sought to write a document for them after which they would not go astray, and how, when disputes and differences were expressed in his presence, he said, "Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me."

We also quoted him above as having stated thereafter, "God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abū Bakr."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, that al-Aswad is quoted as having said, "Someone told ʿĀʾisha that people were saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing ʿAlī as his successor. She asked, 'Regarding what? He did ask for a bowl in which to urinate while I was resting him against my chest, and he then turned aside and died, without my sensing it. How is it they say he made a testamentary statement appointing ʿAlī as his successor?'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of Mālik b. Mighwal which quotes Ṭalḥa b. Muṣrif as saying, "I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made a testamentary statement. He replied, 'No.' I asked, 'So he made us no testamentary statement?' He replied, 'He commended to us the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'"

Ṭalḥa b. Muṣrif stated that Hudhayl b. Shuraḥbīl said, "Abū Bakr is behaving like a ruler on the basis of a testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Abū Bakr wishes he had found some (written) testament from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died (without doing so)." Abū Bakr would have been delighted – if he had found a testament from the Prophet (ṢAAS) to have applied it diligently.

It is also stated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, who quotes his father as having said, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, made an address to us in which he said, 'Whoever claims that we have anything to read that is not in God's Book and on this sheet' – referring to a sheet suspended on his sword that contained some camel's teeth and items taken from wounds – 'is telling lies!'"

Concerning it (the sheet) he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated (in it), 'Medina is sacrosanct, from Mt. ʿAyr to Mt. Thawr. Whoever commits a sin inside it or provides sanctuary for someone who has sinned shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Anyone claiming descent from someone not his father or who claims connection to those not his protectors shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Inviolability of Muslims, even those of the lowest ranks, is all one; any person who violates his pact with a Muslim shall be cursed by God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation.'"

This *ḥadith* established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, refutes the claim of the 'rejectionist' faction that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing him to the succession. Were it to have been as they claim, none of the Companions would have rejected it. They were too obedient to God and to His Messenger, both during his life and after his death, to use their own judgement contrary to his and to give their preference to someone other than his choice, or to downgrade someone to whom he had given preference in his own test. Far from it, definitely, and why ever?

Whoever would think that of the Companions, may God be pleased with them, any would have ascribed to them sinfulness and collusion in resistance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and opposition to his decision and his document? Anyone who reaches this point has taken off the mantle of Islam and expressed disbelief in the concensus of the famous *imāms*. Spilling the blood of such persons would be more permissible than the spilling of wine!

Moreover, if ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, did in fact possess a document why did he not use it to argue against the Companions to establish his power over them and his role as their *imām*?

If he could not put into effect that document, then he was weak, and a weakling is not fit for power. If he were able and did not act, then he was a traitor; and such a sinful traitor should be denied and kept away from power. If he did not know of the existence of the document, then he was ignorant.

And then could others after him have known of it? This is impossible – a lie, foolishness and error.

This would only seem appropriate to persons of ignorance and depravity, human beings who are totally misled. Satan provides embellishment for them without evidence or proof but with mere use of imagination, irrationality, mendacity and false accusations.

Refuge is to be sought with God from the delirium, inadequacy, madness and disbelief they suffer, refuge with God by adherence to the *sunna*, the *Qur'ān*, fidelity to Islam and to faith, by reliance upon certainty, the weight of evidence, to escape the flames and to attain heaven. And God is Munificent, Benign, Merciful and Compassionate.

In this *ḥadīth* from ʿAlī, firmly based in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that we have given above, there is refutation of the claims made by those numerous ignorant cultists and storytellers who claim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement awarding him power. Their statements asserting this are many and various, claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, "ʿAlī, do this!", "ʿAlī, do not do that". "ʿAlī, anyone doing this and that would be such-and-such." They employ phraseology that is weak and express concepts that are largely absurd.

Many of their statements are on paper and are not worth the ink! But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave a *ḥadīth* through Ḥammād b. ʿAmr al-Naṣībī – he being one of those unmitigated liars – from al-Sarrī b. Khallād, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "ʿAlī, I am entrusting a commandment to you; honour it and you will be well for as long as you keep to it. ʿAlī, the believer is distinguished by three characteristics – prayer, fasting and payment of the *zakāt*."

Al-Bayhaqī went on, "He proceeded to give a lengthy *ḥadīth* concerning motivations and morals. The *ḥadīth* is fabricated. And I stipulated at the beginning of the book that I would not include any *ḥadīth* I know to be fabricated."

He proceeded to relate through Ḥammād b. ʿUmar, this being from Zayd b. Rufayʿ, from Makḥul al-Shāmī, who said, "This is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib when he returned from the military expedition to Ḥunayn and *sūrat al-Naṣr* (CX) was revealed to him."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "He went on to relate a long *ḥadīth* concerning *al-fitna*, 'civil disorder'; this too is an objectionable *ḥadīth* that is without proper foundation. Yet there are enough authentic *aḥādīth*; success is through God."

Let us here offer comments made upon the life of Ḥammād b. ʿAmr b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-Naṣībī. It is narrated from al-Aʿmash and others, as well as from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, Muḥammad b. Mahrān, Mūsā b. Ayyūb and others.

Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn stated, "He is one of those who lie and who fabricate *aḥādīth*." ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās and Abū Ḥātim stated, "His *aḥādīth* are objectionable; very weak." Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb al-Jawzānī said, "He would lie." Al-Bukhārī stated, "His *aḥādīth* are objectionable." Abū Zurʿa said, "His *aḥādīth* are feeble." Al-Nasāʾī stated, "To be ignored." Ibn Hibbān said, "Completely fabricates *aḥādīth*." Ibn ʿAdī stated, "His whole body of *aḥādīth* are such that none of the trustworthy authorities quote him." Al-Dārquṭnī said, "Weak." Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh commented, "He narrates from the trustworthy authorities *aḥādīth* that are fabricated; he is simply notorious."

And then there is the *ḥadīth* given by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, who stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related, quoting Ḥamza b. al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAqabī of Baghdad, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madāʾinī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Madāʾinī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaym al-Ṭawīl, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Ḥasan al-Maqburī, from al-Ashʿath b. Ṭalīq, from Murra b. Sharāḥīl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became seriously ill, we gathered in ʿĀʾisha's home. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at us, his eyes welled with tears. He then told us, 'The time for the parting is near.' And he went on to tell us of his impending death. He then said, 'Welcome to you all; may God give you long life. May He give you guidance, help, benefit, success, instruction, protection, support and acceptance. I commend you to fear of God; I commend you to God and ask Him to take charge of you. I am to you all a clear harbinger, warning you not to go against God by being haughty towards His worshippers and His land. God said to me and to you, "That abode, the Hereafter, We assign to those who do not seek self-agrandisement on earth or iniquity; reward shall come to the pious" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.83). He also stated, "Is there not in hell an abode for the conceited?"' (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.60).

"We asked him, 'When will your death come, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'It is near; as is the return to God, to the *al-sidrat al-muntahā*,[150] to the most bountiful cup and the highest furnishings.' We asked, 'Who is it will wash you (after death), Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest menfolk of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.' We asked, 'In what should we shroud you, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'In these clothes of mine, if you wish, or in a Yemeni cloth or a white one from Egypt.'

"We asked, 'Who will pray over you, Messenger of God?' He wept and we did so too. He said, 'Easy! May God forgive you and reward you well on behalf of your Prophet! When you have washed me, embalmed me, wound me in a shroud and placed me at the edge of my grave, then depart from me for a while. The first person to pray for me shall be my two Companions and friends, Gabriel and Mikāʾīl, then Isrāfīl, then the angel of death, along with troops of angels, upon whom be peace. Let the men of my own household begin prayers for me; then the women, then let others come in groups and as individuals. Do not harm me by weeping, lamenting or screaming. Give my greetings to those of my Companions who are absent. I ask you to bear witness that I send greetings to all who have entered into Islam and to those who have followed me in this faith of mine, from this day and on to the Day of Judgement.' We said, 'Who will place you in your grave, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest of the men of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus concurred with him, quoting from Sallām al-Ṭawīl. Sallām al-Ṭawīl is the only person who gave this."

I note that his refers to Sallām b. Salam, known as Ibn Salīm and also as Ibn Sulaymān. The first version is more correct – (in full) al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī al-Ṭawīl. It is narrated from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl and Zayd al-ʿAmī and a group. From Sallām a group of persons quote, including Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus, Asad b. Mūsā, Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār, ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd and Qabīṣa b. ʿAqaba.

ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, al-Bukhārī, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Zurʿa, al-Jawzajānī, al-Nasāʾī and others consider Sallām a weak source. Some of the *imāms* deny his veracity and others ignore him.

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[150] The reference is to a lote tree that grows to the right side of the throne of God.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated this *ḥadīth* with this entire text from a line that does not include this Sallām. He stated that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḥmasī narrated it to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī, from Ibn al-Iṣbahānī, who quoted it from Murra, from ʿAbd Allāh. He gives the *ḥadīth* in full.

Al-Bazzār then stated that this *ḥadīth* was narrated from Murra, from several closely similar lines, and that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Isbahānī did not hear this from Murra. However, it is given from those who related it from Murra. I know of no one who narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh quoting from Murra.

Section: Accounts of the time at which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, his age at the time of his death, how he was washed, placed in a shroud and buried, and the site of his grave.

There is no disagreement over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having died on a Monday.

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "Your Prophet (ṢAAS) was born, became a prophet, left Mecca as a *muhājir*, entered Medina and died, all on Mondays."

Imām Aḥmad and al-Bayhaqī both narrated this.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "Abū Bakr asked me, 'On what day did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) die?' I answered, 'On Monday.' 'I hope I die on that day,' he commented. And he did so."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir narrated to him, quoting Huraym, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday; he was buried on the night of the Wednesday."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated in his work on the military campaigns, as did Mūsā b. ʿUqba from Ibn Shihāb (who said), "When the pain of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became severe, ʿĀʾisha sent a message to Abū Bakr, and she dispatched Ḥafṣa to ʿUmar and Fāṭima to ʿAlī. However, they did not gather together until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died, while resting on ʿĀʾisha's chest and on the day scheduled for his visit to her. This was on Monday, as the sun passed its zenith, early in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal."

Abū Yaʿlā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "The last look I had at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the Monday. He withdrew the screen; there were people behind the screen and others behind Abū Bakr. His face appeared to me like a sheet of a document. The people wanted to move away, but he gestured to them to stay. He then drew the screen across. He died late in that day."

This *ḥadīth* is in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; it provides evidence that the death occurred after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān narrated, from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb, and from Ṣafwān, from ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, both of whom quoted from al-Awzā‘ī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the daytime."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Kāmil, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Bazzār, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā, quoting al-Mu‘tamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, he being Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī in his book on the military campaigns. He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fell ill on Monday, it being the 20th of Ṣafar. His sickness began when he was present at the home of a girl he owned named Rayḥāna, one of the Jewish prisoners. The first day he fell ill was a Saturday. He died on Monday, two days of Rabī‘ al-Awwal having passed, at the close of ten years after his arrival in Medina."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Abū Ma‘shar related to him, from Muḥammad b. Qays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fell seriously sick on Wednesday, eleven days before the end of Ṣafar in 11 AH in the home of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. All his women gathered; he was ill for thirteen days and died on Monday, two days after the beginning of Rabī‘ al-Awwal, 11 AH."

Al-Wāqidī also stated, "They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first began to suffer on Wednesday, two days prior to the end of Ṣafar. He died on Monday, twelve days after the beginning of Rabī‘ al-Awwal."

This was the assertion made by Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, his scribe. He added, "And he was buried on the Tuesday."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Abyaḍ related to him, from al-Maqburī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Rāfi‘, from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first fell ill in the home of Maymūna.

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān stated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Abū Ma‘shar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ill for thirteen days. While the pain was light, he continued to perform the prayer; when it became severe, Abū Bakr performed it in his stead."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died twelve days following the beginning of Rabī‘ al-Awwal, on the day of the week on which he came to Medina as a *muhājir*. He completed ten full years after his Hijra."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That is what is fully established among us. Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, his scribe, asserted it."

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān quoted Yaḥyā b. Bukayr as having said that al-Layth stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, one day having passed of Rabī‘ al-Awwal. It had been at the commencement of ten years before that day that he had arrived in Medina."

Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, two days after the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, at the end of ten years after his arrival in Medina."

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated this. Al-Wāqidī narrated it from Abū Maʿshar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, exactly as above. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ also stated this.

Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday at the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in 11 AH, the year of his arrival in Medina. Ibn ʿAsākir narrated it also.

It was narrated above from ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Zuhrī also, as we quoted from the works of the military expeditions. But God knows best.

What is most widely known is the statements made by Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī.

Al-Wāqidī narrated it from Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with them both. He stated that Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd related to him, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha. Both accounts stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, twelve days following the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

Ibn Isḥāq narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from his father in similar words; he added, "and he was buried on the night of Wednesday".

Sayf b. ʿUmar narrated, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿArzamī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his 'farewell pilgrimage', he travelled back to Medina, where he remained for the rest of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He died on a Monday, ten days after the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal."

It is also narrated from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa. In a *ḥadīth* of Fāṭima from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, the statement is similar, except that Ibn ʿAbbās initially stated, "some days having passed since its beginning". And ʿĀʾisha's wording given was, "after some days of it had passed".

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated in his work *al-Rawaḍ* words to the effect that it is impossible to conceive of him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) having died on Monday, the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of 11 AH. That is because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present at one of the stations on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* of 10 AH on a Friday. The first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja was a Thursday. On the basis of calculating the months thereafter either as full in length or shortened, or any combination of these, it is unimaginable that the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal could have been a Monday.

This conclusion, made in these words, has become widely known.

A number of scholars have attempted to refute this. It can only, however, be refuted in one way, by there having been a difference in the moon's rising. This view required the people of Mecca to have seen the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijja on the night of the Thursday, while the people of Medina did not see it until the night of the Friday.

This is supported by the statement of ʿĀʾisha, and others as well, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda.

It is clearly established, as we noted above, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth (on the pilgrimage) on Saturday, not on Thursday as Ibn Ḥazm asserted, for he remained (away) for more than five days, without doubt. It is not possible that he left on the Friday, because Anas stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer of four *rakaʿāt* in Medina and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer of two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. It is well established that he left (there) on Saturday, five days before the end of that month."

In light of this, the people of Medina saw the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijja on the eve of Friday. If that was on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, a Friday, with the people of Medina and the months thereafter are calculated in full, then the first day of Rabīʿ al-Awwal would be a Thursday, and the twelfth day would be a Monday. But God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was neither very tall, nor short. He was neither pure white nor deep brown. His hair was neither curly nor straight. God, the Almighty and Glorious, gave him His mission when he was forty years old. He resided in Mecca ten (more) years and then for ten years in Medina. God took him to Himself early in his sixtieth year. At that time he did not have twenty white hairs in his head and beard."

Ibn Wahb narrated it thus, from ʿUrwa, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, and from Qurra b. Rabīʿa, from Anas, similarly to the above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "The *ḥadīth* of Qurra from al-Zuhrī is *gharīb*. However, the account of Rabīʿa from Anas is narrated thus by a group (of scholars)."

He then gave it with a line of transmission through Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Rabīʿa from Anas, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was sixty-three years old when he died.

He then gave it through Mālik; al-Awzāʿī, Misʿar, Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Sulaymān b. Bilāl, Anas b. Bilāl, Anas b. ʿAyāḍ, al-Darāwardī and Muḥammad b. Qays al-Madanī all gave it from Rabīʿa, from Anas, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty years of age."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān reported to him, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, quoting Abū Maʿmar ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting Abū Ghālib al-Bāhilī, who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'How old was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he received his mission?' He replied, 'He was forty years of age.' 'What happened then?' I asked. He replied, 'He was in Mecca for ten years and then ten in Medina. He had reached sixty by the time he was taken by God, the Almighty and Glorious. He was the strongest, finest, most handsome and well-built of men.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, from his father.

Muslim narrated from Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Rāzī, known as Rubayḥ, from Ḥakkām b. Salm, from ʿUthmān b. Zāʾida, from al-Zubayr b. ʿAdī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three; Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, and ʿUmar similarly, when he too was sixty-three."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, from ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhrī, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three."

Al-Zuhrī stated that it was reported to him similarly by Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab. Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUqayl, Yūnus b. Yazīd and Ibn Jurayj narrated it from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha. She said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three." Al-Zuhrī stated, "And Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab told it to me similarly."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym narrated to him, quoting Shaybān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from ʿĀʾisha, and Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for ten years receiving revelation of the Qurʾān, and also ten years in Medina.

Muslim did not include it.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated in his *musnad* collection that Shuʿba related to him, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three years old. Abū Bakr also died at age sixty-three, as did ʿUmar."

Muslim narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, from Shuʿba. It is one of the *aḥādīth* that he alone gives, one not included by al-Bukhārī. Some give its line of transmission from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from Muʿāwiya. The correct line is as we have given it, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from Jarīr, from Muʿāwiya.

We also narrated it through ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, from Muʿāwiya.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gave it through al-Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three. Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, as did ʿUmar."

Ibn Lahīʿa stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr made mention of their ages at my home. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was older than Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at the age of sixty-three; Abū Bakr died after him, also at the age of sixty-three."

Al-Thawrī stated that al-Aʿmash quoted al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, died at the age of sixty-three."

Ḥanbal stated that Imām Aḥmad related to him quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) (first) received revelation at the age of forty-three. He stayed ten more years in Mecca and lived on in Medina for ten."

This (line of transmission) is *gharīb* from him, but *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic" up to him.

Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from al-Shaʿbī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a prophet at age forty; he stayed there for three years, then Gabriel was sent to him with his mission. Thereafter he remained there for ten years, then went into exile to Medina. He died at age sixty-three."

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated, "What is clearly established in our view is (that he died) at age sixty-three."

I note that it was thus that Mujūhid narrated it, from al-Shaʿbī; it was also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, from Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca thirteen years and died when he was sixty-three years of age.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda also, from Hishām, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission at the age of forty. He remained in Mecca for thirteen years and then was ordered to go into exile; he did so for ten years. Then he died at the age of sixty-three."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, as did Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Yazīd b. Hārūn, all of these quoting from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī narrated it from al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in similar words. He then gave it similarly through several lines from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca receiving revelation for thirteen years. He lived on for ten years in Medina and died at age sixty-three.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gave its line of transmission through Muslim b. Junāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three." He gave this in the *ḥadith* of Abū Naḍra from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

This statement is the most widely accepted and promulgated.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, from Khālid al-Ḥadhāʾ, quoting ʿAmmār, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, who said he heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-five years of age."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadith* of Khālid al-Ḥadhā'.

Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAmāra b. Abū ʿAmmār, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca for fifteen, eight or seven years, during which he saw the light or heard the sound and then eight or seven more receiving revelation. And he lived thereafter in Medina for ten years."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Aḥmad also stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, quoting Yūnus, from ʿAmmār, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, who said, "I asked Ibn ʿAbbās how old the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the day he died. He replied, 'I did not know there was anyone in your tribe unaware of this.' I replied, 'I have asked people but received different replies. I wanted to know what you would say about it.' He asked, 'Can you count?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Then take forty years at which point he received his mission. Then add fifteen he stayed on in Mecca feeling both secure and afraid, and ten more for his life in exile in Medina.'"

Muslim narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Zurayʿ and Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, both of whom quoted Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from ʿAmmār, from Ibn ʿAbbās in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-ʿAlā b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, who said that a man came to Ibn ʿAbbās, asking, "Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) receive revelation for ten years in Mecca and ten in Medina?" "Who says so?" he asked. "He received revelation for fifteen years in Mecca and ten in Medina; and (he died at) over sixty years of age."

This is one of the *aḥādīth* unique to Aḥmad both in its line of transmission and in its content.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Yūsuf b. Mahrān, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his book *al-Shamāʾil*, as did Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī and al-Bayhaqī, from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Daghfal b. Ḥanẓala al-Shaybānī al-Nasāba, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five.

Al-Tirmidhī commented, "We do not know of any quotation Daghfal cited from the Prophet; he was a man during his time."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This accords with the account of ʿAmmār and those who quoted him, from Ibn ʿAbbās."

The account of the group quoting from Ibn ʿAbbās that his age was sixty-three are more correct. They are more reliable and more numerous, their account according with the authentic statement given from ʿUrwa who quoted ʿĀʾisha. They agree with one of the accounts quoting from Anas and the authentic account from Muʿāwiya. That is the statement of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī and Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, may God be pleased with them all."

I note that this also applies to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUqba, al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and others.

One of the strange statements given is that narrated by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, from Muʿādh b. Hishām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Muʿādh b. Hishām, from his father, from Qatāda, similarly. Zayd al-ʿUmā also narrated it, from Yazīd, from Anas.

Also similar is the account of Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir, from al-Qāsim b. Ḥumayd, from al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir al-Ghassānī, from Makḥūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two and several months."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān narrated it, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, from al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, from Makḥūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two and a half."

Even stranger than all the above is what is narrated by Imām Aḥmad from Rawḥ, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "The Qur᾽ān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), over a period of eight years in Mecca and ten after he went into exile."

Although this al-Ḥasan agrees with the majority who state that the Prophet (ṢAAS), received revelation at the age of forty, he held the view that he lived to the age of fifty-eight. This is very strange.

However, we have narrated through Musaddad, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from al-Ḥasan, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ stated that Abū ʿĀṣim related to him, from Ashʿath, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission at age forty-five. He remained in Mecca for ten years and for eight in Medina. He died at age sixty-three."

This information, so stated, is very strange.

DESCRIPTIONS OF HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) WAS WASHED (PRIOR TO HIS BURIAL).

We have stated above that the Companions, may God be pleased with them, were engaged in making their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr for the remainder of the Monday and part of the Tuesday. Having gone through all the preliminary stages of this and brought it to completion, they began to prepare for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), relying in all this upon Abū Bakr in what he directed them.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When Abū Bakr had received the pledge of allegiance, the people began preparing, on the Tuesday, for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

It has been narrated above, from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Wednesday night.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting Abū Burda, from ʿAlqama b. Yazīd, from Sulaymān b. Burayda, from his father, who said, "When they set about washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice cried out to them from inside, saying, 'Do not remove the shirt of the Messenger of God!'"

Ibn Māja narrated it from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʾāwiya, from Abū Burda – his full name being ʿAmr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī Kūfī.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, who stated that he heard ʿĀʾisha say, "When they wished to wash the Prophet (ṢAAS), they said, 'We don't know whether we should remove the clothes from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we do from our dead, or should we wash him with his clothes on?'

"When they differed over this, God cast sleep over them, so that every one of them soon had his chin on his chest! Then a voice that they could not recognize addressed them from the direction of the house, saying, 'Wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with his clothes on.'

"They got up and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and washed him while he was still in his shirt. They poured water on the shirt and rubbed with the shirt, not their hands. ʿĀʾisha used to say, 'Had I known first what I later learned, only the wives would have washed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The people gathered to wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); there were only his own family in the house – his uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās, Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ṣāliḥ, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When they gathered to wash him, Aws b. Khawlā al-Anṣārī, of Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, who had fought at Badr, called out from the back of the crowd to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, "ʿAlī, we plead with you, by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' ʿAlī replied to him, 'Come inside.' He did so and was present at the washing of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did not participate at all in washing him.

"ʿAlī rested him (the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was still dressed in his shirt, upon his own chest, while al-ʿAbbās, Faḍl and Qutham, along with ʿAlī were turning him over, while Usāma b. Zayd and Ṣāliḥ, his freed-man, both poured water upon him. As ʿAlī set about washing him, not seeing from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), any of what usually is emitted from the dead, he called out, 'By my father and my mother! How sweet-smelling you are, alive or dead!'

"When they had finished washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having done so using water and lote-tree balm, they dried him. Then there was done to him what is normally done to the dead. After that he was wrapped in three cloths, two white and one striped cloak.

"Al-ᶜAbbās then summoned two men. He told them, 'One of you should go to Abū ᶜUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.' Abū ᶜUbayda would make graves for the Meccans. Al-ᶜAbbās went on, 'The other of you should go to Abū Ṭalḥa b. Sahl al-Anṣārī.' Abū Ṭalḥa would make the burial niche[151] for the people of Medina.

"Al-ᶜAbbās then said, as he dispatched the two men, 'O God, choose for your messenger!'

"The two men left. However, the one looking for Abū ᶜUbayda could not find him; the man seeking Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him and he came and prepared the niche for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from al-Mundhir b. Thaᶜlaba, from al-Ṣalṭ, from al-ᶜAlbā᾽ b. Aḥmar, who said, "As ᶜAlī and al-Faḍl were washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice called out to ᶜAlī, 'Raise your sight to the sky!'"

This is *munqaṭiᶜ*, "incomplete in its chain".

I note that the *ahl al-sunan* quote ᶜAlī as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had told him, "ᶜAlī, do not make your thigh visible. And do not look at the thigh of anyone, alive or dead."

This implies that he was issuing him an order relating to himself. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaᶜqūb, quoting Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, quoting Ḍamra, quoting ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting Maᶜmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Saᶜīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "ᶜAlī stated, 'As I washed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I watched for any discharge such as comes from a dead person, but saw nothing. He was sweet-smelling alive and dead (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in his work *al-Marāsīl.*

In the account from which he quotes the above, al-Bayhaqī adds the following words from Saᶜīd b. al-Musayyab: "Four persons took charge of the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These were: ᶜAlī, al-ᶜAbbās, al-Faḍl and Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They placed him in his niche and erected bricks over it as a marker."

A number of the *tābiᶜūn*, including ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī, Muḥammad b. Qays, ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, narrate approximately the same in various phraseology; it would be too lengthy to give them here.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that it was narrated by Abū ᶜAmr Kaysān, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who stated that he heard ᶜAlī say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) instructed that no one but myself should wash him and that 'anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight'.

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[151] The Arabic word is *laḥd,* a vault with a niche within which the corpse is placed.

"ʿAlī said, 'Al-ʿAbbās and Usāma would hand me the water from behind the curtain. Whenever I took hold of a limb it was as if there were 30 men turning it over along with me, until I had finished washing him.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār gave the following line of transmission for this in his *musnad* collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Nuʿmān, quoting Kaysān Abū ʿAmr, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who said, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS), instructed me that no one but myself should wash him and said, "anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight".'

"ʿAlī went on, 'Al-ʿAbbās and Usāma were handing me the water from behind the curtain.'"

I observe that this is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting ʿUsayd b. ʿĀṣim, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥafṣ, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jurayj, who said he heard Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Jaʿfar say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) was washed three times with lote-tree balm. He was washed while he still wore his shirt. The water came from a well called al-Ghars at Qubāʾ that was the property of Saʿd b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to drink from it. ʿAlī and al-Faḍl took charge of washing him; al-Faḍl cradled him, while al-ʿAbbās poured the water. Al-Faḍl began crying, 'Relieve me! You're cutting my heart artery! Something is making me feel faint!'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī related to him, from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Yes; that well, the well called Gharas is one of the water-sources of heaven. Its water is the very sweetest.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have its sweet water drawn for him, and he was washed with water from the Gharas well."

Sayf b. ʿUmar stated, from Muḥammad b. ʿAdī, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the grave had been completed and the people had performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, al-ʿAbbās proceeded to wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and a sheet of close-woven netting made in Yemen was placed above him. He was positioned in the middle of the house, inside the netting. Al-ʿAbbās then called for ʿAlī and al-Faḍl. When he left for the well to bring water for the two men, he called for Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith and brought him inside, along with men of Banū Hāshim positioned behind the netting, and some of the *anṣār* who had requested entry from my father. These men included Aws b. Khawlā, may God be pleased with them all."

Sayf (b. ʿUmar) went on to quote from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Yarbūʿ al-Ḥanafī, from Māhān al-Ḥanafī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who related the construction of the cover of netting, how al-ʿAbbās brought ʿAlī, al-Faḍl, Abū Sufyān and Usāma inside it, and men of Banu Hāshim; all stood inside the house behind the netting. He narrated, "A drowsiness overcame them and they heard a voice saying, 'Do not wash the Messenger of God; he was unsullied.' Al-ʿAbbās responded, 'No; we must.' The members of the household said, 'The voice spoke the truth, so do not wash him.' But al-ʿAbbās said, 'We can't give up a hallowed *sunna* practice because of some voice we can't identify.'

"Then drowsiness overcame them a second time and a voice called out, 'Wash him with his clothes on!' The members of the household responded, 'No; no!' Al-ʿAbbās said, 'I certainly will.' They then set about washing him, while he was still dressed in his shirt and an open *mijwal*.[152] They washed him in the clear water, perfumed him with camphor on the parts of his body which he would prostrate in prayer and on his joints. His shirt and his *mijwal* were squeezed dry. He was then wrapped in his winding-sheet and they burned incense and perfumes over him. They picked him up, placed him on his bed and shrouded him."

This text is very strange.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHROUD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Walīd b. Muslim related to him, quoting al-Awzāʿī, quoting al-Zuhrī, from al-Qāsim, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wrapped in a striped cloth, but then it was removed from him."

Al-Qāsim stated, "The remains of that cloth are still with us."

This line of transmission meets the criteria of the compilers of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; Abū Dāʾūd, however, narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Nasāʾī from Muḥammad b. Muthannā. Mujāhid b. Mūsā differentiated between these two men. All quoted from al-Walīd b. Muslim.

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī stated that Mālik related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in seven white cloths from Saḥūl;[153] these did not include a shirt or a turban."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways, from Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths of Saḥūl."

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Bukhārī gave it from Abū Nuʿaym, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Both authorities gave it from Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The

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[152] The word may be interpreted, as in a footnote to the Arabic printed text, as a white cloth placed over the hand of the person shuffling the arrows in the ancient Arabian gambling game of *maysar*. Dictionaries also have the word as referring to a short skirt-like garment.

[153] Located in Yemen.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white Yemeni cloths made of cotton; these did not include a shirt or a turban."

ʿUrwa went on, "It was reported to ʿĀʾisha that he was shrouded in two cloths and a striped cloak. She commented, 'The cloak was brought to him, but they rejected it and did not shroud him in it.'"

Muslim also narrated it thus, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Aḥmad b. Salama, quoting Hannād b. al-Sarrī, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three cotton white cloths from Saḥūl; these did not include a shirt, nor a turban. The ceremonial gown people had doubts about. It had been bought especially as a shroud for him, but it was put aside. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr took it, saying, 'I'm going to keep it for myself to be buried in!' He added, 'If God had been pleased with it for His Prophet (ṢAAS), He would have buried him in it.' He sold it, giving its price to charity."

Muslim narrated it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and others, from Abū Muʾāwiya.

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in a striped cloak that belonged to ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. He was wrapped up in it, but it was then removed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr had obtained that ceremonial gown to he buried in himself when he died. He commented, after he received it back, 'I'd not keep for myself something that God kept from being used as the shroud of His Messenger.' ʿAbd Allāh donated its cost to charity."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Saḥūl."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Miskīn b. Bakr related to him, from Saʿīd – meaning Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz – who quoted Makḥūl as quoting ʿUrwa that ʿĀʾisha said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three Yemeni fine-mesh cloths."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣulī stated that Sahl b. Ḥabīb al-Anṣārī related to him, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Hilāl, the *imām* of the mosque of Ayyūb, quoting Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Saḥūl."

Sufyān stated, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing.

In some accounts the wording is given as, "two pieces of clothing of Suḥḥār,[154] and a striped cloak".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Idrīs related to him, quoting Yazīd, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing – the shirt in which he died, and a ceremonial gown from Najrān, the latter consisting of two garments.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, while ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Māja did so from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, all three further quoting from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, as above.

This is very strange.

Imām Aḥmad stated also that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments and a red cloak."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Bakr al-Shāfiʿī stated that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ḥamīd b. al-Rabīʿ, quoting Bakr – meaning Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān – quoting ʿĪsā – meaning Ibn al-Mukhtār – from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān – he being Ibn Abū Laylā – from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments and a red cloak."

Abū Yaʿlā stated that Sulaymān al-Shādhkūnī related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū al-Haytham, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿAṭāʾ, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments from Saḥūl."

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā added, "and a red cloak".

Several authorities narrated it from Ismāʿīl al-Muʾadib, from Yaʿqūb b. ʿAṭāʾ, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments." And in one account the garments were stated to be from Saḥūl. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir narrated through Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, quoting Aḥmad b. Isḥāq, from al-Bahlūl, quoting ʿAbbād b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Sharīk, from Abū Isḥāq, who said, "I happened to attend a meeting of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, many of them being present. I asked them, 'In how many pieces of cloth was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shrouded?' They stated, 'In three garments, without a shirt, a *qibāʾ*, "a long-sleeved outer garment", or a turban.' I asked them, 'How many of you were taken prisoner at the battle of Badr?' 'Al-ʿAbbās, Nawfal and ʿAqīl,' they replied."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through al-Zuhrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three garments, one being a striped cloak."

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[154] A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the word refers to the mountain by that name above ʿAmmān.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gave it along a line of doubtful authenticity, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "I shrouded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in two garments from Saḥūl and a striped cloak."

Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Kathīr, quoting Hishām, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two fine-mesh cloths and a striped cloak from Najrān."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayāliṣī narrated it from Hishām and ʿImrān al-Qaṭṭān, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān narrated it from Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Naṣr b. Ṭarīf, from Qatāda, quoting Ibn al-Musayyab, from Umm Salama (who said) that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three garments, one of which was a cloak from Najrān."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "From what we have narrated from ʿĀʾisha, it is clear why there is confusion for people, and that the striped cloth was removed from him. But God knows best."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ruʾāsī, from Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, from Hārūn b. Saʿīd, who said, "ʿAlī had some musk, and he gave instruction that it be used for embalming. He said, 'It is some of the musk left over from embalming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

He narrated this through Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from Ḥamīd, from Ḥasan, from Hārūn, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAlī.

THE MANNER IN WHICH PRAYERS WERE OFFERED OVER THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

The *ḥadīth* narrated above by al-Bayhaqī, quoting from al-Ashʿath b. Ṭalīq and al-Bazzār from a *ḥadīth* of al-Iṣbahānī, both quoting from Murra, from Ibn Masʿūd, tells of the instruction made by the Prophet (ṢAAS), that he should be washed by the men of his household. In it he is also quoted as having said, "Shroud me in these clothes of mine, or in a Yemeni cloth, or a white one from Egypt." After placing him in his shroud, they were to place him on the edge of his grave, then leave him until the angels had prayed over him, after which the men of his household were to pray over him, with the other people to follow thereafter individually.

The *ḥadīth* is given above in full. There is some dispute over its authenticity, as we have stated. God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to him, quoting ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the men were brought in and they prayed over him in groups and without an *imām*. When the men had finished, the women were brought in and they prayed over him. Then the children came and prayed, then the slaves. All these prayed over him in groups, without anyone acting as *imām*."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ubayy b. ʿAyyāsh b. Sahl b. Saʿd related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been wrapped in his shroud, he was placed on his bed. After that he was placed on the edge of his grave and the people came in (to pray) over him in groups, without anyone acting as their *imām*."

Al-Wāqidī also stated that Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to him, that, "I have discovered a document in the handwriting of my father. In it it states that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wrapped in his shroud and placed on his bed, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them, arrived, accompanied by a group of *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* as large as the house could contain. The two men said, 'Peace be upon you, Prophet, along with God's mercy and blessings.' The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* made the same salutation as had Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and then they arranged in lines, though without anyone acting as their *imām*.

"Abū Bakr and ʿUmar – they being in the first line – then spoke, facing towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'O God, we bear witness that he has delivered the message that was revealed to him and that he has properly advised his nation. He strove hard in God's cause until God made His religion firm and completed His word; He has become worshipped alone and without associate. Make us, O God, of those who follow the words revealed with him. Unite us with him, letting him know us, and making us know him. He was always forgiving and merciful towards the believers. We seek no alternative to having faith in him, and we would never exchange it at any price.'

"At this, those present called out Amen! Amen! They then left and others came in. This went on until all the men had prayed, then the women and then the children.'"

It has been said that they prayed over him following the sun's passing its zenith on Monday until the same time on the Tuesday, and also that they continued praying over him for three days, as will be explained shortly. But God knows best.

This practice, their having prayed over him individually without anyone acting as their *imām* is accepted unanimously, without any disagreement.

However, there is dispute over interpreting this. If the *ḥadīth* we have given from Ibn Masʿūd is authentic, then it constitutes documentary evidence. This (behaviour) would constitute *al-taʿabbud* "an act of religious devotion", the purpose of which is difficult to explain. It is not up to anyone to say, "This was because they had no *imām*", because we have explained above that they only began preparing him for burial after completion of the pledge of allegaince made to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

Some scholars have stated that no one acted as their *imām* only in order that each person might engage in direct, personal prayer over him. This was also because of the constant repetition of the prayers of the Muslims over him, one following the other, each of the Companions, the men, their women, their children and their slaves, both male and female, acting as indivuals.

Al-Suhaylī stated, in essence, that God had informed him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) that He and His angels would pray over him, and ordered that each individual Muslim should pray directly for him after his death in this way. He stated, "And also the angels act for Us as *imāms* in that." But God knows best.

Later adherents of the Shāfiʿī school differ over the question of the legality of others than the Companions subsequently praying over his grave. Some assert the positive, because his body remained fresh in his grave, because God forbad the earth to spoil the bodies of prophets, as is stated in the *ḥadīth* in the *al-sunan* collections of the traditions as well as elsewhere; he is still just as a person dead today would be. Others disagreed, saying that this should not be done, because the early Muslims who came directly after the Companions did not do this. If it had been in accord with the *sharīʿa*, they would have done this early on and kept up the practice. But God knows best.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BURIAL OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND WHERE HE WAS BURIED. REFERENCE TO THE DIFFERENCES OVER WHETHER HE WAS BURIED BY NIGHT OR BY DAY.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq reported that Ibn Jurayj, quoting his father, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj, as having said, "The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not know where to bury him until Abū Bakr stated, "I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), say, 'Every prophet has been buried wherever he died.' And so they took away his bed and dug a grave beneath it."

This *ḥadīth* has a link missing between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj and Abū Bakr, the former not having met the latter. However, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, from Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them all. He stated that Abū Mūsā al-Harawī related to him, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "There was disagreement over the burial of the Prophet (ṢAAS), after his death. Abū Bakr stated, 'I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, "A prophet only dies in the places most loved by him." He went on, 'Bury him where he died.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this similarly, from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over his burial. Abū Bakr stated, 'I heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) something I have not forgotten. He said, "A prophet always dies in that place where he wishes to be buried." Bury him where his bed is positioned.'"

Al-Tirmishī classified al-Mulayka as a weak source and then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is also narrated from a different line. Ibn ʿAbbās related that Abū Bakr quoted this statement from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Umawī quoted his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, from a man who quoted from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that Abū Bakr stated, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'No prophet has ever been buried in any place other than that where he died.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Tamīmī related to him, quoting Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭayālisī, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "There were two grave diggers in Medina, and when the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, people asked, 'Where should we bury him?' Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'In the place where he died.' One of the grave-diggers would make a niche, the other would dig a pit. The one who made niches did arrive, and he did so for the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Mālik b. Anas narrated it from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, with a line of authorities that was *munqaṭiʿ*.

Abū Yaʿlā stated that Jaʿfar b. Mahrān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When they wanted to dig a grave for the Prophet (ṢAAS), there was Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ who would dig down a pit as the Meccans favoured and Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl, who would dig for the Medinans and would make a niche. Al-ʿAbbās called to two men. To one he said, 'Go and fetch Abū ʿUbayda.' To the other he said, 'Go and fetch Abū Ṭalḥa.' (He then said) 'O God, choose for Your messenger!'"

He went on, "The man sent to Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him. He came and made a grave with a niche for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been prepared for burial on Tuesday, he was placed on his bed in his house. The Muslims were in disagreement about his burial. One said, 'We should bury him in his mosque.' Another suggested, 'We should bury him with his Companions.' Abū Bakr said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Every prophet who died was buried where he died."'

"The bed of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on which he had died, was taken away and they dug a grave beneath it. The people were then brought in to pray over him in groups. When the men had finished, the women were brought in. When they had finished the children were brought. No one acted as *imām* for the people over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was buried in the middle of Wednesday night."

Ibn Māja narrated it similarly from Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī, from Wahb b. Jarīr, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; that account has the same line of transmission. At its end, he added, "ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, and al-Faḍl and Qutham, the two sons of ʿAbbās, along with Shuqrān, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went down into his tomb. And Aws b. Khawlā – Abū Laylā, that is – asked ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, 'I charge you by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' ʿAlī told him, 'Come down then.'

"Shuqrān, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), took a cloak the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would wear and put it in the grave. He said, 'I swear by God, no one will ever wear it after you!' And it was buried with him."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, from Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from Ibn Isḥāq, in abbreviated form. Yūnus b. Bukayr and others narrated it similarly from (Ibn) Isḥāq.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from Ibn Abū Ḥabība, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Abū Bakr, "the trusting", who quoted from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, "Every prophet who died was buried where he died."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn or Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died there was disagreement over his burial. People asked, 'How should we bury him? With the people? Or in his apartments?'

"Abū Bakr said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Every prophet who died was buried where he died." And so he was buried where his bed had been; the bed was lifted away and a (grave) was dug beneath it.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar al-Akhnasī quoted from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd – he being Ibn Yarbūʿ – who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over the position of his grave. One person said, 'In al-Baqīʿ; he made many prayers for (God's) forgiveness for them (buried) there.' Another said, 'At his *minbar*.' Another said, 'In his own chapel.'

"Abū Bakr came and said, 'I have knowledge and a comment about that. I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Every prophet who died was buried where he died."'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is also given in a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, and in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from his father, both of whom quote from Abū Bakr, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS). The *ḥadīth* is *mursalan*."

Al-Bayhaqī also stated, quoting al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Salama b. Nubayṭ b. Shurayṭ, from his father, from Sālim b.ʿUbayd – one of those who had resided at al-Ṣuffa[155] – who said, "Abū Bakr went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he died, and then he left again. He was asked 'Has the Messenger of God died?' 'Yes,' he replied. And people knew it to be as he said.

"He was asked, 'Should we pray over him? And how should we pray?' He replied, 'You should come in in groups and then pray.' And they knew it should be as he said.

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[155] A shelter that was attached to the Prophet's mosque in Medina that was used by guests and homeless people.

"They asked, 'Will he be buried, and where?' He replied, 'In the place where his soul was taken. His soul would only have been taken in a good place.' And they knew it should be as he said."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ῾Uyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Sa῾īd al-Anṣārī, from Sa῾īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "῾Ā᾽isha described to her father a vision she had seen; he was one of the most highly skilled of men in interpretation. She said, 'I saw three moons fall into my lap.' He responded, 'If your vision is accurate, then three of the finest men on earth will be buried in your house.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, he told her, '῾Ā᾽isha, this is the best of your "moons"!'"

Mālik narrated this with an incomplete chain, from Yaḥyā b. Sa῾īd, from ῾Ā᾽isha.

She is quoted in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died in my house, on the day of his visit to me, and resting between my chest and neck. And God joined my saliva with his in his last moments on earth and his first in the Hereafter.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is related from *aḥādīth* of Abū ῾Awāna, from Hilāl al-Warrāq, from ῾Urwa, who quoted ῾Ā᾽isha as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say during the illness from which he died, 'May God curse the Jews and the Christians who adopt the graves of their prophets as places of worship.'"

῾Ā᾽isha went on, "Had it not been for that, he would have made a prominent tomb; he feared, however, that it would be adopted as a mosque."

Ibn Māja stated that Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān related to him, quoting Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Mubārak b. Faḍāla, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was in Medina one man who specialized in making wall niches in graves and another who dug trench graves. People said, 'We will let God choose; we will send for both. And we'll let the one do it who arrives first.' They were sent for and the one who made the niches arrived first. And so they dug for him a grave with a niche."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this. Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim.

Ibn Māja also stated that ῾Umar b. Shabba b. ῾Ubayda b. Zayd related to him, quoting ῾Ubayd b. Ṭufayl, quoting ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Mulayka, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ῾Ā᾽isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over whether he should be buried in a niche or in a trench grave. The dispute became intense, with voices raised. ῾Umar said, 'You shouldn't make a hubbub near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), whether dead or alive' – or words to that effect. So they summoned both a man who dug trench graves and another who dug graves with niches. The man who made the niches arrived and so he dug one for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was then buried."

Ibn Māja was alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting al-ʿUmarī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, and also from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said that a grave with a niche was dug for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from both these lines.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Yaḥyā b. Shuʿba and Ibn Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, quoting Abū Jamra, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "A red velvet cloth was placed in the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from several lines, from Shuʿba. Wakīʿ narrated it from Shuʿba.

Wakīʿ stated, "This was done exclusively for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated this.

Ibn Saʿd stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed him, quoting Ashʿath b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, from al-Ḥasan, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was laid out with a red velvet garment beneath him that he had used to wear. Al-Ḥasan said, "The earth was damp." Ḥushaym b. Manṣūr quoted al-Ḥasan as having said, "A cloth of red velvet was placed in the grave of the Prophet; he had won it at the battle of Ḥunayn."

Al-Ḥasan went on, "This was done because the ground at Medina is marsh-like."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāṭ related to him, from ʿUqba b. ʿAbū al-Ṣahbāʾ who said that he heard al-Ḥasan say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Lay out for me a piece of velvet in my niche, for the earth should not be given power over the bodies of prophets.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Musaddad, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "ʿAlī stated, 'I washed the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I set about looking for any such discharge as comes from the dead, but I saw nothing; he was sweet-smelling both alive and dead.'"

He went on, "There were four persons who, more than the other people, took charge of the burial and refilling the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS). These men were ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās, al-Faḍl and Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). A niche was dug in his grave and unburnt bricks were placed over it as a marker."

Al-Bayhaqī reported, from some sources, that nine bricks were placed as a marker over his grave.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from Ibn Abū Sabra, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was placed upon his bed from when the sun had begun to decline on the Monday until it began to decline on the Tuesday. The people prayed over him while his bed was positioned at the edge of his grave. When they wished to bury him, they turned the bed towards his feet and placed him in from there. Al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlī, Qutham, al-Faḍl and Shuqrān went into his grave."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl al-Suddī, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Those who entered the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlī, and al-Faḍl. An *anṣārī* arranged the grave-niche; it was he who had arranged the niches of the graves of the martyrs killed at the battle of Badr."

Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "The correct wording should be 'at the battle of Uḥud'."

Here above we have given the account of Ibn Isḥāq from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Those who went down into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were ʿAlī, al-Faḍl, Qutham and Shuqrān." He also mentioned the fifth person, who was Aws b. Khawlī and went on to report the story of the (red) velvet cloak that Shuqrān placed in the grave.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ṭāhir al-Khudābādhī informed him, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting Sufyān b. Saʿīd – al Thawrī, that is – from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Shaʿbī, who quoted Abū Marḥab as having said, "It's as if I can still see them now, those four men in the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS). And one of them was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyān, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid.

He then went on to narrate it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus, from Zuhayr, from Ismāʿīl, from al-Shaʿbī, quoting Marḥab or Ibn ʿAmmi Marḥab (who said), "They took with them ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. When ʿAlī had finished, he said, 'Only a man's family should follow him.'"

This *ḥadith* is extremely strange. Its line of transmission is very strong, and we know of it only from this line.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his study, "The given name of Abū Marḥab is Suwayd b. Qays." He also mentioned another Abū Marḥab, saying, "But I don't know anything about him."

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "It is likely that the narrator of this *ḥadīth* is the first of these two men; or it could be a third person, someone other than either of these. And to God be praise."

Accounts of who was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Isḥāq, quoting his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār, from Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the freedman of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from his freed-man, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "I went on the *ʿumra* pilgrimage with ʿAlī in the reign of ʿUmar – or ʿUthmān – and ʿAlī stopped to visit his sister Umm Hāniʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib. When he had finished performing the *ʿumra*, he returned (to her home) and she poured out water for him with which he washed.

"When he had finished washing, a group of men from Iraq came in to see him and asked, 'Abū Ḥasan, we have come to ask you to tell us about something.' He responded, 'I imagine al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba is telling you how he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' 'Yes, that's right', they answered. 'That's what we have come to ask you about.' He replied, 'The last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was Qutham b. ʿAbbās.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from this line.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq exactly the same, except that he added to the beginning (of the chain) Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, "Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba used to say, 'I took my ring and threw it into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, when the people left, 'My ring has fallen into the grave." I dropped it there deliberately so that I would touch the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with it and so be the last person to be with him.'"

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "My father Isḥāq b. Yasār related to me, from Miqsam who quoted his freed-man ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith as having said, 'I went on the *ʿumra* pilgrimage with ʿAlī . . .'" and he proceeded to narrate the *ḥadīth* as above.

This material narrated from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba does not necessarily mean that it occurred as he had hoped. It could be that ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, did not permit him to go down into the grave and that he directed someone else to do so, and the latter gave it to him (al-Mughīra). According to the information given above, it would have been Qutham b. ʿAbbās whom he asked to take it.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād related to him, from his father, who quoted ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba as having said, "Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba threw his ring down into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And ʿAlī commented, 'You only did that to say, "I went down into the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."' And he then went down himself and gave it back to him – or he told another man to do so, who returned it."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz and Abū Kāmil related to him that Ḥammād b. Salama related to them both, from Abū ʿUmrān al-Jawnī, from Abū ʿAsīb – or Abū ʿĀsīm – who quoted Bahz as having said that he witnessed the prayers being spoken over the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that people asked, "How should we pray?" He (presumably Abū Bakr) replied, "Go in in groups." And they entered from one door, prayed over him and then went out through the other door.

Bahz went on, "When he had been placed in his niche, al-Mughīra said, 'You did not properly arrange (the shroud over) part of his feet.' They told him, 'Well, you go down and do it.' So he did enter the grave and placed his hand inside (the shroud) and touched both his feet. He then said, 'Now pass down some earth to me.' They did so until it was covering half his legs. He then came out. He used to say, 'I was later than any of you to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'"

WHEN THE BURIAL OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TOOK PLACE.

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having stated, "Fāṭima told me, she being the daughter of Muḥammad, the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, who let me in to visit her so that I heard it from her. She cited from ʿAmra, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as having said, 'We did not know about the burial of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until we heard the sound of the spades in the middle of the Wednesday night.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from al-Ḥalyas b. Hishām, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, who quoted Umm Salama to say, "While we were gathered together we wept; we did not sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there in our apartments. We took comfort in seeing him on the bed. Then we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the pre-dawn night. We screamed in lament and those in the mosque did so too. The whole town was screaming with one voice. Then Bilāl made the dawn call to prayer. When he mentioned the Prophet (ṢAAS), he wept and lamented. His pain increased our own. Then people began going in to his grave, but they were shut out. What a disaster that was! Any later tragedy we came to suffer was alleviated when we recalled our disastrous loss of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on the night of Wednesday.

Several narrations similar to this have been given above. This represents the view accepted by many of the *imāms*, both early and later. These include Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, Ibn Isḥāq, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and others.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān narrated from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, from Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, from al-Awzāʿī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the day, and he was buried on Tuesday."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this similarly from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, "I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in the forenoon of Monday and was buried in the forenoon of the next day."

Yaʿqūb stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father and from Ibn Jurayj, from Abū Jaʿfar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and that he remained (unburied) for that day, that night and up to the end of the daytime of Tuesday.

This statement is strange. What is most widely accepted is, as we have given above, that he died on Monday and was buried on the Wednesday night.

One other strange statement made in this regard is that narrated by Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, from Abū al-Nuʿmān, from Makḥūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on Monday, received revelation on Monday, went into exile on Monday and died on Monday at age sixty-two and a half. He remained unburied for three days, with people coming in and praying in groups, not standing in lines and without *imāms* to lead them."

His words, "He remained unburied for three days", is strange. What is factual is that he remained unburied for the remainder of Monday and all of Tuesday and was buried on the eve of Wednesday, as we have stated above. But God knows best.

An opposing view is that narrated by Sayf, from Hishām, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, was also washed on Monday and was buried on the night of Tuesday."

Sayf went on, "Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd on one occasion related all this to me from ʿĀʾisha."

This is very strange.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to him, from Ibn Abū ʿAwn, from Abū ʿAtīq, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sprayed with water. The person who did this was Bilāl b. Rabbāḥ, using a water-skin. He began at his head, from his right side, and finished with his legs. He then struck the water on the wall, but was not able to turn around from the wall."

Saʿīd b. Manṣūr stated, from al-Darāwardī, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Yaman, from Umm Salama, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday."

Ibn Khuzayma stated that Muslim b. Ḥammād related to him, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ubayd b. ʿAyyāsh b. Sahl b. Saʿd related to him, quoting his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday night."

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā quoted Muḥammad b. Saʿd as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, 12 days after the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, and he was buried on Tuesday."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that al-Ḥasan b. Isrāʾīl Abū Muḥammad al-Nahritīrī related to him, quoting ʿĪsā b. Yūnus, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, who stated that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday; and he was not buried until Wednesday."

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab said the same, as did Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir.

Section: On the descriptions of the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

It has been reiterated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was buried in the apartment of ʿĀʾisha which had been set aside for her to the east of the mosque, in the south-west corner of the room. Later on, after him, Abū Bakr and then ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both, were also buried there.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, who stated to him that Sufyān al-Tammār narrated to him that he had seen the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as a convex pile.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ narrated to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Hāniʾ, from al-Qāsim, who said, "I went in to ʿĀʾisha and asked her, 'Expose for me the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and those of his two Companions.' She then exposed three graves that were neither elevated nor recessed and inscribed on the red surface of the floor were (the words) 'The Prophet', (ṢAAS), 'Abū Bakr', may God be pleased with him, and 'ʿUmar', may God be pleased with him."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abū Fudayk, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from al-Qāsim, who said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) in front; the head of Abū Bakr was resting between the shoulders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The head of ʿUmar was at the leg of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This narrative shows that their graves were flat, because gravel only remains stable on what is flat."

This is a strange comment for al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy upon him, to make. For there is no mention in the account whatsoever of gravel. In that regard, it could well have been made convex, with the gravel buried in the clay and other earth.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from al-Darāwardī, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, who said, "The grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was flat."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Farwa b. Abū al-Maghrāʾ related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Mushir, from Hishām, from ʿUrwa, who quoted his father as having said, "When the wall collapsed in the era of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, they set about rebuilding it. A foot became visible to them and they were extremely shocked, thinking it to be the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS). No one could be found who knew about it, but eventually ʿUrwa told them, 'No, I swear by God, that's not the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS); that's ʿUmar's foot.'"

It is also given from Hishām, from his father, who said that ʿĀʾisha instructed ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, saying, "Don't bury me with them. Bury me with my companions in (the cemetery of) al-Baqīʿ. There I'll never receive inappropriate praise."

I note that when al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to power, in the year 86 AH, he began building the Damascus mosque. He wrote to his governor in Medina, his cousin ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, telling him to expand the Medina mosque. He did so, including its eastern side, and so the apartment of the Prophet (ṢAAS) became encompassed within it.

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated the *ḥāfiẓ* with a line of transmission from Zādān, the freed-man of al-Farāfiṣa, who built the Mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), during the governorship of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz over Medina. He (Ibn ʿAsākir) quoted from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh approximately as had al-Bukhārī, and he also gave a description of the graves as Abū Dā'ūd had narrated.

Accounts of the great afflictions that befell the Muslims upon the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grew intense, he was overwhelmed by agony. Fāṭima exclaimed, 'What agony, father!' He responded, 'Your father will suffer no more agony after today.'

"When he died, she said, 'O for father! He has responded to a Lord Who has summoned him! O father, whose abode is (now) the garden of paradise! O father, we make Gabriel aware of your death.'

"When he was buried, Fāṭima asked, 'Anas, are you men pleased to be piling earth over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?'"

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thābit al-Banānī, who quoted Anas as having said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was buried, Fāṭima said, 'Anas, are you men now pleased that you have buried the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the earth and have come back?"

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd. According to him, Ḥammād stated, "When Thābit related this *ḥadīth* he would weep so hard his chest would heave."

This should not be considered tantamount to lamentation. It is, rather, the expression of just admiration for him, may he receive the very best of prayers and salutations. We have made this comment only because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbad lamentation.

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, who quoted Qatāda, quoting Muṭarrif, from Ḥakīm b. Qays b. ʿĀṣim, from his father who, leaving instructions for his children, said, "Do not lament over me; no lamentation was made over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī narrated it in his *al-Nawādir*, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from Shuʿba. He then narrated it from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from al-Mughīra b. Salama, from al-Ṣaʿq b. Ḥazn, from al-Qāsim b. Muṭayyab, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Qays b. ʿĀṣim, who said, "Do not lament for me. Lamentation was not made for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I heard him forbid lamentation."

He then narrated it from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from al-Saʿq, from al-Qāsim, from Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from al-Ḥasan, from ʿĀṣim.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUqba b. Sinān related to him, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, that no lamentation was made for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "On the occasion of the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, everything was brightly lit up. The day he died everything there became dark.

"And no sooner had we finished with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), than we were overcome by doubts."

Both al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf, from Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabʿī.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*."

I note that its line of transmission satisfies the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. And it is correct from a *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān. The scholastic community gave it from him, and the people at large do so similarly.

Al-Kudaymī, he being Muḥammad b. Yūnus, may God have mercy upon him, narrated a *ḥadīth* that could be considered *gharīb*, in this regard. He stated that Abū al-Walīd Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭayālisī, quoted Jaʿfar b.Sulaymān al-Ḍabʿī, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Medina became so dark that we could not see one another. One would stretch out one's hand but not see it" – or "not catch sight of it". "No sooner had we completed his burial than we were overcome by doubts."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly through that line.

He also narrated it similarly through a different line of *ḥufāẓ*, from Abū Walīd al-Ṭayālisī, as we have given it above. It is the correct version, but God knows best.

The great *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir narrated through Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhīn, quoting Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Bisṭām at al-Abilla, quoting Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ruʾāsī, quoting Maslama b. ʿAlqama, from Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Medina everything there became bright. The day he died everything there became dark."

Ibn Māja stated that Isḥāq b. Manṣūr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAṭāʾ al-ʿIjlī, from Ibn ʿAwn, from al-Ḥasan, from Ubayy b. Kaʿb, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we were (united) in one direction, and when he died, we looked (disunited) here and there."

He also stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī related to us, quoting his uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Sāʾib b. Abū Wadāʿa al-Sahmī, quoting Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya al-Makhzūmī, quoting Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "At the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), if someone arose to pray he would do so without allowing his sight to rise from the position of his feet. Then he died and there was Abū Bakr (in command) and if someone arose to pray, he would not allow his sight to move from the spot where his head rested (during prostration). Then Abū Bakr died and there was ʿUmar (in command) and if someone arose to pray he would not allow his sight to move away from the *qibla*. Then ʿUmar died and there was ʿUthmān (in command) and dissension arose, and at that time people would look everywhere, to right and to left."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas, that Umm Ayman wept when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. She was asked, "Why are you weeping over the Prophet (ṢAAS)?" She replied, "I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would die; what I'm lamenting for is the revelation that was taken from us."

He narrated it thus, in a condensed form.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym and Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Jārūdī, both of whom said, "Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khulānī related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim al-Kilābi, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to visit Umm Ayman and I accompanied him. She brought him a cordial. He was either fasting or did not want it, and he refused it. She then went over to him to make him laugh. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr said to ʿUmar, 'Let's go and visit Umm Ayman.' When we arrived to see her, she wept. The two men asked her, 'What is making you weep? Being with God is good for His Messenger.' She replied, 'I swear by God, I'm not weeping because I don't realize that to be with God is good for His Messenger; I'm weeping that revelation from heaven has ceased."

"She aroused them to tears, and they began weeping."

Muslim alone (of the major scholars) narrated it, from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, in his account of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and of Abū Bakr's address on that occasion, as follows, "And the people came back after Abū Bakr had finished the address and there was Umm Ayman sitting weeping. She was asked, 'What is making you cry? God has honoured His Prophet (ṢAAS), taken him into His garden and given him rest from worldly cares.' She responded, 'I am only weeping for that news of heaven that used to come to us like a fresh fruit every day and night. Now it has been cut off and ended, and I weep for it.'

"People were much impressed by her words."

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that it was related to him from Abū Usāma, by, among others, Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "When God wished to grant mercy to some nation of his worshippers, he would first take away their prophet and make of him a precursor and forerunner who could bear witness for them. If God wished to destroy a nation, He would chastise them while His Prophet was still alive; He would destroy them while His Prophet looked on. And this destruction of them would please the latter since they would have disbelieved him and disobeyed his commands."

Muslim is alone in giving this, both in regard to its line of transmission and its content.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sāʾib, from Zādhān, from ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation."

The went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'My life is a good thing for you; you take action and it comes to pass for you. And my death is a good thing for you; your actions will be shown to me. For that which I have seen to be good I have praised God. For that which I have seen to be evil, I have asked God's forgiveness for you.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of the latter part of this *ḥadīth* being narrated from ʿAbd Allāh only from this line."

I note that the first part of this *ḥadīth* consists of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation." Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from several lines, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and from al-Aʿmash, both of whom gave it from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sāʾib, who quoted it from his father.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī related to him, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, from Abū al-Ashʿath al-Ṣanʿānī, from Aws b. Aws, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Friday is one of the best of your days. On it Adam was created and on it he died. On it (life began with) a breath, and on it (life will end with) a thunderbolt. Pray for me often on that day, for your prayer will be made known to me."

People asked, "Messenger of God, how will our prayers be made known to you when you will have *arimta*, 'disintegrated'?" By this word he meant *balīta*, "decayed". He replied, "God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh, and from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Isḥāq b. Manṣūr, all three of them quoting it from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Ibn Māja narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from Ibn Jābir, from Abū al-Ashʿath, from Shaddād b. Aws.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated, "That line of transmission quoted by Ibn Māja is imagined; the correct name is Aws b. Aws, he being known as 'al-Thaqafī', may God be pleased with him."

I note that this is confirmed as widely known to be correct by a copy of the line of transmission I have in my possession, just as Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated it – from Aws b. Aws, that is.

Ibn Māja confirmed that ʿAmr b. Sawwād al-Miṣrī narrated to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl, from Zayd b. Ayman, from ʿUbāda b. Nusayy, who quoted Abū al-Dardā' as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Pray for me often on Friday, for it will be witnessed by the angels. Whenever anyone shall pray for me his prayer will be made known to me, right on until he finishes it.' And what about after (your death)?' He replied, 'God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them.' The Prophet of God is alive and sustained (in his grave)."

This is one of the *aḥādīth* that are given only by Ibn Māja, may God have mercy upon him.

At this point in his work the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir gives a section presenting those *aḥādīth* narrated about visitation to his sacred grave, may God's prayers and salutations be for him until Judgement Day! The proper place to examine this is in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God so wills it.

REFERENCE TO THE EXPRESSIONS OF CONSOLATION MADE REGARDING THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Ibn Māja stated that al-Walīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Sukayn related to him, quoting Abū Hammām, he being Muḥammad b. al-Zibraqān al-Ahwāzī, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUbayda, quoting Muṣʿab b. Muḥammad, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) opened a door between himself and the people" – or lifted aside a screen – "and there they were praying behind Abū Bakr. He gave praise at having seen them in such fine condition, and hoping that he would be succeeded by the one he was looking at. He said, "People, should any person, any believer, suffer some disaster, let him derive strength from the suffering he was made to endure because of (my departure). For none of my nation will suffer after myself any disaster more severe than that caused by (my departure)."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Shāfiʿ b. Muḥammad, quoting Abū Jaʿfar b. Salāma al-Ṭaḥāwī, quoting al-Mizzī, quoting al-Shāfiʿī, from al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafs, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, that some men of Quraysh went in to visit his father, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. The latter said, "Should I talk to you about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" Please do, they asked. And so he related to us about Abū al-Qāsim – the Prophet (ṢAAS) – saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became ill, Gabriel came to him and said, 'Muḥammad, God has dispatched me to you to express special honour and respect for you, to ask you about what He knows better than yourself: How are you?' 'Gabriel, I am much afflicted. Gabriel, I am in agony.'

"Gabriel returned to him the second day, asked him the same and the Prophet (ṢAAS) responded to him as he had on the first day. Gabriel then came to him a third day, asking as he had on the first, and the response was the same. Then he came to him accompanied by an angel named Ismāʿīl, who had charge of 100,000 angels, each angel in charge of another 100,000 angels. He asked to introduce him, and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) asked about him. Gabriel told him, 'This is the angel of death who asks permission to visit you, having never asked such permission of any human being before yourself, and never will of any person after you.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Allow him in', and Gabriel did so.

"He (Ismāʿīl) entered and said, 'Muḥammad, God has sent me to you. If you order me to take your soul, I will do so. If you order me to leave you alone, I will do so.' 'Would you really do that, angel of death?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. 'That was what I was ordered, and I was ordered to obey you.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) looked over at Gabriel and Gabriel said to him, 'Muḥammad, God is longing to meet you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to the angel of death, 'Proceed as you were ordered.' And he took away his soul.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, and condolences came, people heard a voice from the direction of the house, saying, 'Peace be upon you all, people of the house, and the mercy and blessings of God. In God there is consolation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes, permanence from all transience. And so, put in God your trust and in Him hope. Those truly afflicted are those forbidden reward.'

"ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, asked, 'Do you know who that is? This is al-Khiḍr, may peace be upon him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. There is weakness in its line of transmission with regard to al-Qāsim al-ʿUmarī. Several of the *imāms* have categorized him as a weak source, while others of them totally exclude him. Al-Rabīʿ narrated it from al-Shāfiʿī, from al-Qāsim, from Jaʿfar, from his father, from his grandfather, from whom he narrated only the story of the consolation with a full line of transmission. In that line there is reference to the aforementioned al-ʿUmarī. We mention him here so that there be no delusion about him.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī did narrate it, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Baghdādī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Murtaʿid al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Abū al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, quoting Anas b. ʿIyyāḍ, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, a voice called out to people; they could hear the voice but not see the speaker. It said, 'Peace be upon you, people of the house, and mercy, and His blessings. In God there is consolation from all disaster and permanence from all transience. Put your trust in God and in Him hope. Those truly deprived are those deprived of reward. Peace be upon you all, and God's mercy and blessings.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Even though one of these two lines of transmission is weak, the one does substantiate the other, and shows that it originates from the *ḥadith* of Jaʿfar. But God knows best."

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Bālawayh, quoting Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Maṭar, quoting Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa, quoting ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, his Companions stared at him and gathered around him weeping. Then a large, handsome man with a white beard arrived who watched them and wept. He then turned to the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'There is in God consolation for every disaster, compensation for everything that passes away, and substitute for all that perishes. Return to God and express to Him your wishes. His gaze is towards you in your distress, so look. The afflicted are those not restored.' He then left.

"They asked one another, 'Do you know this man?' Abū Bakr and ʿAlī replied, 'Yes; this is al-Khiḍr, the brother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "ʿAyyād b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad is a weak source. And this (tradition) is extremely objectionable."

Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Usāma narrated from Muḥammad b. Saʿd, quoting Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Ṣāliḥ al-Mizzī, from Abū Ḥāzim al-Madanī, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken away by God, the Almighty and Glorious, the *muhājirūn* went in in groups, praying over him and then leaving. The *anṣār* would go in next and do the same, then the people of Medina followed. After the men had finished, the women went in. From among them there came cries of the kind that occurred in the past.

Then they heard a thud inside the house and knew and kept silent. Suddenly a voice spoke, "In God there is consolation from all that passes away and compensation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes. The person restored is one whom the reward (of God) has restored; the one (truly) afflicted is he whom the reward does not restore.'"

Section: Narratives telling of the knowledge of 'The People of the Book' (the Christians and the Jews) of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs related to him, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, who said, "I was in Yemen and met two men from there, (one named) Dhū Kalāʿ, the other Dhū ʿAmr. I began talking with them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told me, 'If what you say is true, your master passed away three days ago.'

"I continued on, as did they with me. On the road a party travelling from Medina appeared before us. We questioned them and they told us, 'The

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has passed away and Abū Bakr was appointed his successor; the people are fine.'"

He went on, "The two Yemenis then said to me, 'Tell your master that we came; perhaps we will return, if God the Almighty and Glorious so wills it.'

"The two men did return to Yemen. When I arrived, I informed Abū Bakr what they had said. He asked, 'Why did you not bring them?'

"Later, Dhū ʿAmr said to me, 'Jarīr, I owe you a favour; I'm going to inform you of something. You Arab people will continue to be fine for so long as whenever one of your leaders dies you appoint another to power. If, however, it happens by the sword, you'll end up a kingdom, enduring the rage of the kings and being pleased when they so please.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, as did al-Bukhārī, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. Al-Bayhaqī also narrated it thus, from al-Ḥākim, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Mutawakkil, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting Zāʾida, from Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa, from Jarīr, who said, "A high priest met me in Yemen and told me, 'If your master was a prophet, he died on Monday.'"

That is how al-Bayhaqī narrated it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd related to him, quoting Zāʾida, quoting Ziyād b. ʿAlaqa, from Jarīr, who said, "A high priest in Yemen told me, 'If your master was a prophet, he died today.'" Jarīr added, "And he died on Monday."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān al-Muʿaddil of Baghdad informed him, quoting Abu Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Haytham, quoting Saʿīd b. Kathīr b. ʿUfayr, quoting ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Kaʿb b. ʿAlqama b. Kaʿb b. ʿAdī al-Tanūkhī, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Naʿīm b. Ajbal, from Kaʿb b. ʿAdī, who said, "I arrived in a delegation from the people of al-Ḥīra to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he explained Islam to us. We accepted Islam and then left for al-Ḥīra.

"Soon news reached us of the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS). My friends were confused by this and said, 'Well, if he were a prophet, he would not have died!' I replied, 'The prophets before him died.' So I remained firm in my Islam. Later I left for Medina and passed by a monk without whose advice we never decided anything. I asked him, 'Would you advise me about something that is bothering me?' He replied, 'Bring me some name.' I brought him a bone dice.[156] He said, 'Cast it into this text', referring to a text he had brought out. So I cast the bone into it. He then leafed through the text and came upon the description of the Prophet (ṢAAS), just as I had seen him. And it was foretold that he would die at the time his death actually occurred.

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[156] The word used is *kaʿb*, an oblong bone from an animal's foot that was used as a dice. The game of *kaʿb* was forbidden in the Qurʾān. The narrator's name is also "Kaʿb", so it is possible that he brought the monk, who had asked for a name, something that bore his own name.

"And so my conviction in my faith was strengthened. I went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and told him of this, then I remained there with him. After that he dispatched me to Chosroe, and I later returned. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb also dispatched me to him and I delivered to him his (ʿUmar's) letter. Then the battle of Yarmūk took place, without my having knowledge of it. He (Chosroe) asked me, 'Do you know that the Byzantines have killed and routed the Arabs?' I replied, 'Not possible!' 'Why not?' he asked. I replied, 'God promised His Prophet that he would give him victory over all religions, and He is not one to break His promise.' He told me, 'Your Prophet spoke the truth to you. The Byzantines were killed. And God did kill ʿĀd.' He then asked me about the most important Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I told him of them. He gave gifts to ʿUmar and to them also. Those to whom he made gifts were ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and al-Zubayr."

The sub-narrator stated, "And I think he also named al-ʿAbbās."

Kaʿb went on, "I had been a partner of ʿUmar in a cloth business during the *jāhiliyya*. When ʿUmar imposed the *dīwān*[157] system, he put me in charge of Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb."

This is a strange tradition and contains surprising information. It meets the criteria for the category of *ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the Arab tribes seceded. Judaism and Christianity became arrogant and hypocrisy spread. The Muslims became like sheep in the rain on a winter's night at loss of their Prophet (ṢAAS), until God united them around Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him."[158]

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū ʿUbayda and other scholars related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, most of the Meccans considered leaving Islam – and indeed were intending to do so. ʿAttāb b. Usayd,[159] may God be pleased with him, was afraid of them and went into hiding. But then Suhayl b. ʿAmr, may God be pleased with him, arose, gave praise and thanks to God, then made reference to the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said, 'That event has only increased the strength of Islam; and we will behead anyone doubting it!' And so the Meccans reconsidered and gave up what they had been considering. ʿAttāb b. Usayd reappeared. This is the position the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prophesied that Suhayl would take, as shown by his words to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When, that is, ʿUmar made reference to pulling out Suhayl's two front teeth when he was among the prisoners at the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had said, 'He may well take a position for which you certainly won't blame him!'"

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[157] The system instituted by the Caliph ʿUmar that regulated both taxation and payments for governmental empoyees, both civilian and military.

[158] Ibn Isḥāq is apparently quoting ʿĀʾisha in these words. See Guillaume, op. cit. page 689.

[159] The Muslim governor of Mecca.

We have recounted elsewhere[160] the apostacy that occurred in many Arab tribes after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and events involving Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, the self-professed prophet in al-Yamāma, and the uprising of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī in Yemen. We have there shown what became of these people, until they retracted and came back to God, expressing repentance and regret for the great stupidity and ignorance they had displayed in seceding, attitudes to which they had been seduced by Satan. God then gave them aid and settled them down, restoring them to His true religion at the hands of his caliph, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him.

DIVISION

Ibn Isḥāq and others quote poems by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, on the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of the finest and most eloquent of these is that narrated by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, may God be pleased with him, from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, in which Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, mourns the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

"At Ṭayba traces remain of the Messenger, and a light-emitting
locality, though traces may often fade and
disappear,
The signs of a sacred building with the *minbar* the
guide would mount will never disappear.
It signs are clear, its features lasting, and that home
with a chapel and a mosque.
There are chambers amidst which light from God would
descend, giving illumination and fire,
Knowledge that will never be effaced, signs which, if
removed become renewed.
There I knew the Messenger's design and commission and
a grave in whose dust he was hidden and buried.
I remained there weeping for the Messenger, though the
eyes of the spirits were delighted,
Recalling those blessings of the Messenger. I see my
soul unable to enumerate and so is confused.
My spirit is tormented, drained by loss of Aḥmad, as it
goes on enumerating the wonders of the Messenger.
It cannot manage to account for one-tenth of all his
deeds, and my soul has still more to suffer.
I stood long there at the mound of that grave
containing Aḥmad, my eyes weeping all they could.

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[160] In Ibn Kathīr's work *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyya*.

You are blessed indeed, grave of the Messenger, and
blessed you, that land where the wise and rightly-guided one
resided.
Blessed be that grave that contains a good man, over
which stands a structure of broad stones in tiers.
Hands poured earth over him, eyes their tears, and at
that the stars set.
They sent away wisdom, knowledge and mercy, that night
they covered him, pillowless, with dirt.
Then they left sadly, their Prophet not among them,
their backs and arms feeling weak,
Weeping for one whose death-day the heavens and the
earth mourn, and the people were more sad.
Could ever mourning for a dead man equal that of the
day when Muḥammad died?
A day when the site of revelation was taken from them,
a source of light that gave benefit and help.
Leading to the Merciful One those who imitated him,
saving them from the horror of shame, guiding aright,
An *imām* for them energetically leading them to the
truth, a teacher of truth; those obeying him found happiness,
Forgiving their errors, accepting their excuse; if they
behaved well, God was very generous with reward.
If disaster struck them too hard to bear, from Him came
ease for what pained them
While they enjoyed God's favour, a guide amidst them to
show the way to be followed.
It hurt him if they strayed from the true path, and he
was eager that they go straight in right guidance.
He was sympathetic towards them, not excluding any from
his protection, leading them towards shelter.
While there in that light an arrow sent by death struck
into their light,
And so Maḥmūd was sent back to God while the angels
mourned him while giving praise.
The sites in the land of the sacred places became
desolate at the absence of the revelation it had known,
Deserted, except for that spot with the grave where our
long-lost friend rests, between Balāṭ and Gharqad[161]
And his mosque and those places deserted at his loss
are an empty area where once he stood and prostrated.
And the great stoning mound there, the houses, vacant
land, encampments and birth-sites miss him.

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161. Balāṭ was the area between Medina's mosque and the market, and Gharqad was its graveyard. The words mean, respectively, "even ground" and "box tree".

> Weep tears, eye, for the Messenger of God, and may I
> never know you with your tears dried up!
> What is wrong with you, eye, that you do not weep for
> that generous man whose ample robe encompassed the people?
> Shed tears copiously and mourn aloud at loss of him the
> like of whom will never again exist.
> The ancients never lost the like of Muḥammad, and his
> like will never be mourned again till Judgement Day,
> Nor any one more kind or trustworthy in obligation
> after obligation, nor anyone more generous, one never
> ill-tempered.
> Nor anyone more munificent with wealth both newly
> acquired and long-held; while others are generous, some are
> niggardly with their inheritance.
> Nor anyone more noble in descent in the clans when
> ancestry is checked, not more noble in ancestry to leaders
> of the (Mecca) valley,
> Nor anyone more fortressed by eminence, nor more secure
> in a prominence that is supported by towering supports.
> Nor anyone more firm in his roots and his branches and
> his trunk, watered by rain clouds, his trunk strong and
> supple.
> It was an illustrious Lord who reared him, bringing him
> to perfection in the most fine of deeds.
> Instruction for the Muslims rested with him, and
> knowledge was not kept back, nor was opinion disaproved.
> I say, and no one could complain at my words, unless
> devoid of sense and out of touch,
> That it is not my intent to refrain from praising him;
> it may be that I will reside in paradise forever,
> With the Chosen One, whose aid I hope thereto; and to
> attain that day I will constantly strive."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated at the end of his book *al-Rawaḍ* that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said, in mourning over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

> "I lay awake, my night endless, and the night of the
> friend of one struck down is ever long.
> My weeping cheered me, and my mourning was little
> indeed compared to what the Muslims had lost.
> Our disaster was enormous, momentous, that evening when
> it was said that the Messenger had died.
> Our very earth, because of what had afflicted it,
> seemed ready to quake.
> We had lost the divine inspiration and its revelation
> among us, that had been brought by Gabriel as he came to
> and fro.

That man was fully worthy to have the souls of the
people flow out to him, or almost so.
A Prophet who would lift doubt away from us, by what
was revealed to him, and what he said.
He guided us, and we never feared going astray, the
Messenger being our guide.
O Fāṭim(a), you have excuse indeed to mourn, but if you
do not, that is the (right) path.
For the grave of your father is the most important
grave of all, and in it lies the most important of men,
the Messenger."

Chapter: Information showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not leave a dīnār, a dirham, a slave, a slave-girl, a sheep, a camel, nor anything to be inherited from him – except for land, all of which he left as a charitable offering to God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The world and all things thereon were to him – as they are to God – too insignificant for him to strive after, or to leave as inheritance – may God's prayers and greetings be upon him and upon his brother prophets and messengers, fully and constantly, until Judgement Day.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave, a slave-girl – nothing except his white mule that he used to ride, his weapons and land that he left as a charitable bequest for wayfarers."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Al-Bukhārī narrated it in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from various lines of transmission from Abū al-Ahwaṣ, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadith* of Isrāʾīl. Al-Nasāʾī gave it also, from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq, all of them quoting from Abū Isḥāq. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabīʿī, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṣṭaliq b. Abū Dīnār, the brother of Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, "the mother of the Believers", may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash and Ibn Numayr, from al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a sheep, a camel, nor did he leave testamentary statements over anything."

Muslim is alone in narrating it, al-Bukhārī not having given it. Abū Dāʾūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja gave it from several lines from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq b. Salama Abū Wāʾil, from Masrūq b. al-Ajdaʿ, from the mother of the Believers, ʿĀʾisha, "the trusting lady", the daughter of (Abū Bakr) "the trusting", the beloved of him beloved by God, the lady declared innocent from above the seven heavens, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Isḥāq b. Yūsuf related to him, from Sufyān, from ʿĀṣim, from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave-girl, a slave, a sheep or a camel."

(Imām Aḥmad also stated), "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to us, from Sufyān, from ʿĀṣim b. Zirr, from ʿĀʾisha (who said), 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a sheep or a camel.'"

Sufyān stated, "That is the extent of my knowledge; I have doubts about (the reference to) the slave and the slave-girl."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it thus in *al-Shamāʾil* from Bindār, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting Misʿar, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Zirr, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave, a female slave, a sheep or a camel."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, without (expression of) doubt.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Isḥāq al-Muzakkī, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Muḥammd b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Misʿar, from ʿĀṣim, from Zirr, who said, "ʿĀʾisha stated, 'Are you asking me about the inheritance left by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)? He did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave or a slave-born female.'"

Misʿar is quoted as having said, "I think he said, 'or a sheep or a camel'."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that Misʿar informed him, from ʿAdī b. Thābit, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave or a slave-born female."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadith* of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought food from a Jew for a given length of time and gave as security an iron chain-mail.

In the version given by al-Bukhārī, he narrated it from Qabīṣa, from al-Thawrī, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died while his armour was mortgaged to a Jew for 30."[162]

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from al-Thawrī, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, who quoted her as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS), died while his armour was mortgaged for 30 *ṣāʿ* of barley."

He went on, "Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Kathīr, from Sufyān."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥammuwayh al-ʿAskarī, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Qalānisī, quoting Ādam, quoting Shaybān, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was invited to a meal of barley bread and rancid fat." Anas went on, "And I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'By

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[162] The Arabic printed text quotes al-Bukhārī as adding, "For 30 *ṣāʿ* weight of barley, that is."

Him who holds the life of Muḥammad in his hands, Muḥammad's family has no longer a *ṣāʿ's* weight of wheat or of dates.' At that time he had nine wives. He had pawned a coat of armour he had to a Jew in Medina in exchange for food; and he had not found money to redeem it up to his death.'"

Ibn Māja narrated some of this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥwī, from Qatāda.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilāl, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) gazed towards Mt. Uḥud and said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, how it would please me if Mt. Uḥud belonged to Muḥammad's people and I could spend it in God's cause! The day I die I would have two *dīnārs* worth of it; these, however, I would set aside for debt.'

"He did die, but did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave, nor a slave-born female. He left his armour still pledged to a Jew for thirty *ṣāʿs* weight of barley."

Ibn Māja narrated the latter part of this, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʾāwiya al-Jumaḥī, from Thābit b. Yazīd, from Hilāl b. Khabbāb al-ʿAbdī al-Kūfī. For the first part there is testimony in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dharr, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, Abū Saʿīd and ʿAffān related to him, quoting Thābit – Ibn Yazīd, that is – quoting Hilāl – Ibn Khabbāb, that is – from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that ʿUmar came in to see the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was lying on a straw mat that had left a mark on his side. ʿUmar asked, 'Prophet of God, should you not have a more comfortable bed than this?' He replied, 'I'm not concerned with worldly things; I am merely like a rider travelling on a summer's day, resting for a while during the day time beneath a tree, then moving away and leaving it behind.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. Its line of transmission is excellent.

There is testimony to it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar, regarding the two women who protested to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); and also in the story of the abstinence from marital relations. The *ḥadīth*, and others like it, relating this will come later in discussion of the asceticism of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his disinterest in and disavowal of worldly things; all this will substantiate our statements that he cared nothing for things of this world.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "I and Shaddād b. Maʿqil went in to see Ibn ʿAbbās, who told us, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left nothing except what is contained between these two covers.' We then went to see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and he told us the same."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this similarly, from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Mālik b. Mighwal, from Ṭalḥa, who said, "I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, 'Did the Prophet (ṢAAS) leave a will?' 'No,' he replied. I asked, 'Why was it, then, recorded that the people should make wills or that they were ordered to do so?' He replied, 'He bequeathed the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'"

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and all the orthodox scholars, except Abū Dā'ūd, narrated this, from several lines of transmission, from Mālik b. Miʿwal. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*; we know of it only from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik b. Mighwal."

NOTICE.

Many *aḥādīth* exist that we will give shortly after this section, relating to dwellings, apartments for his wives, slaves both female and male, horses, camels, weapons, a mule, a donkey, clothes, furnishings, a ring and various other things owned by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during his life. We will give the evidences and lines of transmission for the statements relating to all this.

Perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave many of these away as gifts to charity during his life; and he manumitted his slaves, both male and female. He also set aside some of his belongings, along with the two tracts of land of Banū al-Naḍīr, and that at Khaybar and Fadak to which God entrusted him, for the benefit of the Muslims.

We will explain all this, if God so wills it. However, he did not leave any of that to be inherited absolutely from himself, as we will show shortly. And God's help is to be sought.

Chapter: Evidence to the Prophet (ṢAAS) having said, 'We will not leave (property for) inheritance'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra to whom this evidence came. He once said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'My heirs will not inherit a *dīnār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity."

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from various sources from Mālik b. Anas, from Abū al-Zinād ʿAbd Allāh b. Dhakwān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My heirs will not inherit a *dinār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity."

This is the text of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who stated that, following the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), his wives wished to send ʿUthmān to Abū Bakr for him to ask about their inheritances. ʿĀʾisha said, "But did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) not say, 'We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity'?"

Muslim narrated it thus, from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. Abū Dā'ūd gave it from al-Qaʿnabī, al-Nasāʾī from Qutayba. All of them quoted it from Mālik.

This comment was from one of the inheriting wives – if inheritance had been decreed – who acknowledged that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established his estate for charity, not inheritance. It is clear that the remainder of "the mothers of the Believers" agreed with what she narrated and remembered what had been said to them in that regard. Her expression shows that this was a matter well established among them. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismāʿīl b. Abān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity."

Al-Bukhārī also stated, under the section entitled, *The statements made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)* as follows, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Hishām, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, that Fāṭima and al-ʿAbbās went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to receive their inheritance from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They were, at that time, seeking his land at Fadak and his share of Khaybar. Abū Bakr told them, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity. However, Muḥammad's family may feed themselves from this property."'

"Abū Bakr went on, 'I swear by God, I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing.'

"Fāṭima then left him and did not speak to him again from then to her death."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar.

Aḥmad then narrated it from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, that following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr for her inheritance from what he had left that God had provided him. Abū Bakr told her, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.'" Fāṭima grew angry and left Abū Bakr; she continued avoiding him up to her death.

Aḥmad stated, "Fāṭima lived on for six months following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." And he proceeded to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated it thus. Al-Bukhārī narrated this *ḥadīth* in his work *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* within his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Ibn Bukayr, from al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, as is given above. And he added, "When she died, ʿAlī buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr; he did pray over her."

(ʿĀʾisha stated,) "During the life of Fāṭima, ʿAlī had great prestige among the people. When Fāṭima died, he lost this special position and set about making peace with Abū Bakr and pledging allegiance to him. He had not pledged allegiance for those months. So he sent a message to Abū Bakr, saying, 'Come to us, but don't bring anyone else.' He did not want ʿUmar to come because of what he knew of ʿUmar's severity. ʿUmar said, (to Abū Bakr), 'Don't go in to them alone, by God!' Abū Bakr replied, 'What could they do to me? I shall go to them, by God!'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then set off. ʿAlī spoke the *shahāda* and went on, 'We well know your virtue and what God has awarded you. We'll not envy you for the good to which God has led you. But you monopolized power, to which we thought, because of our close relationship to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we had a right to share.' ʿAlī went on talking until Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, wept. The latter then said, 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, I would prefer to do good to relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), than to my own! Regarding the question of the properties that inspired antagonism between us, I am not inclining in this away from what is right; I would never omit doing anything that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had himself done.'

"When Abū Bakr had finished performing the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, he mounted the *minbar* and spoke the *shahāda*. He then made reference to ʿAlī's having been late in pledging allegiance to him and the excuses he had made that had been accepted. ʿAli, may God be pleased with him, then spoke the *shahāda* and emphasized Abū Bakr's right and went on to refer to his virtue and precedence. He stated that his actions had not been influenced by any jealousy towards Abū Bakr. He then went up to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and expressed his allegiance to him. The people gathered around ʿAlī saying, 'You have done well!' ʿAlī became very popular when he rejoined the common cause."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, and al-Nasāʾī, from several lines of transmission, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha in similar form.

This pledge of allegiance made by ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, came after the death of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her. It affirmed the peace between them. It was subsequent to that pledge to which we referred first on that day in the hall, as was narrated by Ibn Khuzayma and declared authentic by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. ʿAlī had not been avoiding Abū Bakr for these six months, but had been performing the prayer behind him and attending *al-mashwara*, "the consultative assemblies", with him. He had also accompanied him to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated that Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer some nights following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, leaving the mosque, found al-Ḥasan, ʿAlī's son, playing with the other boys. He carried him on his back and began chanting,

"Oh, by my father, the image of the Prophet, but not the image of ʿAlī!"

ʿAlī was laughing. However, when this second pledge of allegiance took place, some narrators believed that ʿAlī had not spoken a pledge before that, and denied that he had done so. But what is positively affirmed takes precedence over what is negative, as we have shown and stated above. But God knows best.

As for the anger being expressed by Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure, against Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, I cannot account for it.

If it was due to his refusal to award her the inheritance for which she asked him, he had given her a reason that had to be accepted. This was his reference to the statement by her father, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity." She was one of those who submitted to the text of the law-giver that had been unknown to her before she asked about inheritance, just as it was unknown to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until ʿĀʾisha informed them all of it; and they accepted it.

It should not be thought of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, that she was making some accusation to (Abū Bakr) "the trusting", may God be pleased with him, for what he had told her – heaven forbid that, both for her and for him! How could this be, since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Abū Hurayra and ʿĀʾisha had all agreed with him in his narration of this *ḥadīth*, as we will shortly demonstrate. And even if it had been an account narrated solely by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, it would still have been incumbent upon the whole world to accept it, and to yield to him in the matter.

If her anger related to what she had asked Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, these lands were a public charity, not an inheritance that her husband should supervise. His reason amounted to his assertion that, because he was the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he considered it his duty to do as the former had done, and to rule as he had. The *ḥadīth* quotes him as saying, "I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing." And it goes on, "Fāṭima then avoided him and did not speak to him again from then to her death."

This circumstance and her estrangement from him opened a broad field for the "rejectionist faction" and extensive foolishness, because of which they intruded themselves where they had no business.

Had they properly understood, they would have credited Abū Bakr with his virtue and accepted the reason he gave as it should be by everyone.

However, they are a forsaken faction, a contemptible group, people who stubbornly maintain the dubious, while ignoring what is accepted as definite and incontrovertible by the great *imāms* of Islam, the Companions and their immediate successors, and the well-respected scholars who followed them throughout the ages and everywhere – may God be pleased with them all and give them pleasure!

DISCUSSION OF THE NARRATION FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES CONCERNING THE STATEMENT MADE BY ABŪ BAKR AND THEIR AGREEMENT UPON THIS.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr narrated to him, quoting al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān informed me" – and Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mutʿim also narrated part of this *ḥadīth*, saying that he went in to him, (Mālik) and asked him and that he replied to him as follows – "'I had gone in to see ʿUmar, when his doorkeeper, Yarfaʾ came and asked him, 'Would you like to see ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Zubayr and Saʿd?" He replied, "Yes, let them come in." Yarfaʾ then asked, "And ʿAlī and ʿAbbās too?" "Yes," he replied.'

"'ʿAbbās asked, 'Commander of the Believers, give judgement between myself and this man (ʿAlī).' ʿUmar replied, 'I charge you by God through whose permission the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity", and that by this he (the Prophet) was referring to himself?' The group agreed that he had indeed said that. ʿUmar then approached ʿAlī and ʿAbbās and said, 'Do you both know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that?' They replied, 'Yes, he did say that.'"

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went on, "I will talk to you about this matter. God chose His Messenger for this *faʾ*,[163] 'booty', as something he had not given to anyone else. As God stated, 'What God had awarded as *faʾ* for His messenger . . . has power over all things' (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.6).

"That property was therefore specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He did not, however, I swear by God, keep it for himself or withhold it from you, but gave out its income which he distributed to you so that the present property remained. And from it he would provide the yearly expenses for his family, treating whatever remained as God's property. He acted in this way throughout his life. I adjure you by God, do you know that?' 'Yes,' they replied. ʿUmar then asked ʿAlī and ʿAbbās, 'I adjure you by God, do you two men know that?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"ʿUmar went on, 'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'I am the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he took that property and managed it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then Abū Bakr died and I said, 'Now I am the successor of the successor to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And I took that property for two years, managing it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then you both came to me, each saying the same thing and making the same case. Eventually you (ʿAbbās) came to me asking me for your share from the property of your nephew (the Prophet (ṢAAS)). After that, this man (ʿAlī) came requesting the share of his wife from her father. I told you both, 'If you wish, I will give it to you to be managed in the same way.' Are you now seeking from me a different judgement? By God by whose permission the heavens and earth exist, I'll never give you any decision that is different, not even till Judgement Day! If you are incapable of managing it, then return it to me, and I'll take care of it for you!'"

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[163] Goods or property won at war by Muslims but without fighting actually having occurred.

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim and the other orthodox scholars gave it from various lines, from al-Zuhrī.

In one narrative in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, ʿUmar is quoted as saying, "Then Abū Bakr became in charge of it, and managed it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. And God knows that he was truthful, pious, rightly guided, and always in pursuit of the truth. Then I took control of it and managed it as had both the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr. And God knows that I too am truthful, pious, rightly guided and always in pursuit of the truth. Then you both came to me and I gave it over to your control, to manage it as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and I. I adjure you by God, did I not pass it to you to do likewise?' 'Yes,' they said. ʿUmar then said to them, 'I adjure you two men by God, did I not pass it to you both to do likewise?' 'Yes,' they said. ʿUmar went on, 'Do you (now) seek from me some different decision? No, by Him whose permission the heavens and the earth exist!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān narrated to him, from ʿAmr, from al-Zuhrī, from Mālik b. Aws, who said, "I heard ʿUmar say to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Saʿd, 'I implore you by God by whose order the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Our property will not be inherited; we have left it as charity"?' "Yes," they said.'"

This *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

I note that what the two men asked him – though God knows best – was that, following the award of authority to them, the income would be divided between them so that they would receive what would have been their right if it had been decreed that each be an actual heir to the land.

They apparently sent ahead of themselves a group of the Companions, including ʿUthmān, Ibn ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Saʿd. They had developed a serious rivalry because the management authority had been divided between them. The Companions who had gone on ahead asked ʿUmar, "Commander of the Believers, decide between them both. Or relieve one of the other."

It seems that ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, was reluctant to divide authority between them as if dividing a heritage, even if doing so only in appearance, since he wished to act in accord with the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.' He therefore resisted them all and gave them an outright refusal, may God be pleased with him.

ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās continued thereafter to manage the property jointly up to the time of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Then ʿAlī gained the advantage to it and al-ʿAbbās gave it up to him, with the assent of his son ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with them both, in the presence of ʿUthmān. Aḥmad narrated to this effect in his *musnad* collection. It has continued to be controlled by the ʿAlawī[164] community.

I have closely examined the lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* and its phraseology in both *musnad* collections of *aḥādīth* of the *shaikhān*, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both. For each one I have assembled a large volume of narrations they made relating to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and their views on what constitutes proper and useful law. I have arranged this material under legal headings currently used today.

I have narrated that Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, initially argued using analogy and general reference to verses in the Holy Qurʾān. Abū Bakr responded to her by quoting the texts restricting the rights of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and she accepted his words. This is what is attributed to her, may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān narrated to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, that Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr, "Who would inherit for you if you died?" "My son and my family," he replied. She asked, "Then why can we not inherit from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance.' However, I myself provide for those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) provided and give money to those to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it in his collection, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayālisī, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. Al-Tirmidhī gave it with a full line of transmission and categorized it as being *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*.

There is also the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from al-Walīd b. Jumayʿ, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Fāṭima sent the following message to Abū Bakr: 'Is it you who inherited from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or his family!' He replied, 'Not me, his family.' She then asked, 'So where is the share of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' Abū Bakr replied, 'I heard him say, "If God gives provision to a prophet then takes him away, He leaves that provision to whomever succeeds him." So I thought I should return it to the Muslims.' She responded, 'Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl.

This *ḥadīth* is somewhat strange and objectionable. It may have been narrated in the sense that some sources understood it. These include some who love Shīʿī tendencies; this should be known.

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[164] The descendants of ʿAlī, that is.

The best aspect of this *ḥadīth* is her having said, "Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." This is correct and what is to be expected of her, appropriate to her situation, her leadership role, her knowledge and her faith. May God be pleased with her!

It seems that it was after this that she asked him to appoint her husband manager of this charitable property, but he did not agree to that, as we have shown. And because of that she scolded him. She was a woman like all Adam's daughters, becoming upset as they all do; she is certainly not infallible, in light of the existence of a text from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and her opposition to Abū Bakr, "the trusting"; may God be pleased with her!

And we have narrated of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, that he did reconcile with Fāṭima and treated her kindly before her death, and this pleased her, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, quoting ʿAbdān b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAtkī, of Nishapur, quoting Abū Jamra, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Shaʿbī, who said, "When Fāṭima fell ill, Abū Bakr went and asked permission to visit with her. ʿAlī said, 'Fāṭima, this is Abū Bakr. May he visit with you?' She asked, 'Do you wish me to give him permission?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"She permitted him to enter and he did so, in order to cheer her. He said, 'I swear by God, I have never left home, property, family and tribe unless to please God, His Messenger and all of you, his family!' He then reconciled with her so that she was content."

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong. It is clear that ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī heard it from ʿAlī, or from someone who heard it directly from him.

The scholars who belong to the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS) acknowledge the soundness of Abū Bakr's decision in this matter.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Naṣr b. ʿAlī, quoting Ibn Dā'ūd, from Fuḍayl b. Marzūq, who said, "Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'For my part, if I had been in Abū Bakr's place, I would have reached the same decision he reached over (the property at) Fadak.'"

DIVISION

The *al-rāfiḍūna*, "the rejectionists", have spoken foolishly in this regard, pretending knowledge they did not actually have. They lied about what they had no knowledge and were unable to interpret. They intruded themselves into issues not of their concern.

Some of them have tried to refute Abū Bakr's reported statement to which we have referred above by maintaining that it is contrary to the Qurʾān in which

God Almighty stated, “and Solomon was heir to David” (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, 16), and also to where the Almighty quotes Zakariyya by saying, “so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)” (*sūrat Maryam* (*Mary*); XIX, v.5, 6).

Their quoting this as evidence is foolish from several viewpoints.

One is that in His words, “Solomon was heir to David” He was referring only to power and to prophethood, saying, in effect, “We have made him his successor in his exercise of power, management over his subjects and rule among the Israelites; We have made him a noble prophet like his father. Just as We combined kingship and prophethood in his father, so did we in his son after him.”

This does not mean in inheritance of wealth. For, as is stated by many commentators, David had very many sons, said to number 100. And why, then, should the reference have been made to only Solomon of all these, if what was meant was inheritance of property? What was meant by inheritance was Solomon’s assumption of the prophethood and power after David. This is why He stated, “and Solomon was heir to David”. And He quoted Solomon as saying, “O my people! We have been taught the speech of birds, and we have been given (knowledge) of everything. This is assuredly manifest grace” (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, v.16).

We have covered this issue fully and sufficiently in our work, *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And all praise and credit belong to God.

Regarding the story of Zakariyya, he was, may peace be upon him, one of the noble company of prophets. He considered this world of too little consequence for him to ask God for a son to inherit his property; why should he, indeed, when he was, as al-Bukhārī tells us, merely a carpenter, living off his earnings? Providing merely for his own sustenance, he had no savings to bequeath, for which to need to ask God for an heir. And even if he had had property, what he did ask for was actually a righteous son to inherit prophethood from him and to work for the benefit of Banū Isrāʾīl and to lead them to righteousness. The Almighty therefore said, “*Kāf hā yā ʿayn ṣād.*[165] Mention of the mercy of Your Lord to His worshipper Zakariyya, when he called out to his Lord in a low voice, saying, ‘O God, my bones are become weak, and my head shines with greyness! And, O Lord, I have never been tiresome in praying to You. I fear those who will come after my time. My wife has been barren, and so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)’” (*sūrat Maryam* (*Mary*); XIX, v.1–6). The words were, “my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny”. By this he meant the prophethood, as we have affirmed in our work, *al-Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and to God be all praise and credit.

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[165] A number of the *sūrat*, “chapters”, of the Qurʾān, as here, are prefixed by letters that offer themselves to various interpretations. These are discussed in the standard works of exegesis to which the interested reader may make reference.

It is given hereabove in the account of Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, from Abū Bakr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Prophets do not leave (property) for inheritance." This is a comprehensive, all-inclusive reference encompassing all prophets. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*. And in another *ḥadīth* he is quoted as saying, "We prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance."

Secondly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was singled out from all the prophets with ordinances in which others do not participate with him; we will give a separate chapter on this at the end of this biography, if God so wills it. If it is supposed that prophets other than himself might leave property in inheritance – and that is not the case – then that would have been narrated in the information we have given from the Companions, including the "four *imāms*", Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, and this would have made clear his having been singled out from the others by this ordinance.[166]

Thirdly, it is necessary to operate in accord with this *ḥadīth* and to reach judgement on its basis as the caliphs did, its veracity having been recognized by the scholars, whether or not they regarded this as a unique feature of (the Prophet). He did, indeed, state, "We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity."

It is possible, therefore, from the phrase used, that the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "What we leave will be for charity", represent information about his decision or that of the rest of the prophets, along with himself, in accord with the above; this seems apparent. It is also possible that the words constitute a testamentary statement, suggesting that he meant, "We will not leave (property for) inheritance, since all that we have left is for charity", his specific purpose being to affirm the validity of all his property being considered to be for charity.

The first of these possibilities is preferable and is that accepted by the majority. The second might be considered strengthened by what is given above in the *ḥadīth* of Mālik and others, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My heirs will not inherit a *dīnār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees is to be treated as a charity."

This wording is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. It refutes the distortions spoken by that foolish faction of the *shīʿa* who read the phrase as, "What we leave is (to be considered) as an inheritance", considering the negative particle *mā* as a "*mā*, 'denying categorization'".[167] Yet how would this work with the first part of the *ḥadīth*, in which he stated, *lā nūrathu*, "we will not be inherited from".[168] and also this other *ḥadīth* saying, *mā taraktu baʿda nafaqati nisāʾī*.[169]

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[166] That is, that he not leave property in inheritance.

[167] A grammatical term; thus it would render the statement all-inclusive, meaning "whatever", instead of "not".

[168] Translated above as: "our property is not to be inherited".

[169] Translated above as: "whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives . . ."

And is this anything but similar to what is related of a certain *muʾtazilī*[170] who recited to an orthodox sheikh the words, "And God spoke to Moses, using words" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.164), with the word Allāh in the accusative case. To which the *sheikh* commented, "Confound you! How will you, in keeping with the above reading, be able to distort the following words of the Almighty, 'And when Moses came at our appointed time and his Lord spoke to him.'" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*; VII, v.143).

The outcome is that application must be given to the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we will leave will be for charity", to the full extent that phraseology and meaning allow. It is a statement that makes specific the general tenor of the verse relating to inheritance and excludes the Prophet (ṢAAS), either alone or along with his brother prophets, may God's peace and blessings be upon them all.

Chapter: An Account of the wives and children, may God be pleased with them all, of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

God Almighty stated, "Wives of the Prophet, you are not like any other women, provided you remain conscious of God. Hence be not alluring in your speech, lest those men with sickness in their hearts be attracted. Speak with politeness. Remain in your homes and do not display yourselves as women did in the days of ignorance. Perform the prayers, pay the alms and obey God and His Messenger. God wishes only to preseve you from what is vile, you family members of the household, and to keep you thoroughly pure. And remember those verses and the wisdom from God that are revealed in your homes. God is kind and knowledgeable" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.32–4).

There is no dispute over the fact that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, he left nine widows. These were ʿĀʾisha al-Taymiyya, daughter of Abū Bakr, "the trusting"; Ḥafṣa al-ʿAdawiyya, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Umm Ḥabība Ramla al-Umawiyya, daughter of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya; Zaynab al-Asadiyya, daughter of Jaḥsh; Umm Salama Hind al-Makhzūmiyya, daughter of Abū Umayya; Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith; Sawda al-ʿĀmiriyya, daughter of Zamʿa; Juwayriyya al-Muṣṭaliqiyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār; and Ṣafiyya al-Naḍariyya al-Isrāʾīliyya al-Hārūniyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. May God be pleased with them and give them pleasure.

He also had two wives donated to him. The first of these were Māriyya al-Qubṭiyya al-Miṣriyya, from Kawrat Anṣināʾ, who was the mother of his son

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[170] The *muʾtazila* movement seems to have initially encompassed those who *ʿazalū*, "remained neutral or uncommitted", in the dispute over the succession in AH 35 of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. Later the word became applied to a theological movement centred in Basra that differed essentially with the *sunnī* orthodox community over the specifics of sin and disbelief. See article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace. The second was Rayḥāna al-Quraẓiyya, daughter of Sham'ūn; she accepted Islam and he manumitted her. She then rejoined her family. Some claim that she remained in seclusion among them. But God knows best.

We will proceed to give detailed information on them, drawing upon statements made by the *imāms*, may God have mercy upon them.

The great *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated, through Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married fifteen women. He consummated marriage with thirteen of these and eleven lived with him. He died leaving nine widows."

He went on to name those nine, as we have done; may God be pleased with them all.

Sayf b. 'Umar narrated this from Sa'īd, from Qatāda, from Anas. Buḥayr b. Kathīr narrated it from Qatāda from Anas. The first line is more (likely to be) authentic. Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī narrated it from Sa'īd, from Qatāda, from Anas, as also did Ibn 'Abbās.

Sayf narrated it similarly from Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh , from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Mulayka, from 'Ā'isha who said, "The two women with whom he did not consummate his marriage were 'Amra, daughter of Yazīd al-Ghifāriyya and al-Shanbā'. He was alone with 'Amra, but when he undressed her he saw leprosy on her. He therefore sent her away, providing her with a dowry and she was prohibited from contact with other men. Al-Shanbā', when brought in to him, was not receptive and he left her, waiting for her to become so. However, when his son Ibrāhīm died shortly thereafter, she commented, 'If he were a prophet, his son would not have died!' And so he divorced her, provided a dowry for her and she was prohibited from other men."

'Ā'isha went on, "The women who were in his household were: 'Ā'isha; Sawda; Ḥafṣa; Umm Salama; Umm Ḥabība; Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh; Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma; Juwayriyya; Ṣafiyya; Maymūna and Umm Sharīk."

I note that in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is stated from Anas that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go to his wives in sequence and that they totalled eleven wives.

It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not consummate his marriage to Umm Sharīk, as will be explained. The mention above of him attending his wives in sequence and their being eleven women in number was the total of the nine women named above and the two women gifted to him, Māriyya and Rayḥāna.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī narrated this from al-Ḥajjāj b. Abū Manī', from his grandfather 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād al-Raṣāfī, from al-Zuhrī.

Al-Bukhārī gave it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection with a full line of transmission from this same al-Ḥajjāj.

The *ḥāfiẓ* b. ʿAsākir gave this in part, also attributing it to him, to the effect that the first wife the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), married was Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, and that she was married to him by her father prior to his having received his prophetic mission.

In one account, al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 21 years of age when he married Khadīja; it is also said that he was 25 and that the marriage took place around the time that the *kaʿba* was being reconstructed."

Al-Wāqidī added to this, "And she was 45 years old."

Other scholars state that his age at that time was 30. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām is quoted as having said, "The age of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 25 years of age the day he married Khadīja, and she was 40."

Ibn ʿAbbās is quoted as having said that she was 28 years old. Ibn ʿAsākir gives both these accounts.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "(At that time) the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 37 years old. To him were born al-Qāsim, by whose name he was commonly known, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima."

I note that she was the mother of all his children, except for Ibrāhīm, who was born to Māriyya, as will be explained hereafter.

Ibn Jarīr went on to speak about each of the daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and those who married them. His conclusion was that Zaynab was married by al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, who was Khadīja's nephew. His mother was Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid. To him she bore a son named ʿAlī and a daughter named Umāma. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib married her following the death of Fāṭima. He died while still married to her. After his death, she married al-Mughīra b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

(Ibn Jarīr went on) "Ruqayya was married to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. She bore him a son, ʿAbd Allāh; ʿUthmān was first known by this son's name and later by his son ʿAmr. Ruqayya died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at the battle of Badr. When Zayd b. Ḥāritha returned with the news (of the victory) he found them levelling the earth over her grave. ʿUthmān had remained with her, nursing her, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded him his payment and share of the booty. He then married ʿUthmān to his other daughter Umm Kulthūm. This is why ʿUthmān is known as 'he who possessed the two lights'. She died, also while living with ʿUthmān, during the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Fāṭima was married by her cousin ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He consummated his marriage to her following the battle of Badr, as we recounted above. She bore him Ḥasan, by whom he was known, and Ḥusayn who was martyred in ʿIrāq."

I note that he was also named "Muḥsin".

(Ibn Jarīr went on) "Then there were Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm. This Zaynab was married by her cousin, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. She bore him ʿAlī and

ʿAwn and died while living with ʿAbd Allāh. Umm Kulthūm was married by the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She bore him Zayd; ʿUmar died while still married to her. After him she married the sons of her uncle Jaʿfar, one after the other. First she married ʿAwn b. Jaʿfar, and he died. His brother Muḥammad then married her and he too died. Then the brother of both these men, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, married her, and she died while still married to him."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, had been married prior to her marriage to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to two men. The first of these was ʿAtīq b. ʿĀʾidh b. Makhzūm. To him she bore Jariyya, the mother of Muḥammad b. Sayfī. The second was Abū Hāla al-Taymī; to him she bore Hind b. Hind."

Ibn Isḥāq gave his name and went on, "After the death of ʿĀʾidh Abū Hāla, she married al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra, a man of Banū ʿAmr b. Tamīm, an ally of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. To him she bore one boy and one girl, and he died. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married her, and to him she bore his four daughters and after them his sons al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir. All the boys died while still suckling."

I note that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not marry another woman while she was still alive.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it thus from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, as above.

We have referred above in the appropriate place to her marriage, and have also made reference to her virtues, with the evidences thereto.

Al-Zuhrī went on, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after Khadīja, married ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Quḥāfan ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna; she was the only virgin he ever married."

I note that she bore him no children. It is said, however, that she miscarried a child of his whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had named ʿAbd Allāh. And she was therefore named Umm ʿAbd Allāh. Others say, however, that she bore this name after the son of her sister Asmāʾ, his father being al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, may God be pleased with them all.

I also note that it is also said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Sawda prior to ʿĀʾisha; Ibn Isḥāq and others stated this. We have mentioned above the dispute over this. God knows best.

I have described the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to both these women prior to the Hijra, and how he postponed the consummation of his marriage to ʿĀʾisha until after the Hijra.

(Al-Zuhrī went on) "And he married Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She had previously been the wife of Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Ḥudhāfa b. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Huṣayṣ b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy. He died, a Muslim, while still married to her.

"Then he married Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Makhzūm. She had previously been the wife of her cousin Abū Salama ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Makhzūm.

"After that he married Sawda, daughter of Zam‘a b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu᾿ayy. She had previously been married to al-Sakrān b. ‘Amr, the brother of Suhayl b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Shams. He died as a Muslim while married to her after his and her return to Mecca from Abyssinia; may God be pleased with them both.

"He next married Umm Ḥabība Ramla, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣay. She had previously been married to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri᾿āb of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. He died a Christian in Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī in Abyssinia to arrange his betrothal to her. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān conducted his marriage to her."

I note that this is what he stated; however, the correct name here should be ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ. The Negus awarded her a dowry on his behalf of 400 *dīnārs* and dispatched her with Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana. We have narrated all this at length above – and to God be praise.

Al-Zuhrī went on, "Then he married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh b. Ri᾿āb b. Arad b. Khuzayma. Her mother was Umayma, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Zaynab had previously been the wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was the first of his wives to have joined him (after her death) and the first to have a grave monument constructed over her. Asmā᾿, daughter of ‘Umays, made this over her, having seen this done in Abyssinia.

"He next married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma. She was of Banū ‘Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. She was known as *umm al-masākīn*, 'the mother of the unfortunate', and had previously been the wife of ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri᾿āb, who was killed at the battle of Uḥud. She lived only a short time with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Yūnus quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as having stated, "Prior to this she had also been married to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf, or to his brother al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith."

Al-Zuhrī went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, son of Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ru᾿aba b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Hilāl b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. And it was she who offered herself in marriage."

I note that in fact he did ask for her in marriage. The matchmaker between them was Abū Rāfi‘, his freed-man, as we have narrated above in the section of the *‘umrat al-qaḍā᾿*.

In his account, Sayf b. ‘Umar stated that she had been the wife of ‘Umayr b. ‘Amr, a son of ‘Aqda b. Thaqīf b. ‘Amr al-Thaqafī. He died while still married to her. She then married Abū Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abū Qays b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.

Sayf went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa at the battle of al-Muraysīʿ. He freed her, then married her. It is also said that her father al-Ḥārith, the leader of Khuzāʿa, came forward and accepted Islam and then married her to him. She had previously been married to her cousin Ṣafwān b. Abū Shufr."

Qatāda quoted from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-Shaʿbī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and others as having stated, "This clan of Khuzāʿa had been allies of Abū Sufyān against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is why Ḥassān (b. Thābit) spoke the verse,

'The alliance of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār and that of
Qurayẓa among you are the same.'"

In his account from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, Sayf b. ʿUmar stated that Ibn Abū Mulayka quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "Juwayriyya had been married to her cousin Mālik b. Ṣafwān b. Tawlab Dhū al-Shufr b. Abū al-Sarḥ b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq."

Sayf went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also took captive Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, of Banū al-Naḍīr, at Khaybar. She was then the bride of Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq."

In his account, Sayf b. ʿUmar maintained that prior to her marriage to Kināna she had been the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam. But God knows best.

Sayf concluded, "These, then, are the 11 women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated marriage."

During his caliphate, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb awarded 12,000 (*dirhams*) to each of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he gave 6,000 to Juwayriyya and Ṣafiyya since they had been taken captive.

Al-Zuhrī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had kept both these women in seclusion and had provided for them."

I note that we have commented extensively above, in the appropriate places, on his marriages to each of these women, may God be pleased with them.

Al-Zuhrī stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also married al-ʿĀliya, daughter of Ẓabyān b. ʿAmr, of Banū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that he consummated this marriage and divorced her.

Al-Bayhaqī commented, "It is thus stated in my book. And also, in an account from someone else, it is said that he did not consummate marriage with her but did divorce her."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī as having stated, "A man of Banū Bakr b. Kilāb related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married al-ʿĀliya, daughter of Ẓabyān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb

b. ῾Abd b. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that she lived with him for a period and he then divorced her."

Ya῾qūb b. Sufyān narrated from Ḥajjāj b. Abū Munī῾, from his grandfather, from al-Zuhrī, from ῾Urwa, who quoted ῾Ā᾽isha as having said, "It was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī who pointed her out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I was listening from behind the screen. He said, 'Messenger of God, do you find Umm Shabīb's sister attractive?' Umm Shabīb was the wife of al-Daḥḥāk."

Al-Zuhrī stated on this subject, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage to a woman of Banū ῾Amr b. Kilāb. Then he was told that she had leprosy and he divorced her without having consummated the marriage."

I comment that it is evident that this refers to the woman[171] previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Al-Zuhrī went on, "He also married a woman of Banū al-Jawn al-Kindī, allies of Banū Fazzāra. But she took refuge from him and he told her, 'You've indeed sought refuge with Someone mighty! Rejoin your family.' He divorced her without having consummated the marriage.

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also had in his household a bond-maid called Māriyya. A son was born to her named Ibrāhīm. He died when several months old.[172] There was also a slave-born female named Rayḥāna, daughter of Sham῾ūn, a Jew from Banū Khanāfa, a clan of Banū Qurayẓa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted her. They say that she remained in seclusion thereafter."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ῾Asākir narrated, giving a line of transmission from ῾Alī b. Mujāhid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Khawlā, daughter of al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrat al-Taghlibī, whose mother was Kharnaq, daughter of Khalīfa, daughter of Diḥya b. Khalīfa. She was carried to him from Syria, and she died on the way.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Asmā᾽, daughter of Ka῾b al-Jawniyya, but he had not consummated the marriage with her by the time he divorced her. He also married ῾Amra, daugher of Zayd, a woman of Banū Kilāb, from the sub-tribe of Banū al-Waḥīd. She had previously been married to al-Faḍl b. ῾Abbās b. ῾Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) divorced her without having consummated marriage with her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "These were the two women referred to by al-Zuhrī, though he did not name them. However, Ibn Isḥāq did not mention al-῾Āliya."

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ῾Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Zakariyyā᾽ b. Abū Zā᾽ida, from al-Sha῾bī, who said, "Various women gave themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He consummated with some of these and with others he delayed, not approaching them before his death. They did not marry after him. These included Umm Sharīk. This relates to the words of the Almighty, 'You may postpone whomever of them you wish, and you may take to yourself whomever you wish. (Should) you desire those you previously set aside, then no blame is yours'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.51).

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[171] ῾Amra, daughter of Yazīd al-Ghifāriyya, that is.

[172] The translation is tentative. The Arabic is, *wa qad mala᾽a al-mahda*, "after he had filled the cradle".

Al-Bayhaqī stated that it was narrated to him from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, who quoted his father as having said, "Khawlā" – al-Ḥakīm's daughter, that is – "was one of those women who gave themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that it was narrated to him from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Rashīd al-Saʿidī that the name of the woman of Banū al-Jawn who had sought refuge and whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back to her family was Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥīl.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, quoting his father and from ʿAbbās b. Sahl, quoting his father, both of whom stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS), accompanied by some of his Companions, passed by us, so we went off with him. We reached a garden called al-Shawṭ and proceeded in it until we came to two walls. We sat between them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having told us to do so. He then went on inside; the woman of Banū al-Jawn, accompanied by her maid, had been brought to him (there) and left alone in a house belonging to Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāhīl. When he went in to the woman of Banū al-Jawn, he said to her, 'Give yourself to me!' But she answered, 'Should a queen give herself to a common person! I seek refuge with God from You!' He replied, 'You have gained refuge with Him who awards it!'

"He then came out to us and said, 'Abu Usayd, present two coats of armour to her and take her back to her family.'"

Someone other that Abū Aḥmad (sic) gave the wording as, "a woman of Banū al-Jawn named Umayma".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, from Abū Usayd, who said, "We went out in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and proceeded to a garden called al-Shawṭ. In it we reached two walls, between which we sat down; he had told us, 'Sit down here.' He then went on inside. The woman of Banū al-Jawn, accompanied by her nurse-maid, had been brought out to him (there) and had been given accommodations in a house belonging to Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥīl. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to her, he asked her, 'Give yourself to me!' She replied, 'Should a queen give herself to a common person!' He brought down his hand upon her so that she would be pacified. She then said, 'I seek refuge in God from you!' He replied, 'You have gained refuge with Him who awards it!'

"He then came out to us and said, 'Abū Usayd, present two white lined dresses to her and take her back to her family.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd said, quoting ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasīl, from ῾Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa῾d, from his father and from Abū Usayd, both of whom stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with Umayma, daughter of Sharāḥīl. When he went in to her, he stretched out his hand towards her, and she seems to have disliked that. He then told Abū Usayd to give her a trousseau and two white linen dresses."

Al-Bukhārī then gave this *ḥadīth* from ῾Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Wazīr, quoting ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamza, from his father and from ῾Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa῾d, from his father.

Al-Bukhārī is the only author of compilations of the *aḥādīth* who gives these narratives.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting al-Walīd, quoting al-Awzā῾ī, who said he asked al-Zuhrī, "Which one of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) sought refuge (with God) from him?" He replied, "῾Urwa quoted to me ῾Ā᾽isha as having said that when the daughter of al-Jawn went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she said, 'I seek refuge with God from you!' And he replied, 'You have gained refuge with the Great One. Go and join your family.'"

Abū ῾Abd Allāh went on to say that al-Ḥajjāj b. Abū Manī῾ narrated it from his grandfather, from al-Zuhrī, who said that ῾Urwa quoted ῾Ā᾽isha as having said the same.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this narrative; Muslim does not.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "I saw in the book *al-Ma῾rifa* of Ibn Manda that the name of the woman who sought refuge from him with God was Umayma, daughter of al-Nu῾mān b. Sharāḥīl. Her name is also given as Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Her true name was Umayma. But God knows best."

They claim, moreover, that the name of the woman of Banū Kalb was ῾Amra, and that she was described by her father as never becoming sick. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found her distasteful.

Muḥammad b. Sa῾d narrated from Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh, from al-Zuhrī, who said, "It was Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān, who sought refuge with God from him, and so he divorced her. She would collect animal droppings and say, 'How unfortunate I am!' He had contracted marriage with her in Dhū al-Qa῾da of 8 AH. She died in 60 AH."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as having said that among the women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted but did not consummate marriage were Asmā᾽ al-Jawniyya, daughter of Ka῾b, and ῾Amra, daughter of Yazīd al-Kilābiyya. Ibn ῾Abbās and Qatāda gave the name as Asmā᾽, daughter of al-Nu῾mān b. Abū al-Jawn. But God knows best.

Ibn ῾Abbās stated that when the woman sought refuge from him with God, he came out angry. Al-Ash῾ath told him, "Don't let that bother you, Messenger of

God. I have someone more beautiful for you." And he arranged his marriage with his own sister, Qatīla.

Others say that this incident occurred in the spring of 9 AH.

Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba quoted Qatāda as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married 15 women; he included Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya al-Najjāriyya among these.

He (Qatāda) also said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I like to marry *anṣār* women, but I hate their jealousy.'[173] And he did not consummate marriage with her."

He went on, "He also married Asmāʾ, daughter of al-Ṣalt, of Banū Ḥarām, of the clan of Banū Salīm, but he did not consummate with her. And he also became engaged to Ḥamza al-Mazaniyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith."

Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Naysābūrī stated, "Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with 18 women.'

"Among these he mentioned Qatīla, daughter of Qays, sister of al-Ashʿath b. Qays. Some claim that he married her two months prior to his death. Others maintain that he married her during his illness. But she had not come to him, nor had he seen her, nor had he consummated marriage with her."

He went on, "Others claim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) left a testamentary statement that Qatīla be given a choice. If she wished, she could go into seclusion and be forbidden access to the Muslims, and if she wished, she could marry anyone she liked. She did choose to marry , and ʿIkrama b. Abū Jahl married her in Ḥaḍramawt. News of this reached Abū Bakr and he commented, 'I'm almost grinding my teeth in anger at them both!'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'But she is not one of "the mothers of the Believers". He did not consummate marriage with her, nor was she placed in seclusion.'"

"Abū ʿUbayda stated that some people maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left no testamentary statement about her, that she apostatized after his death, and ʿUmar used her apostacy as argument against Abū Bakr by stating that she was not one of 'the mothers of the Believers'."

Ibn Manda stated that the woman who apostatized was al-Barṣāʾ, of Banū ʿAwf b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir narrated through several lines, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage to Qatīla, sister of al-Ashʿath b. Qays, but died before giving her a choice, and that God freed her from commitment to him.

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from al-Shaʿbī, that Abū Bakr wanted to behead ʿIkrama b. Abū Jahl after his marriage to Qatīla. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, persuaded him against this, saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not consummated marriage with her, that she had apostatized with her brother, and had become disassociated from both God and His Prophet. He kept insisting on this until Abū Bakr gave up the issue.

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[173] The Arabic word used is *ghayra*; this also connotes pride and high self-esteem.

Al-Ḥākim stated that Abū ʿUbayda added to the number of wives given above Fāṭima, daughter of Shurayḥ, and Sabaʾ, daughter of Asmāʾ b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamiyya.

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated it similarly through Ibn Manda, giving a line of transmission from Qatāda.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd gave it similarly from Ibn al-Kalbī. Ibn Saʿd said, "She was Sabaʾ".

Ibn ʿAsākir stated that her full name was Sabaʾ, daughter of al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥāritha b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Simāk b. ʿAwf al-Sulamī.

Ibn Saʿd stated that Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī related to him, quoting al-ʿArzamī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) included Sabaʾ, daughter of Sufyān b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb."

Ibn ʿUmar sated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abū Usayd to arrange his marriage to a woman of Banū ʿĀmir named ʿAmra, daughter of Yazīd b. ʿUbayd b. Kilāb. He did contract marriage with her but then learned that she had leprosy and he divorced her."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted al-Wāqidī as having stated that Abū Maʿshar related to him, saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Mulayka, daughter of Kaʿb. She was reputed to be exceedingly beautiful. ʿĀʾisha went in to visit her and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to be marrying the man who killed your father?' Mulayka then sought refuge with God from him and he divorced her.

"Her people then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, 'She is just young and of unsound judgement. And she has been deceived. Take her back.' But he refused. They then asked his permission for her to marry a close relative of hers of Banū ʿUdhra, and he agreed.

"Her father had been killed by Khālid b. al-Walīd at the conquest of Mecca."

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Junduʿī related to him, from his father, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yazīd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated marriage with her in Ramaḍān of 8 AH; and she died while still married to him."

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Our colleagues deny that."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir stated that Abū al-Fatḥ Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Māhānī informed him, quoting Shujāʿ b. ʿAlī b. Shujāʿ, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Marwazī, quoting Abū al-Muwajjih Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Muwajjih al-Fazzārī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Yūnus b. Yazīd, from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad in Mecca. She had previously been married to ʿAtīq b. ʿĀʾidh al-Makhzūmī. He next arranged marriage, in Mecca, to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr. Then, in Medina, he married Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar. She had previously been married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī. Next he married Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, who had previously been married to al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr, a brother of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. Then he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, who had previously been married to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, of Banū Khuzayma. He next married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, her given name being Hind. She had previously been married to Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. He then married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma al-Hilāliyya, also al-ʿĀliyya, daughter of Ẓabyān, of Banū Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Kilāb. He married a woman of Banū al-Jawn of Kinda, and received as a captive Juwayriyya, in the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ, in which Manāt were defeated. The latter was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa. He also received as a captive Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, of Banū al-Naḍīr. These two women were part of the booty God had granted him, having awarded both to him. He also received Māriyya, the Copt, as a tribute, and she bore him Ibrāhīm. He similarly received Rayḥāna of Banū Qurayẓa as a tribute; he set her free, and she rejoined her family with whom she remained in seclusion.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divorced al-ʿĀliyya, daughter of Ẓabyān. He separated from a woman of Banū ʿAmr b. Kilāb, and also from a woman of Banū al-Jawn, of Kinda, because she had leprosy. Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We have also been told that al-ʿĀliyya, daughter of Ẓubyān, whom he divorced, married again before the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had been declared (by God) to be prohibited. She married a cousin, from her own people, and had children among them."

We have given this text in full because of the strangeness of his reference to the marriage of Sawda as having been in Medina. The truth is that this took place in Mecca, before the Hijra, as we have related above. Though God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq as having stated, "Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, died three years before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the Hijra. He did not marry any other woman during her lifetime; she and Abū Ṭālib died the same year. After Khadīja, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa. After Sawda, he married ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr. ʿĀʾisha was the only virgin he married; he did not receive a child from her before he died. After ʿĀʾisha, he married Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar. Then he married Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, (known as) *umm al-masākīn*, 'the mother of the poor'. After her he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, and after her Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya. After her he married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, and after her Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār. Then, after Juwayriyya, he married Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. After Ṣafiyya he married Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith."

This sequence is preferable and more accurate than that listed by al-Zuhrī. But God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Abū Yaḥyā, from Ḥumayd b. Zayd al-Ṭā᾿ī, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arranged his marriage to a woman of Banū Ghifār. He went in to her and he told her to undress, and she did so. He then saw a white spot of leprosy at her breasts and so kept away from her. He then told her, 'Take your clothes and rejoin your family.' He paid her her dowry in full."

Abū Nu῾aym narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥumayyil b. Zayd, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, someone who had seen the Prophet (ṢAAS). He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married a woman of Banū Ghifār", and he proceeded to narrate as above.

I note that Umm Sharīk al-Azdiyya was among those women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage but did not consummate.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "It is well established that she was of Banū Daws, though some say of the *anṣār*. Others name her as of Banū ῾Āmir, and that her name was Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm al-Sulamī."

Al-Wāqidī stated that her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakīm.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq quoted Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad b. ῾Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, as having stated that his father said, "The total number of women the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married was 15. These included Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya; she gave herself to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Sa῾īd b. Abū ῾Arūba quoted Qatāda as having stated, "He married Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya of Banū al-Najjār. And he said, 'I love to marry *anṣārī* women, though I hate their *ghayra*, "jealousy".' And he did not consummate marriage with her."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, from Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad b. ῾Alī, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Laylā al-Anṣāriyya, daughter of al-Khāṭīm; she was very jealous. She feared for herself from him and asked his permission to be released. And so he did release her."

WOMEN TO WHOM THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) BECAME ENGAGED BUT DID NOT ULTIMATELY MARRY.

Ismā῾īl b. Abū Khālid stated, from al-Sha῾bī, that Umm Hānī᾿, Fākhita, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to her. She told him that she had young children and he then left her, saying, "The best women are those who ride camels and righteous women of Quraysh. They are those most kind to their children when young, and those most careful with their husband's property."

῾Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Ma῾mar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sa῾īd b. al-Musayyab, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to Umm Hānī᾿, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, and that she replied, "Messenger of God, I am too old and I have young children."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that ῾Abd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting ῾Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Isrā᾿īl, from al-Suddī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Umm Hānī᾿, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to me, but I asked to be excused and he did excuse me. God then revealed, 'We have made lawful to you your wives to whom you have given dowries, as well as those women in your power whom God has awarded you as spoils of war, along with the daughters of your paternal uncle and the daughters of your paternal aunts and the daughters of your maternal uncle and the daughters of your maternal aunts who went into exile with you' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.50). I was not made lawful for him, because I had not gone into exile; I was one of those women divorced."

Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*. We know it only from the *ḥadīth* of al-Suddī."

This (interpretation) requires that women who had not gone into exile were not permitted to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The Qāḍī al-Mawardī has absolutely refuted that view in his exegesis, according to various scholars. It is said that the phrase, "who went into exile with you" refers to those women closely related to him to whom reference was made.

Qatāda stated that this phrase means, "those who accepted Islam with you". Under this interpretation only unbelieving women would be prohibited to him while all Muslim women would have been permitted. This does not rule out (the possibility) for him to marry *anṣār* women. However, he did not in reality consummate with any single one of them.

Regarding the account given by al-Mawardī from al-Shaʿbī that Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma, "the mother of the poor", was a woman of the *anṣār*, this is not correct. She was indisputably of Banū Hilāl, as we have explained above. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated, from Hishām b. al-Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm, came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he had his back turned towards the sun and tapped him on the shoulder. He exclaimed, 'Who is that? May the Black One devour you!' She replied, 'I am the daughter of him who feeds the birds and outpaces the wind. I am Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm. I have come to you to present myself to you. Will you marry me?' 'Consider it done,' he replied. She then returned to her people and said, 'I have arranged my marriage to the Messenger of God!' People told her, 'What you did was a mistake; you are a jealous woman and the Messenger of God is already master of women who are jealous about him. He will curse you to God. Seek your release.'

"So she went back and asked, 'Messenger of God, please release me.' He did so. Masʿūd b. Aws b. Sawād b.Ẓufr then married her and she bore him a child. One day, while she was washing herself in one of the gardens of Medina, a black wolf leapt at her and ate part of her, and so she died."

He also stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Ḍabāʿa, daughter of ʿĀmir b. Qirṭ was the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān who divorced her. Hishām b. al-Mughīra then married her and she bore him Salama. She (Ḍabāʿa) was a well-built and beautiful woman with abundant hair covering her body. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked her son Salama to accept his engagement to her. Salama asked, "(Will you wait) until I ask her permission?" He did ask her and she replied, "Do you have to ask permission when it's the Messenger of God!" When her son came back, he remained silent, not giving any answer; it seems that he felt her to be too old. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said nothing (more) about her.

He (Muḥammad b. Saʿd) also stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also became engaged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Bashāma b. Naḍla al-ʿAnbarī. He had received her as war spoils. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her a choice, saying, 'If you wish, then myself; if you wish, then your husband.' She replied, 'My husband.' He then sent her away. Banū Tamīm cursed her."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd went on to say that al-Wāqidī informed him that Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī quoted his father as having said, "Umm Sharīk was a woman of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy who gave herself to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But he did not accept her. She never married."

He also stated that Wakīʿ informed him, from Sharīk, from Jābir, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Sharīk al-Dawsiyya.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "We are quite certain that she was from Daws b. al-Azd." Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "Her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakīm."

Al-Layth b. Saʿd stated, from Hishām b. Muḥammad, who quoted his father as having said that someone stated that Sharīk had presented herself to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that she was a righteous woman.

Those to whom he became engaged but did not marry included Ḥamra, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwn b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murrī, whose father said there was something wrong with her – though there was not. When her father returned to her, she had contracted leprosy. She was the mother of Shabīb b. al-Barsāʾ, the poet.

Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba mentioned this, quoting Qatāda.

He went on, "He also sought to be engaged to Ḥabība, daughter of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But he discovered that her father was his foster-brother, both having been suckled by Thuwayba, Abū Lahab's freed-woman.

These, then are his wives. They were of three categories. One group consisted of women with whom he consummated marriage, and he died before their deaths. These were the nine who were mentioned initially. They were prohibited to others following his death. This was universally recognized to be required by the faith, and that their *ʿidda*[174] would last until the end of their lives. God Almighty had stated, "It is not for you to harm the Messenger of God, nor ever to marry his wives after him; that would be very serious to God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53).

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[174] The period prescribed for a woman to wait from the end of one marriage to the beginning of another.

Another category consists of those women with whom he consummated marriage but divorced during his lifetime. There is a question as to whether it would be permissible for them to remarry after the expiration of the (normal) period of their *ʿidda*. The scholars express two views. One rejects this, due to the all-inclusive nature of the verse we have mentioned. The second view considers their remarriage permissible, referring to the verse giving a choice. In it God stated, "O Prophet, say to your wives, 'If you desire the life of this world and its finery, then come! I will provide for you and grant you a pleasant release. But if you desire God and His Messenger and the abode of the After-life, then God has prepared a fine reward for those of you who do good'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.28, 29).

They stated, 'Unless it be permissible for someone else to marry them after his separation from them, then there would be no purpose in their having a choice between this world and the hereafter; if his separation from them did not permit them to marry others, there would have been no purpose in it for them." This argument is strong; God alone knows best.

The third category of the women consists of those he married but divorced before consummating marriage with them. It was permitted for other men to marry them; I know of no dispute concerning this category.

Those women to whom he became engaged but did not actually contract marriage were entirely able to marry. A chapter will come later in the book *al-Khaṣāʾis* dealing with this subject. But God knows best.

Accounts of those persons awarded to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as tribute.

Two women were awarded to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as tribute. One of these was Māriya, the Copt, daughter of Shamʿūn. She was awarded to him by the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Mīnā. Along with her he also presented her sister Shīrīn.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that he presented her as one of four girls. But God knows best.

Included was a eunuch slave named Mābūr, and a female mule called al-Duldul. The Prophet (ṢAAS) accepted his gifts and chose Māriya for himself. She was from an Egyptian village called Ḥafn, from the Kūra Anṣina region. During the period of his governorate (over Egypt) Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān exempted this village from payment of the *kharaj*, "the land tax", in honour of her because she bore a male child, Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They say that Māriya was beautiful and fair-skinned, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) admired and fell in love with her and that she enjoyed much favour with him. This was especially true after she bore him his son Ibrāhīm.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented her sister Shīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, to whom she bore his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

The eunuch slave Mābūr was allowed to enter the quarters of Māriya and Shīrīn without special permission, as had been his practice in Egypt. Some people, however, began making comments about Māriya because of that; they did not know that he was an eunuch until the fact was manifest, as we will explain shortly, if God so wills it.

The mule mentioned above was one the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ride; it appears – though God knows best – that it was this donkey he rode at the battle of Ḥunayn. This donkey lived on to great age and was kept by ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib during his rule. When ‘Alī died it became owned by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib. When it grew very old, barley was crushed for it to eat.

Abū Bakr b. Khuzayma stated that Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. ‘Ubayd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Bashīr b. al-Muhājir, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb, from his father, who said, "The leader of the Copts sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) two girls who were sisters, and a female mule that he would ride in Medina. He took for himself one of the two girls and she bore him his son Ibrāhīm; he gave away the other girl."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ṣa‘ṣa‘a related to him, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abu Ṣa‘ṣa‘a, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) very much admired Māriya; she was fair-skinned and beautiful and had curly hair. He lodged her and her sister with Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit them both there and it was there that they both accepted Islam. He consummated with Māriya since she was a slave, then moved her into a property he had at al-‘Āliya that had belonged to Banū al-Naḍīr. He was there during the summer and at the time for the date harvest. He would go to her there. She was devout. He presented her sister Shīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

"Māriya bore to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a son whom he named Ibrāhīm. He sacrificed a sheep for him on the seventh day after the child's birth. He shaved his head and made a donation in silver to the poor to the weight of his hair that he thereafter had buried in the ground. He named the child Ibrāhīm. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out to see her husband Abū Rāfi‘ and told him that Māriya had given birth to a son. Abū Rāfi‘ went with the good news to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who gave him a necklace as a gift. The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were already jealous (of Māriya) and this envy grew more intense after she bore him the son."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārqutnī narrated, from Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Ismā‘īl, from Ziyād b. Ayyūb, from Sa‘īd b. Zakariyyā᾿ al-Madā᾿inī, from Ibn Abū Sāra, from ‘Ikrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, "When Māriya gave birth, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Her son has set her free!'"

Al-Dārqutnī went on, "Ziyād b. Ayyūb is alone in giving this, and he is a reliable source."

Ibn Māja narrated similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and we have also narrated it from a different source.

We have devoted an individual and separate study to the issue of the sale of (slave) mothers (who bore their masters) children.[175] Therein we have given statements made by the scholars relating to this, relevant to eight narratives. We have given a full line of transmission to each narrative. And to God be all praise and credit.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, who quoted his grandfather ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, "People kept spreading rumours about Māriya, Ibrāhīm's mother, and a Coptic cousin of hers who would visit her frequently. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take this sword and go. If you find him with her, then kill him!' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I would do your bidding (directly) as on a fully secured road; nothing would divert me until I accomplished whatever you had ordered me to do. Or (should I be as) an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Indeed yes; as an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not.'

"So off I went, wearing the sword, and I found him with her. I unsheathed the sword and when he saw me, he knew that I was after him. He went over to a palm tree and climbed it, then turned over on his back and drew up his legs. He had been made emasculated and completely smooth. There was absolutely no trace of a male member. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him. He said, 'Praise be to God, who has diverted evil from the household members.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who stated that ʿAlī had said, "Messenger of God, when you dispatch me, should I be (proceeding directly) as on a fully secured road, or should I be as an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?" He replied, "As an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not."

He narrated it thus, in abbreviated form. This, then is the origin for the account we have presented above; its line of transmission consists of authorities considered fully trustworthy.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Khālid al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting his father, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb and ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "When Māriya gave birth to Ibrāhīm, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seemed almost to begin having suspicions about him. Then Gabriel came down to him and said, 'Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!'"

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[175] It is not clear why Ibn Kathir sees relevance to this issue, since there is no suggestion of Māriya's "sale" of her son.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Bāhilī, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad, from a man he named who quoted al-Layth b. Saʿd, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "A king of the Byzantine patriarchs (sic) called al-Muqawqis presented a Coptic girl of royal descent named Māriya, along with a young male cousin of hers. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to see her one day when he would go to his private room and consummated with her. She became pregnant with Ibrāhīm.

"When her pregnancy became visible, I was much annoyed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said nothing. She did not produce milk, so he bought for her a ewe giving milk from which to feed the boy. His body grew strong and his colour was excellent and his complexion clear. One day she arrived carrying him on her shoulder. She asked, "ʿĀʾisha, how do you think the lad looks?' 'Neither I nor others see a resemblance,' I replied. She then asked, 'No comment about his flesh?' I replied, 'By my life, anyone fed on sheep's milk is going to have nice flesh!'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Māriya died in Muḥarram of 15 AH. ʿUmar prayed over her and buried her in the al-Baqīʿ cemetery."

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallābī said the same. Khalīfa, Abū ʿUbayda and Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān all stated that she died in 16 AH. May God have mercy on her.

Included in this category of woman was Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, of Banū al-Naḍīr, also said to have been of Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naḍīr or, it is said, of Banū Qurayẓa."

Al-Wāqidī (also) stated, "Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naḍīr and had married within the tribe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had taken her for himself as booty. She was beautiful. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed to her that she accept Islam, but she refused to be anything but Jewish. He then placed her in seclusion, being considerably annoyed. He sent a message to Ibn Saʿya telling him of this and Ibn Saʿya responded, 'May my father and mother be your ransom, I swear she will accept Islam!' He then went and told her, 'Don't follow your own people! You have seen what Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab brought them to! Accept Islam; and in this case the Messenger of God is to choose you for himself.'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with his Companions, he heard the sound of slippers. He said, 'Those are the slippers of Ibn Saʿya who is coming to tell me the good news of Rayḥāna accepting Islam.' He did come and said, 'Messenger of God, Rayḥāna has accepted Islam!' He was delighted at this."

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) defeated Qurayẓa, he chose for himself Rayḥāna, daughter of ʿAmr b. Khanāfa. She was with him until his death, at which time she was still within his domain. He had proposed Islam to her and to marry her, but she refused, accepting only Judaism."

Ibn Isḥāq went on to narrate her acceptance of Islam, as above.

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sulaymān related to him, from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿa, from Ayyūb b. Bashīr al-Maʿawī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the house of Salmā Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays. She remained there with her until she had fully menstruated and was cleansed of her menstruation. Umm al-Mundhir then went and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went to Rayḥāna in Umm Mundhir's house and said, 'If you wish me to free you and to marry you, I will do so. If you wish to remain in my domain and for me to have intercourse with you by that right, then that I will do.' She replied, 'Messenger of God, it would be easier on you and on me for me to remain in your domain.' And she remained in his domain, with him having intercourse with her, until she died."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn Abū Dhiʾb related to him, "I asked al-Zuhrī about Rayḥāna, and he said, "She was a bond-maid whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had manumitted and then married. She remained in seclusion in her family and would say, 'No one shall see me after the Messenger of God.'"

Al-Wāqidī went on, "This is, in our view, the most secure of the two *aḥādīth*. Her husband, prior to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was al-Ḥakam."

Al-Wāqidī stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam related to him, from ʿUmar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Khanāfa; she had been living with her husband who loved her and treated her honourably. She said, 'I will never go to anyone after him.' She was a beautiful woman. When Banū Qurayẓa were taken captive, the prisoners were paraded before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Rayḥāna said, 'I was among those paraded before him; he gave orders, and I was placed aside. He had the practice of taking (booty for himself) on each occasion when there were war spoils. When I was placed aside, God selected me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the home of Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays for some days until after he had executed the prisoners and divided up the slaves. He then came to see me, and I turned aside from him in modesty. He called me to him and sat me down before him, saying, 'If you choose God and His Messenger, the Messenger of God will choose you for himself.' I replied, 'I do choose God and His Messenger.' When I accepted Islam, he manumitted me and married me, presenting as my dowry the weight (in silver) of 12 *awqiyya* and one *nash*,[176] the sum he customarily gave to his wives. The wedding was conducted in the home of Umm al-Mundhir. He provided me the same expenses as to his other wives and required me to wear the veil.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) admired her greatly and would give her anything she asked of him. People would tell her, 'If you had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for Banū Qurayẓa, he would have set them free.' She would reply, 'He was not alone with me until after he had divided up the slaves.' He would spend time alone with her and desired her much. She remained with him until her death following his return from the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. He buried her at the al-Baqīʿ cemetery."

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[176] The weight of 20 *dirhams*; approximately one half of one *awqiyya*.

His marriage to her was in Muḥarram of 6 AH.

Ibn Wahb stated that Yūnus b. Yazīd quoted al-Zuhrī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received Rayḥāna as a captive from Banū Qurayẓa. He manumitted her and she rejoined her family."

Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā stated, "Rayḥāna was the daughter of Zayd b. Shamʿūn, of Banū Qurayẓa."

Some say that she was from Banū Qurayẓa and that she would be in one of the palm-groves reserved for charity, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would sometimes take a siesta with her there. He received her as a captive in Shawwāl of 4 AH.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated that Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two female slaves: Māriya, the Copt, and Rayḥa or Rayḥāna, daughter of Shamʿūn b. Zayd b. Khanāfa, of Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa. She had been married to a cousin of hers called ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, so I have been told, and that she died before the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had in his domain four bond-maids. These were Māriya, the Copt, and Rayḥāna of Banū Qurayẓa. He also had another beautiful bond-maid whom his wives kept from him for fear that she would gain favour with him over themselves. He also had a valuable bond-maid presented to him by Zaynab. He had abandoned her, because of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. When the Rabīʿ al-Awwal came in which he died, he was pleased to go in to Zaynab and she told him, 'I don't know with what to reward you!' And she presented the girl to him."

Sayf b. ʿUmar narrated, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would sometimes share funds with Māriya and Rayḥāna, and at others he would leave them out.

Abū Nuʿaym quoted Abū Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī as having stated, "Rayḥāna died in 10 AH; ʿUmar prayed over her and buried her in al-Baqīʿ. And to God be praise."

INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS CHILDREN, MAY PRAYERS AND PEACE BE FOR THEM ALL.

There is no disagreement over all his children having been born to Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, with the exception of Ibrāhīm, who was born to Māriya, the Copt, daughter of Shamʿūn.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Hishām b. al-Kalbī informed him, quoting his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The first son of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Qāsim. Then came, in succession, Zaynab, ʿAbd Allāh, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. Then ʿAbd Allāh died. Al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī stated, 'His line had been severed, and so he was *abtar*, "cut off". And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, sent down, 'We have given abundance to you. And so pray to your Lord, and make sacrifice! It is your antagonist who is *abtar*, "cut off"'" (*sūrat al-Kawthar*; CVIII, v.1–3).

He went on, "Thereafter Māriya bore him Ibrāhīm in Medina, in Dhū al-Ḥijja, 8 AH. He died at the age of eighteen months."

Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Juwayrī stated that ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Nāfiʿ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Bakkār, quoting Muḥammad b. Ziyād and al-Furāt b. al-Sāʾib, from Maymūn b. Mihrān, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Khadīja bore the Prophet (ṢAAS) ʿAbd Allāh and after him there was a period without a child being born to him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day talking to a man, while al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil looked on, a man asked him (al-Āṣ), 'Who is that?' He (al-ʿĀṣ) replied, 'That is *al-abtar*.' Among Quraysh, if a man were to have a child and then there was a delay in the next birth, they would say, 'This man is *abtar*'. And so God sent down, 'It is your antagonist who is the *abtar*.' This implied, 'It is the one angering you who is "cut off" from all good.'"

He (Ibn ʿAbbās) went on, "Then she bore him Zaynab, Ruqayya, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Muṭṭahar, al-Ṭayyib, al-Muṭayyab, Umm Kulthūm and then Fāṭima, the youngest of them. When Khadīja had a child, she would give it to someone to nurse. Only she, however, nursed Fāṭima."

Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī stated that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had two sons: al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib. One of them he also named ʿAbd Shams, the other ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā."

This is somewhat objectionable.[177] But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾidh stated, "Al-Walīd b. Muslim informed me, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that Khadīja gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Muṭṭahir, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār quoted his uncle Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, "Khadīja bore al-Qāsim and al-Ṭāhir, who was also called al-Ṭayyib. Al-Ṭāhir was born after the beginning of the prophethood. He died when young; ʿAbd Allāh was another name given him. Then were born Fāṭima, Zaynab, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm."

Al-Zubayr also stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, from Ibn Wahb, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, that Khadīja gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Ṭayyib, ʿAbd Allāh, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima, and Umm Kulthūm.

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[177] The second names referred to were, of course, common among the polytheists. They mean "worshipper of the sun" and "worshipper of (the goddess) al-ʿUzzā".

(He went on) "Muḥammad b. Faḍāla quoted to me a sheikh who had been a contemporary of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, 'Khadīja bore al-Qāsim and ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Qāsim lived until he could walk; ʿAbd Allāh died while still small."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār also stated, "In the *jāhiliyya* Khadīja was known as 'al-Ṭāhira, daughter of Khuwaylid'. She bore to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) al-Qāsim, his elder son, by whose name he was himself known. After al-Qāsim came Zaynab and ʿAbd Allāh, who was known as 'al-Ṭayyib', 'the good', and as al-Ṭāhir, 'the pure'. The latter was born after the commencement of the prophethood and died while small. Then she bore him, in order, his daughters Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. And then ʿAbd Allāh died.

"Later Māriya, daughter of Shamʿūn, bore him Ibrāhīm. She was a Copt; al-Muqawqis, Governor of Alexandria, had presented her, along with her sister Shīrīn and a eunuch named Mābūr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave Shīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The line of Ḥassān b. Thābit died out."

Abū Bakr b. al-Barqī stated, "It is said that 'al-Ṭāhir' was 'al-Ṭayyib' and also 'ʿAbd Allāh'. It is also said that al-Ṭayyib and al-Muṭayyab were twins, as also were al-Ṭāhir and al-Muṭahhar."

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān stated, from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Mujāhid, who said, "Al-Qāsim, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), remained alive for seven days, then died."

Al-Mufaḍḍal went on, "This is an error; in fact, he lived for seventeen months."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym quoted Mujāhid as having said, "Al-Qāsim died when he was seven days old."

Al-Zuhrī said that he was two years old. Qatāda stated that he lived until he could walk.

Hishām b. ʿUrwa stated, "It was the Iraqis who invented reference to al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir. Our scholars say, (that his children were) ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAbd Manāf, and al-Qāsim; the females were Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima."

Thus also Ibn ʿAsākir gave it and it is objectionable; what he denied is what is commonly accepted. He also left out any reference – which is obligatory – to Zaynab. But God knows best.

Regarding Zaynab, ʿAbd al-Razzāq quoted Ibn Jurayj as having said, "Several people told me that Zaynab was the oldest of the daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Fāṭima was the youngest of them and the one he most favoured. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ married Zaynab and she bore him ʿAlī and Umāma. It was Umāma whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry during prayer. When he prostrated, he would put her down; when he stood up, he carried her."

Perhaps this was following the death of her mother, in 8 AH. This was what al-Wāqidī, Qatāda, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm and others stated. She seems to have been a small child at the time. But God knows best.

ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, married her after the death of Fāṭima.

The death of Zaynab, may God be pleased with her, occurred in 8 AH. Qatāda stated this from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama and from others also. Qatāda also quoted Ibn Ḥazm as having stated that she died at the beginning of 8 AH.

Ḥammād b. Salama reported from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that when Zaynab left on the Hijra, a man pushed her and she fell on a rock and had a miscarriage, remaining thereafter in pain until she died. People considered that she died a martyr.

Ruqayya was initially married by her cousin, ʿUtba b. Abū Lahab, whose brother ʿUtayba b. Abū Lahab married her own sister, Umm Kulthūm. Both men divorced the sisters, before consummating marriage with them, out of anger at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when God sent down, "May both hands of Abū Lahab perish and may he perish! His wealth and earnings will not avail him! He will burn in fire of flames, along with his wife, that bearer of fuel, around her neck a twisted rope!" (*sūrat al-Lahab*; CXI, v.1–5).

ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, may God be pleased with him, married Ruqayya, and she went into exile with him to Abyssinia; he is said to have been the first person to leave for there. Thereafter they both returned to Mecca, as we narrated above. They then went into exile to Medina. She bore him his son, ʿAbd Allāh, who lived on to age six. A cock pecked him in the eyes and he died. ʿUthmān was initially named for him, and then later for his son ʿAmr.

She died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won victory at Badr, on the *yawm al-furqān*,[178] when the two forces clashed. When the messenger bearing the good news of the victory, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, that is, reached Medina, he found them levelling the soil over her grave. ʿUthmān had remained with her nursing her, by orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter gave him his salary and his share of the booty. Following his return, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married ʿUthmān to Ruqayya's sister Umm Kulthūm. ʿUthmān was therefore known as *dhū al-nūrayn*, "he who had the two lights". Umm Kulthūm died in his quarters in Shaʿbān of 9 AH; she bore ʿUthmān no children. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, "If I had had three daughters, I would have married them all to ʿUthmān!" In one account he is quoted as having said, "If I had had ten daughters, I would have married them all to ʿUthmān!"

Fāṭima was married to her cousin ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib in Ṣafar of 2 AH. She bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and, it is also stated, Muḥsin; she also bore him Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab.

During his reign ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and Fāṭima, treating her with extreme honour and respect. Because of her descent from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he awarded her 40,000 *dirhams*. She bore him a son, Zayd b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

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[178] See above, Vol. II, page 252 *et seq.*

Following the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, his cousin ʿAwn b. Jaʿfar married Umm Kulthūm and he left her a widow. His brother Muḥammad then married her and also left her a widow. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, brother of both her previous two husbands, then married her and she died while still his wife. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar had previously been married to Umm Kulthūm's sister Zaynab, daughter of ʿAlī, and she too had died while his wife. Fāṭima died six months after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), according to the most widely accepted accounts.

This authoritative information is given from ʿĀʾisha in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; al-Zuhrī and Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir also stated this.

According to al-Zuhrī, her death came three months after that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū al-Zubayr gave that period as two months. Abū Burayda stated, "She lived for seventy days and nights after him." ʿAmr b. Dīnār stated, "She remained alive for eight months after him." ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith said the same. In an account from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, the period of time is given as four months.

Ibrāhīm was born to Māriya al-Qibṭīya, as stated above. His birth was in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 8 AH. It has been narrated from Ibn Lahīʿa and others, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād as having said, "When she became pregnant with Ibrāhīm, Gabriel came to him and said, 'Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm! God has given you a son from Māriya, his mother, and He commands you to name him Ibrāhīm. He has blessed you in him, and has made him a source of delight for you in this world and the hereafter.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated, from Muḥammad b. Miskīn, from ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from ʿAqīl and Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "When his son Ibrāhīm was born to the Prophet (ṢAAS), he had doubts about him. And so Gabriel came to him and said, 'Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!'"

And Asbāṭ quoted al-Suddī – Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, that is – as having said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik as follows, 'What age did Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS) attain?' He replied, 'He filled up his cradle. If he had remained alive, he would have been a prophet. However, he was not to be kept alive, for your Prophet (ṢAAS), was the last of the prophets.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "If Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), had lived, he would have been *ṣiddīqan nabiyyan*, 'one fully trusting (in God) and a prophet'."

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muḥammad b. Saʿd and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAbsī, quoting Minjāb, quoting Abū ʿĀmir al-Asadī, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas, who said, "Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), died while a child of 16 months. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Bury him in the al-Baqīʿ cemetery. He has a nursemaid who will complete suckling him in paradise.'"

Abū Yaʿlā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, from Ayyūb, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, from Anas, who said, "I never saw any person more kind with children than the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ibrāhīm was being suckled in the heights of Medina. He would hurry off there, in our company. He would enter the house while Ibrāhīm was being fed. His wet nurse lived among us. He would take hold of him (Ibrāhīm) and kiss him, then leave."

ʿAmr said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Ibrāhīm is my son; he died on the breast. He has two wet nurses who will complete his suckling in paradise.'"

Jarīr and Abū ʿAwāna narrated, from al-Aʿmash, from Muslim b. Ṣabīḥ Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died while a child of 16 months. he said, 'Bury him in al-Baqīʿ; he has a nursemaid in paradise.'"

Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, from ʿĀmir, from al-Barāʾ. Sufyān al-Thawrī narrated it thus from Firās, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib similarly.

Al-Thawrī also narrated it from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ. Ibn ʿAsākir traced it through ʿAttāb b. Muḥammad b. Shawdhab, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "Ibrāhīm died and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The rest of his suckling will take place in paradise.'"

Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī related to him, quoting Hushaym, from Ismāʿīl, who said, "I asked Ibn Abū Awfā" – or "I heard him asked" – about Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He replied, 'He died while still young. If it had been decreed that there be a prophet after the Prophet (ṢAAS), he would certainly have lived.'"

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting ʿUbayd b. Ibrāhīm al-Juʿfī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Farāʾ, quoting Muṣʿab b. Salām, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'If Ibrāhīm had lived, he would have been a prophet.'"

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Samura, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, from Abū Shayba, from Anas, who said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Do not wrap him in his shroud until I look at him.' He then came and leaned over him and wept so hard that his beard and his sides trembled."

I note that narratives from Abū Shayba are invalid.

He (Ibn ʿAsākir) proceeded to narrate from a *ḥadīth* of Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Ibn Khaytham, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Asmāʾ, daughter of Yazīd b. al-Sakn, who said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wept and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar told him, 'You are the one most cognisant of God's right.' He replied, 'The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. If it were not a matter of a sincere promise and a universal compact, and that the latter of us will follow the former, we would grieve for you, Ibrāhīm, more severely than we have ever mourned before. We are deeply saddened for you, Ibrāhīm.' "

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Jābir, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son Ibrāhīm. He died at the age of 16 months. He said, 'There are those in paradise who will complete his suckling, and he is *ṣiddīq*,[179] "innocent", "righteous".' "

It is also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Barāʾ.

Abū Yaʿlā stated that al-Qawārīrī related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Ibn Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son, and I prayed behind him. He spoke the words *Allāhu akbar*! 'God is most Great!' four times."

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna, who said, "Ibrāhīm, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died while a child of 18 months, and he did not pray over him."

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwī, from ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted ʿAlī as having said that when Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died he sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to his mother, Māriya, the Copt, who was in an upper chamber. ʿAlī carried him out in a basket, placing him before himself on his horse, and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He washed him and wrapped him in his shroud, then carried him out to the people. He buried him in the alley adjoining the house of Muḥammad b. Zayd. ʿAlī went into his grave, smoothed (the soil) over him and buried him. He then emerged and sprinkled water over his grave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand in his grave and said, "I swear by God, he was a prophet and the son of a prophet." And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wept, as did the Muslims around him. The sound they all made arose above them.

ʿAlī then quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having) said, "The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. We are deeply saddened for you, Ibrāhīm."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ibrāhīm, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died on Tuesday the 10th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 10 AH. He was 18 months old. He had been living among Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, in the home of Umm Barza, daughter of al-Mundhir. He was buried in the al-Baqīʿ cemetery."

I note that I have stated above that the sun was eclipsed on the day of his death. People said, "It has eclipsed at the death of Ibrāhīm!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a public address in which he said, "The sun and the moon are two signs of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. Neither of them are eclipsed at either the death or the life of anyone."

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[179] This epithet is translated throughout this text, when applied to Abū Bakr, as "trusting". However, in this context the word, that has implications of sincerity and trustworthiness, has to be appropriate for application to a small child.

Chapter: Material concerning the slaves, male and female, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his servants, scribes and clerks.

These are arranged in alphabetical order of their names, and some information given about them is included.

The following constitutes in large part all material related about them.

They included Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha Abū Zayd al-Kalbī. He was also known as Abū Yazīd and as Abū Muḥammad. He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the son of his freed-man; he was his intimate friend and the son of his intimate friend. His mother was Umm Ayman, her given name being Baraka. She was the nursemaid of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in his infancy, and one of those who believed in him early after his receipt of his mission.

In the final days of his life, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Usāma a commander of an expeditionary force. His age at that time was some 18 or 19. At the time of the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he was commander of a large army that included ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and, it is said, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", as well; this, however, is unlikely, since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed Abū Bakr to the *Imāmate*.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the army of Usāma was encamped at al-Jurf, as we have narrated above. Abū Bakr requested Usāma to release ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb so that he could remain in Medina with him to give him the benefit of his counsel. Usāma did release him. Abū Bakr reaffirmed the commission of ʿUsāma's army after many of the Companions had changed their minds about it. He rejected their view, saying, "I will not, by God, take down a flag mounted by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!"

And so they proceeded forth as far as the borders of al-Balqāʾ in Syria, where his father Zayd, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all, had been killed. He attacked that territory, acquired booty and prisoners and then returned home safe and sound. This is why ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, never failed to address him with the words, "Peace be upon you, commander!"

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded him the commander's banner, some people complained at his having been placed in charge. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore made an address in which he said, "For you to complain about his being in charge would be tantamount to your complaining at his father's having been given command previously. I swear by God, he was fully worthy of the comand and this man, after him, has my extremely high regard."

This is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, from his father.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that Usāma, may God be pleased with him, said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take me and al-Ḥasan (in his lap) and say, 'O God, I love these two; may You love them both.' "

From al-Sha῾bī, ῾Ā᾽isha is quoted as having said, "Let whoever loves God and His Messenger love Usāma b. Zayd."

Therefore, when ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb set the salaries in the *dīwān* system, he assigned 5,000 (*dirhams*) for Usāma, while he gave his own son ῾Abd Allāh 4,000. He was asked about this (by ῾Abd Allāh) and replied, "He was more highly favoured by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you were; and his father was more highly favoured than your own!"

῾Abd al-Razzāq narrated, from Ma῾mar, from al-Zuhrī, from ῾Urwa, from Usāma, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set him behind himself on his donkey, on a piece of cloth, when he went to visit Sa῾d b. ῾Ubāda prior to the battle of Badr.

I note that he mounted him similarly behind himself on his camel when he set out from ῾Arafāt to al-Muzdalifa, as we have noted above in the account of the *ḥijjat al-wadā῾*.

Several sources state that Usāma, may God be pleased with him, did not participate with ῾Alī in any of the battles. And it was he who apologized to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when the latter asked him, after he had killed the man even after he had spoken the *shahāda*, "Who will protect you at Judgement Day, from the utterance, 'There is no god but God'? Did you not kill him after he said, 'There is no god but God'?" And so on, to the completion of the *ḥadīth*.

There are many references to his virtues. He was as black as night and flat-nosed. He was sweet-tempered and good-looking, tall, eloquent, knowledgeable and masterly. May God be pleased with him.

His father had similar qualities, except for being extremely pale-skinned. For this reason certain ignorant people express suspicions about Usāma's parentage. On one occasion Mujazziz al-Mudlijī[180] passed by them when they were both lying asleep in an outer wrap, their feet being visible – Usāma's being black, and his father's white. Mujazziz exclaimed, "Glory be to God! These feet are of the same lineage!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was most impressed by this comment and went in to see ῾Ā᾽isha, beaming with delight. He said, "Would you believe that Mujazziz has just looked at Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Usāma b. Zayd and commented, 'These feet are of the same lineage!' "

Because of this *ḥadīth* and the decision reached and its acceptance, scholars of the traditions such as al-Shāfi῾ī and Aḥmad give credence to such *qāfa* in resolving questions involving mixed lineage, as is established in the appropriate place (in the texts).

It is firmly established by Abū ῾Umar that Usāma died in 54 AH. Others, however, give that date as 58 or 59 AH. It is also said that he died after the assassination of ʿUthmān, but God knows best. All compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include in their books statements attributed to him.

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[180] He was a *qā᾽if* (plural *qāfa*), one skilled in determining lineage from observation of similarities in physical attributes.

Also there was Aslam, otherwise called "Ibrāhīm", "Thābit" and "Hurmuz" Abū Rāfiʿ al-Qubṭī. He accepted Islam before Badr, but was not present there because he was in Mecca with his masters of the al-ʿAbbās family. He used to strike flint-iron; the story of his dealings with the foul Abū Lahab when news came of the battle of Badr is given above;[181] and to God be praise.

He then went on the Hijra and took part in the battle of Uḥud and its aftermath. He was a scribe and wrote for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at al-Kūfa. It was al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallabī who stated this. He was present at the conquest of Egypt during the rule of ʿUmar.

First he belonged to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who presented him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter manumitted him and married him to his own freed-woman Salmā. Children were born to him and he would be in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Bahz stated, "Shuʿba narrated to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibn Abū Rāfiʿ, from Abū Rāfiʿ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a man of Banū Makhzūm to take charge of the *ṣadaqa*, 'the charity funds'. The man said to Abū Rāfiʿ, 'Come along with me, and you will get some of it.' 'No!' replied Abū Rāfiʿ. 'Not until I go to the Messenger of God and ask him.' And so he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he replied, 'Charity funds are not permitted for us; the freed-man of a family is one of them (in this regard).'"

Al-Thawrī narrated it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam. Abū Yaʿlā narrated it in his *musnad ḥadīth* collection, also from Abū Rāfiʿ, that they suffered from extreme cold at the battle of Khaybar. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Whoever has a blanket should share it with those who do not have one."

Abū Rāfiʿ went on, "I could not find anyone to share their blanket with me. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he threw his coverlet over me. We slept until morning. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found a snake at his feet and he said, 'Abū Rāfiʿ! Kill it! Kill it!'"

All the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included narrations from him. He died during the reign of ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him.

Another slave was Ansa b. Ziyād Abū Mishraḥ, also known as Abū Misraḥ. He was of mixed lineage and from al-Sarrāt. He was a *muhājirī* and participated at the battle of Badr, according to ʿUrwa, al-Zuhrī, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, al-Bukhārī and others. They stated, "He was one of those who would allow access to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he held a meeting."

Khalīfa b. Khayyāt narrated in his book, "Alī b. Muḥammad stated, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn

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[181] See Vol. II, pages 321–2.

ʿAbbās, who said, 'Anasa, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was martyred at Badr.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In our view, that is not fully established. I have seen some scholars also assert that he witnessed the battle of Uḥud and lived on for some time thereafter, dying during the lifetime of Abū Bakr, during his caliphate."

They also included Ayman b. ʿUbayd b. Zayd al-Ḥabashī. Ibn Manda traced his lineage to ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj; this, however, is controversial.

He was the son of Umm Ayman Baraka, brother of Usāma on his mother's side.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "He was in charge of the ablution vessel used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was one of those men who stood firm at the battle of Ḥunayn. And it is said that it was about him and his companions that the words of the Almighty, "and he who hopes to meet his Lord should do good works, and not associate any other (god) with the worship of his Lord" (*sūrat al-Kahf*; XVIII, v.110).

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ayman was killed while with the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the battle of Ḥunayn.

He also stated that the account quoting him narrated by Mujāhid was *munqaṭiʿ*, "incomplete in its line". By this he was referring to what was narrated by al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from ʿAṭā', from Ayman al-Ḥabashī, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only sentenced to amputation a person who had stolen a shield; the value of a shield at that time was one *dīnār*."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī narrated this in his *Muʿjam al-Ṣaḥāba*, quoting Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Aswad b. ʿĀmir, from al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, from Manṣūr, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujāhid and ʿAṭā', from Ayman, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in similar words.

This *ḥadīth*, if it has not been forged, requires Ayman to have died after the Prophet (ṢAAS). It may well be that the attribution should have been to someone other than him.

The majority of scholars, including Ibn Isḥāq and others, include him among those of the Companions killed at the battle of Ḥunayn. But God knows best.

A story is recounted of an incident involving his son al-Ḥajjāj b. Ayman and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar.

Also there was Bādhān; reference to him will be included in the life of Ṭahmān, to follow.

They also include Thawbān b. Bujdud, also known as Ibn Jaḥdar Abū ʿAbd Allāh, as Abū ʿAbd al-Karīm and as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

His parentage was among the people of al-Sarrāt, a place between Mecca and Yemen; alternatively, he is said to be descended from the Ḥimyar people of Yemen, or from al-Hān. He is also said to be of the line of Ḥakam b. Saʿd al-ʿAshīra of Madhḥij, and to have been taken captive in the *jāhiliyya* period. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased him, then manumitted him and gave him the choice between returning to his own people or remaining one of the household. He remained loyal to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until his death, attending him constantly, whether at home or travelling.

He took part in the conquest of Egypt during the rule of ʿUmar and thereafter resided at Ḥims, where he built a house. He remained there until he died, in 54 AH. This date is also given, mistakenly, as 44 AH. It is said that he died in Egypt, but the fact is that it was in Ḥims, as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī gives a tradition from him in the chapter *Kitāb al-Adab* ("Book on Manners") of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim also includes him in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as do the other *ahl al-sunan ḥadīth* compilations.

Also there was Ḥunayn, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS); he was the grandfather of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥunayn.

We have narrated how he served the Prophet (ṢAAS), and helped him with the ablution. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) had finished, Ḥunayn would take the remainder of the ablution water to the Companions. Some of these would drink from it, while others wiped themselves with it. Ḥunayn would also retain it and keep it in a jar. Eventually they complained about him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who asked him, "What are you doing with it?" He replied, "I save it up and drink it, Messenger of God." The latter commented, "Have you ever seen a slave store away what this one does!"

Ultimately the Prophet (ṢAAS) presented him to his uncle al-ʿAbbās, who manumitted him; may God be pleased with them both.

They also include Dhakwān; reference to him will be made in relation to the life of Ṭahmān, hereafter.

Also there was Rāfiʿ, or Abū Rāfiʿ, also known as Abū al-Bahī.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated, "He belonged to Abū Uḥayḥa Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the elder. His sons inherited him. Three of them manumitted those they had as their share of the inheritance and he was present with them at Badr, at which battle all three were killed.[182] Then Abū Rafiʿ purchased the remaining freed-men from the sons of Saʿīd, except for the share of Khālid b. Saʿīd. Khālid gave his share to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he accepted him, then manumitted him. He used to say, "I am the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," and his sons after him would also say this of him.

They include Rabāḥ al-Aswad, who would grant access to visit the Prophet (ṢAAS). It was he who took permission to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to enter in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in that upper room, that day he had turned away from his wives, secluding himself alone there from them.

He is thus quoted in the *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a slave named Rabāḥ."

Of them also was Ruwayfiʿ, his freed-man. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī included him among the freedmen, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama. They both stated, "His son went to ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, during the latter's rule, who gave him an appointment. He left no offspring."

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[182] Their names, however, do not appear in the list of the participants at Badr, as compiled by Ibn Kathīr.

I note that ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, may God have mercy on him, was very solicitous of the freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He wished to know them and to grant them favours. During his rule he wrote to Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, the leading scholar of Medina during his time, asking him to search for the freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), including the freed-women, and his servants.

It was al-Wāqidī who narrated this. Abū ᶜUmar also mentioned this in brief and said, "I am not aware of any *ḥadīth* attributed to him." Ibn al-Athīr related this in his work *al-Ghāba*.

There was also Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī. We have given reference to him, may God be pleased with him, above in the account of his death at the battle of al-Mu᾿ta; that occurred in Jumādā, 8 AH, some months prior to the conquest of Mecca.

He was the commander-in-chief. After him in command came Jaᶜfar, then, following them both, came ᶜAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

ᶜĀ᾿isha, may God be pleased with her, is quoted as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha as commander of every military expedition on which he dispatched him. If he had remained alive, he would have appointed him his successor." It was Aḥmad who gave this quotation.

They also include Zayd Abū Yasār.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi stated in his *Muᶜjam al-Ṣaḥāba*, "He resided in Mecca. Only one *ḥadīth* of which I have knowledge is attributed to him. It was related to us by Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Jawzajānī, quoting Abū Salama – al-Tabūdhakī, that is – quoting Ḥafṣ b. ᶜUmar al-Ṭā᾿ī, quoting Abū ᶜUmar b. Murra, quoting Bilāl b. Yasār b. Zayd, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), quoting his father who quoted his grandfather as having heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Whoever says, "I seek forgiveness from God, than Whom there is no other, He being the Living, the Everlasting; to Him I turn in repentance", will be forgiven, even if he has fled from the battlefield.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Abū Salama. Al-Tirmidhī gave if from Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl al-Bukhārī, from Abū Salama Mūsā b. Ismāᶜīl. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This is *gharīb*. We know of it only from this one source."

They include Safīna Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, known as Abū al-Bakhtarī. His given name was Mahrān, and is also said to have been ᶜAbs, Aḥmar and Rūmān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him his agnomen, for a reason we will relate, and it stuck to him.

He was a freed-man of Umm Salama, who set him free on condition that he serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he died. He accepted this and would say, "If she had not stipulated this, I would not have separated from him!"

This *ḥadīth* is recorded in the *sunan* (of Abū Dā'ūd).

He was of mixed Arab ancestry, his paternal origins being from Persia. His full name was Safīna b. Māfinna.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Ḥashraj b. Nubāta al-ʿAbsī, a man of Kūfa, quoting Saʿīd b. Jumhān, quoting Safīna, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The caliphate among my nation will be for 30 years, and thereafter it will become a kingdom.'"

(Saʿīd b. Jumhān continued) "Safīna then said to me, 'Take the caliphate of Abū Bakr, that of ʿUmar, that of ʿUthmān, and then that of ʿAlī. We find they total 30 years.'

"Later I researched the caliphs, but did not find they totalled 30 years. I asked Saʿīd, 'Where did you meet Safīna?' He replied, 'In a date-grove, in the era of al-Ḥajjāj. I stayed with him for three nights, asking him to tell me things the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. I asked him, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'I'm not telling you! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named me "Safīna", "boat".' I asked him, 'Why did he call you "Safīna"?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on a journey with his Companions. Their baggage grew too heavy for them and he told me, "Spread out your cloak!" I spread it out and they put their belongings on it and then placed it on me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Carry that; you're a *safīna*!" And if I had been burdened that day with the load of one, two, three, four, five, six or seven donkeys it would not have been too heavy for me, though they would have been overdoing it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is given by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī. The phrase they relate is, "the caliphate of the prophethood will be for 30 years. Then there will be a kingdom."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Saʿīd b. Jumhān, who quoted Safīna as having said, "We were on a journey, and whenever anyone got tired, he would throw his clothes, shield or sword over on me until I was carrying a whole lot of that. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, 'You're a *safīna*!'"

This was widely accepted to be how he came to be named Safīna.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that both al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Zahrānī and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Warikānī told him that Sharīk b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʿī had related to them, from ʿImrān al-Bajalī, from a freed-man of Umm Salama, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and passed by a gulley – or a river – and I was busy helping people across. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'From today on, you're nothing but a *safīna*, a "boat"!'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, from Aswad b. ʿĀmir, from Shurayk.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that al-Ḥasan b. Makram related to him, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Safīna, who said, "I went to sea on a ship and it was wrecked. I rode on one of its planks and it cast me up on an island where there was a lion, and that really surprised me. I said, 'Abū al-Ḥārith, I'm the freed-man of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It then began using its shoulder to gesture to me, and eventually led me to a path. Then it growled, which I took to be its (farewell) greeting to me."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī narrated it from Ibrāhīm b. Hanī᾿, from ῾Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from a man, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir.

He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. ῾Abd Allāh al-Makhramī, from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who quoted it from ῾Abd al-῾Azīz b. ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, who quoted Safīna, as above.

Al-Baghawī also stated that Hārūn b. ῾Abd Allāh related to him, quoting ῾Alī b. ῾Āṣim, quoting Abū Rayḥāna, who quoted Safīna, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "When the lion confronted me, I said, 'I'm Safīna, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' It then struck its tail on the ground and lay down."

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* quoted from him. It is given above in the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad that he used to reside in a date orchard, and that he lived on into the days of al-Ḥajjāj.

Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū ῾Abd Allāh, *mawlā al-islām*, "the freedman of Islam", was also one of them.

He was originally from Persia and circumstances led him being owned by a Jew of Medina. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into exile there, Salmān accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to enter into a contract of manumission with his Jewish master and helped him to pay off what he owed. He was associated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said of him, "Salmān is of our household".

We have given above a description of his leaving his own country and his association with a sequence of monks, one after the next, until circumstances led him to *al-madina al-munawwaram*, 'Medina the illuminated'. We described how he became a Muslim, may God be pleased with him, early after the migration of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to Medina. His death came in 35 AH, at the end of ῾Uthmān's rule, or early in 36 AH. It is also said that he died during the reign of ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; the first date is more widely accepted.

Al-῾Abbās b. Yazīd al-Baḥrānī stated, "Scholars had no doubt that he lived for 250 years; they did differ over his having lived to a greater age, up to 350 years."

Some later *ḥuffāẓ*, however, claim that he did not live beyond the age of 100. God knows best what is correct.

Shuqrān al-Ḥabashī was also one of them. His given name was Ṣāliḥ b. ῾Adī; the Prophet (ṢAAS) inherited him from his father.

Muṣ῾ab al-Zubayrī and Muḥammad b. Sa῾d stated, "He had belonged to ῾Abd al-Raḥmān b. ῾Awf, who presented him to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated, from Isḥāq b. ῾Īsā, from Abū Ma῾shar, who stated that Shuqrān had told him that he had participated at the battle of Badr.

Abū Maʿshar stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not awarded him a share of the booty.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd similarly includes him among those who were present at Badr. He was a slave and therefore did not receive a share in the booty, but was placed in charge of the prisoners taken. Each man owning a prisoner made payment to him, and so he received more than the equivalent of a full share.

He (Muḥammad b. Saʿd) stated, "There were three slaves apart from him at Badr. One was owned by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, another by Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa and a third by Saʿd b. Muʿādh. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did give them a small present."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, "There is no mention in al-Zuhrī's book or in that of Ibn Isḥāq of him (Shuqrān) among those who were present at Badr."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sabra quoted Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Jahm as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed his freed-man Shuqrān in charge of everything found in the saddle-bags at the battle at al-Muraysīʿ, including minor items, weapons, cattle and sheep; he assembled the children in one area."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Muslim b. Khālid, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī, from his father, who quoted Shuqrān as having said, "I saw him" – meaning the Prophet (ṢAAS) – "making his way to Khaybar mounted on a donkey, performing prayer as he did so, and making gesticulations."

These *aḥādīth* provide evidence that Shuqrān, may God be pleased with him, was present at these engagements.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from Zayd b. Akhzam, from ʿUthmān b. Farqad, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, who quoted Ibn Abū Rāfiʿ, as having said, "I heard Shuqrān say, 'I swear by God, it was I who spread out the velvet cloth in the grave beneath the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'" Al-Tirmidhī went on to state that Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad quoted his father as having said, "It was Abū Ṭalḥa who made the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and Shuqrān who laid out the velvet cloth."

Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as being *ḥasan gharīb.*

It has been narrated above how Shuqrān participated in washing the body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), how he descended into his grave and how he placed beneath him the velvet on which he had prayed, saying, "I swear by God, no one will wear this after you!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba* that Shuqrān's line died out and that the last of his descendants died at Medina during the rule of al-Rashīd.

Also included in their number was Ḍumayra b. Abū Ḍumayra al-Ḥimyarī. He was taken captive during the *jāhiliyya* and the Prophet (ṢAAS) purchased him then manumitted him. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī referred to him, saying, "He had a house at al-Baqīʿ and a child."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb quoted from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḍumayra, from his father, who quoted his grandfather Ḍumayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Ḍumayra's mother while she was weeping and asked her, "What is making you cry? Are you hungry or unclothed?" She replied, "Messenger of God, I have been separated from my son." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "A mother and her son can never be separated." He then sent for the man who had Ḍumayra and exchanged a young camel for Ḍumayra.

Ibn Abū Dhiʾb went on to state that he (Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd-Allāh b. Ḍumayra) then read to him a letter he had, as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate. This letter is from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Ḍumayra and his family. The Messenger of God has manumitted them all. They are a family of Arab descent. If they wish, they may reside with the Messenger of God and if they wish, they may return to their own people without hindrance unless for proper cause. Those Muslims who meet with them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Kaʿb wrote (it)."

They also include Ṭahmān, also known as Dhakwān, as Mahrān, as Maymūn, Kaysān and Bādhām. He quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "Charity payments (*ṣadaqa*) are not permitted to be made to myself, nor to my household. The freed-man of the family is one of them (and should not be given *ṣadaqa*)."

Al-Baghawī narrated it from Minjab b. al-Ḥārith and others, from Sharīk, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Umm Kulthūm, one of the daughters of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "A freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man named Ṭahmān or Dhakwān, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said . . .", and she proceeded to quote him as above.

Also among them was ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, from Shuʿba, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from a sheikh who asked ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Did the Prophet (ṢAAS) order the performance of any prayer other than those written down?" He replied, "A prayer between the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, "I know of no one other than him who narrated this."

Ibn ʿAsākir then commented, "It was not as he said."

He then proceeded to give a text through Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, who stated that ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, who quoted ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said that there were two women who were fasting and were slandering people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for a vessel and told them, "Vomit!" They did so, bringing up pus, blood, meat and flesh. He then commented, "These two women abstained from what was permitted and broke their fast (by eating) what was prohibited."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this, from Yazīd b. Hārūn and Ibn Abū ʿAdī, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from a man who related to them at a gathering held by Abū

ʿUthmān, quoting from ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), narrating it as above.

Aḥmad also narrated it from Ghundar, who quoted ʿUthmān b. Ghiyāth as having said, "I was with Abū ʿUthmān when a man said, "Saʿīd" – or ʿUbayd, ʿUthmān was unsure of the name – "a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said . . .". And he went on to narrate as above.

They also included Faḍḍāla, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that al-Wāqidī informed him, quoting ʿUtba b. Khayrat al-Ahshalī as having said, "ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm asking him for information about the servants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), including the men, the women and the freed-men. He replied to him, stating, "There were Faḍāla, a freed-man of his, originally of Yemen, who later lived in Syria, and Abū Muwayhiba, a man of mixed Arab ancestry, of (Banū) Muzayna, whom he manumitted."

Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "I find no mention of Faḍāla among the freed-men except from this source."

Qafīz was also among them.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Sahl b. al-Sarī informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Harrānī, from Zuhayr b. Muḥammad, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had one slave named Qafīz."

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān is alone in giving this.

Also there was Kirkira, who was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on some of his military expeditions.

Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm mentioned him in what he wrote to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from ʿAmr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "There was a man named Kirkira in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The man died and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'He is in hell-fire!' Then they noticed that the man had a striped cloak or an outer garment that he had put on."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān.

I note that his story is similar to that of Midʿam who was given to him by Rifāʿa of Banū al-Naṣīb, as will be explained.

Kaysān was also one of them.

Al-Baghawī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, who said, "I came to Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī, who said, 'Kaysān, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), related to me that the latter said to me with regard to an object assigned to charity, 'We of the household are forbidden access to the charity. And our freed-man is one of ourselves: so do not consume charity offerings.'"

Also of them was Mābūr, the Coptic eunuch who was presented to him by the Governor of Alexandria along with Māriya, Shīrīn and the mule. We have given information about him in the material dealing with the life of Māriya, may God be pleased with them both.

Midʿam was one of them. He was a black, of mixed Arab descent from Ḥismā[183] who was a gift from Rifāʿa b. Zayd al-Jadhāmī. He was killed during the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), following their return from Khaybar. When they reached Wādī al-Qurā, Midʿam was busy unloading the baggage from the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a stray arrow struck and killed him. People commented, "Lucky for him! Martyrdom!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Absolutely not, by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the *shamla*[184] he took at the battle of Khaybar that had not been assigned from the booty will light the fires of hell for him!"

When they heard that a man came up with a shoelace – or two shoelaces – and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "A shoelace" – or "two shoelaces" – "of fire!"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra.

Also included among them is Mahrān, also known as Ṭahmān. It was he who was referred to by Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī, regarding the prohibition of charity payments to Banū Hāshim and their freed-men, as related above.

Maymūn was also among them, he being (the same as) the person preceding (above).

Also there was his freed-man Nāfiʿ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir stated that Abū al-Fatḥ al-Māhānī informed him, quoting Shujāʿ al-Ṣūfī, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Abū Mālik al-Ashjaʿī, from Yūsuf b. Maymūn, from Nāfiʿ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'No adulterous old man, no arrogant pauper and no person dissatisfied with the rewards of his work for God the Almighty and Glorious, shall enter heaven.'"

Also included among them is Nufayʿ, sometimes known as Masrūḥ and as Nāfiʿ b. Masrūḥ. The correct name is Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda b. ʿAmr b. ʿIlāj b. Salama b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Ghīra b. ʿAwf b. Qays, he being Thaqīf Abū Bakra al-Thaqafī. His mother was Sumayya, Umm Ziyād.

He and a number of slaves were lowered down over the walls of al-Ṭāʾif, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) manumitted him. He was born in Bakra, and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named him Abū Bakra.

Abū Nuʿaym stated, "He was a righteous man; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between him and Abū Barza al-Aslamī."

I note that it was he who prayed over the bier of the latter, that being his testament.

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[183] In Syria.

[184] A small turban or a body-covering cloak.

Abū Bakra was not present at the battle of the camel, nor at the battles at Ṣiffīn. His death came in 51 AH, though some say 52 AH.

Wāqid was also one of them. His name is also given as "Abū Wāqid". He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ḥāfiẓ al-Isbahānī stated that Abū ʿAmr b. Ḥamadān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, quoting al-Haytham b. Ḥammād, from al-Ḥārith b. Ghassān, from a man of Quraysh who lived in Medina, from Zādhān, from Wāqid, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Whoever obeys God remembers God, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qurʾān are minimal. Whoever disobeys God does not remember Him, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qurʾān are substantial.'"

Hurmuz Abū Kaysān was one of them. He is also called Hurmuz or Kaysān. It is he who was also known as "Ṭahmān", as mentioned above.

Ibn Wahb stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās related to him, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, from Fāṭima, daughter of ʿAlī, or Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī, who said, "I heard a freed-man of ours called Hurmuz, whose agnomen was Abū Kaysān, say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'We of the household are not permitted access to the charity. And our freed-men are of ourselves. So do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, the charity.'"

Al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān narrated it, from Asad b. Mūsā, from Warqāʾ, from ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib, who said, "I went in to Umm Kulthūm and she said, 'Hurmuz, or Kaysān, related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "We do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, 'the charity'."'"

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Manṣūr b. Abū Muzāḥim related to him, quoting Abū Ḥafṣ al-Abbār, from Ibn Abū Ziyād, from Muʿāwiya, who said, "Twenty slaves were present at Badr, including one slave belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man named Hurmuz. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted him and said, 'God has set you free. A people's freed-man is one of themselves. We of the household do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, the charity; you must not do so.'"

Included among them is Hishām, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Sulaymān b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Raqqī informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Raqqī, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Hishām, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "A man came and said, 'Messenger of God, my wife does not fend off the hand of someone who touches her.' 'Divorce her,' he responded. The man went on, '(But) she pleases me.' 'Then enjoy her,' he said."

Ibn Manda stated that a group of scholars narrate this from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from a freed-man of Banū Hāshim, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). But this *ḥadīth* did not name the freed-man. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAmr also narrated it, from ʿAbd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Also among them was Yasār; it is said that he was killed by the ῾Uranī (travellers) who had mutilated him.

Al-Wāqidī narrated, with his line of transmission coming from Ya῾qūb b. ῾Utba, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had received him at the engagement at Qarqarat al-Kudr, along with the livestock of Banū Ghatafān and Banū Sulaym. The men gave him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted him from them. Because he saw that he was properly performing the prayer, he manumitted him. He then divided the livestock among the men, each one of them receiving seven camels. The men were two hundred in number.

They also include Abū al-Ḥamrā᾿, a freed-man and servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His name is also given as Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith, Ibn al-Muẓaffar, and Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith b. Ẓufr al-Sulamī. He had been taken into captivity during the *jāhiliyya*.

Abū Ja῾far Muḥammad b. ῾Alī b. Duḥaym stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim related to him, quoting ῾Abd Allāh b. Mūsā and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq, from Abū Dā'ūd al-Fāṣ, who quoted Abū al-Ḥamrā᾿ as having said, "I was stationed in Medina for seven months – it felt like one day – and the Prophet (ṢAAS) would come to the door of the home of ῾Alī and Fāṭima every morning and call out, 'The prayer! The prayer! People of the household, God wants only to remove the filth from you, and to thoroughly purify you.'"

Aḥmad b. Hāzim also stated that ῾Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn – whose phraseology is given – stated, from Yūnus b. Abū Isḥāq, from Abū Dā'ūd, from Abū al-Ḥamrā᾿, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by a man who had food in a bowl (for sale) and he placed his hand in it (to check its quality). He said, 'You cheated! Whoever cheats us is not one of us!'"

Ibn Māja narrated it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Nu῾aym. This is the only source he quoted.

The "Abū Dā'ūd" referred to in the above *ḥadīth* was Nufay῾ b. al-Ḥārith al-A῾mā; he was one of those sources considered weak.

῾Abbās al-Dūrī quoted Ibn Mu῾īn as having said, "Abū al-Ḥamrā᾿ (referred to above) was a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), whose name was Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith. He used to live in Ḥimṣ; I saw there a young man who was one of his sons."

Someone else said, "His home was outside the walls of Ḥimṣ." Abū al-Wāzi῾ quoted Samura as having said, "Abū al-Ḥamrā᾿ was one of the freed-men."

Also among them was Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was also known as Abū Sallām, his given name being Ḥurayth.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa related to him, quoting ῾Abbād b. ῾Abd al-Ṣamad, who quoted Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Whoever meets God, testifies that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, and expresses faith in the Mission and in the reckoning will enter paradise.'"

ʿAbbād went on, "We asked him, 'Did you hear this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He placed a finger in each ear and replied, 'I heard that from him not once, not twice, not thrice and not four times!'"

Ibn ʿAsākir gives only this *ḥadith* from him. Al-Nasāʾī narrated another *ḥadīth* from him in the work *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* and Ibn Māja quoted another from him.

Abū Ṣafiyya, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), is another of them.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām related to us, quoting Muʿtamir, quoting Abū Kaʿb, from his grandfather Baqiyya, from Abū Ṣafiyya, freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that the latter would lay out a leather sheet, and a palm-leaf basket containing pebbles would be brought to him. He would use these to repeat, *subḥān Allāh*! "Praise be to God!" until midday. Then it would be taken away. When he had performed *al-ūwlā*, "the first prayer", he would go on repeating *subḥān Allāh*! until evening.

They also included Abū Ḍumayra, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), the father of Ḍumayra referred to above and the husband of Umm Ḍumayra. Some mention is made of him in their letter concerning his son, Ṭaraf, to which reference is made above.[185]

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated in *al-Ṭabaqāt* that Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Uways al-Wadanī informed him, quoting Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḍumayra, that the text of the letter written by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Abū Ḍumayra was as follows: "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. (This is) a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Ḍumayra and his family. They are an Arab family who are among those whom God has awarded as booty to His Messenger. The latter has manumitted them. He has given Abū Ḍumayra the choice of joining his people, if he wishes, or, if he prefers, to remain with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he may then be of his household, having then chosen God and His Messenger, and entered into Islam. No one is to interrupt their passage, unless to do them good. Those Muslims who meet them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Kaʿb wrote (it)."

Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways stated, "This man was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was of Ḥimyar. A group of them went on a journey, bearing this letter. Thieves blocked their path and took their belongings. They then produced this letter and told the thieves what it contained. The latter read it, returned their belongings to them and allowed them to pass.

"Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḍumayra presented himself to the Commander of the Believers, al-Mahdī, having brought this letter with him. Al-Mahdī took it, examined it carefully, and awarded Ḥusayn 300 *dīnārs*."

They also included Abū ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Abān al-ʿAṭṭār, quoting Qatāda, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, who quoted Abū ʿUbayd as having said that he cooked a pot of meat for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked him, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū ῾Ubayd did so, but again he asked, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū ῾Ubayd did so, but again he asked, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū ῾Ubayd then said, "Prophet of God, how many shoulders can a sheep have!" He replied, "By Him who holds my soul in His hand, if you'd only remained silent, you would have been able to give me a shoulder every time I asked for it!" Al-Tirmidhī narrated this in *al-Shamā᾽il* from Bandār, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Abān b. Yazīd al-῾Aṭṭār.

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[185] The text of the letter in question, from a different source, is given above with minor variants from the following account. See above, pages 450–1.

They also include Abū ῾Asīb; some give his name as Abū ῾Asim. The former is correct. There are those who distinguish between the two men.

It is related above that he participated in the prayers spoken over the Prophet (ṢAAS), attended his burial, and narrated the story about al-Mughīra b. Shu῾ba.

Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Usāma stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting Muslim b. ῾Ubayd Abū Naḍra, who said, "I heard Abū ῾Asīb, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Gabriel came to me bearing fever and pestilence. I kept the fever in Medina and dispatched the pestilence to Syria. Pestilence is a testimony and a mercy for my own nation and a punishment for the unbelievers."'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Abū ῾Abd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muḥammad b. Ya῾qūb informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Yūnus b. Muḥammad, quoting Ḥashraj b. Nubāta, quoting Abū al-Naḍra al-Baṣrī, from Abū ῾Asīb, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth one night. He passed by me and called out to me, then passed by and called out to Abū Bakr, who came out to him. He then went on by and called out to ῾Umar, who also came out to him. He then walked on and entered a garden owned by an *anṣārī*. He asked the owner of the garden, 'Provide us with some unripe dates to eat.' The man brought them and put them down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ate, as did all the others. He then called for water and, having drunk some of it, said, 'This is a blessing! You will be asked about this on Judgement Day!' ῾Umar then took the bunch of dates and struck it on the ground, scattering the unripe dates. He (the *anṣārī* owner of the date-grove) then asked, 'Prophet of God, will we really be held responsible for this on Judgement Day?' He replied, 'Yes; for everything except three things: a scrap of cloth with which a man covers his nakedness, a morsel of food with which to blunt his hunger, and some stones (of a structure) he enters' – meaning to escape the heat and the cold."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Shurayḥ, from Ḥashraj.

Muḥammad b. Sa῾d narrated it in his work *al-Tabaqāt*, from Mūsā b. Ismā῾īl, who quoted Muslima, daughter of Abān al-Furay῾iyya, who quoted Maymūna, daughter of Abū ῾Asīb as having said, "Abū ῾Asīb would fast for three days in sequence. He used to perform the *al-ḍuḥā*, early morning, prayer while standing, but grew (too) old. He would also fast the *ayyām al-bīḍ*." She went on to tell how he had a bell in his bed, the sound of which would ring out when he called her with it; when he rang it, she would come.

Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī was also one of them. He was of the Anmār clan of Banū Mudhḥij as is widely known. He was a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

There are several versions given of his name. The best known of these is Sulaym; he is also known as ʿAmr b. Saʿd – or Saʿd b. ʿAmr. He was originally of mixed Arab descent from Daws territory. He was present at the battle of Badr.

Musā b. ʿUqba quoted from al-Zuhrī as asserting this. Ibn Isḥāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Wāqidī, Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī and Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama mention him. Al-Wāqidī added, "He also was present at the battle of Uḥud, and various later military engagements."

He died on the day when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power. That was on Tuesday, eight days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Ākhira in 13 AH.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ stated, "In 23 AH Abū Kabsha, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), died."

It has been given above, from Abū Kabsha, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed through al-Ḥijr on his journey to Tabūk, the men began entering their houses. They were summoned to a communal prayer and they all assembled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?" One man called out, "We're curious about them." "Should I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves who informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you." And so on.[186]

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, from Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, from Azhar b. Saʿīd al-Ḥawārī, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated among his Companions. Then he went inside and later came out again, having bathed. We asked, 'Messenger of God, was something wrong?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'A certain lady passed by me and I had a desire to be with a woman. So I went to one of my wives and had sexual relations with her. You should all act similarly; to have only what is permitted is a highly exemplary deed for you."

Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The like of this nation is as four persons. One is a man to whom God gave wealth and knowledge and who works for Him and expends it as he should. Another is a man to whom God gives knowledge but not wealth; that person says, 'If only I had the wealth of this person, I would act as he does.' These two men shall be equal in reward.

"Another is a man to whom God gives wealth but not knowledge; he acts aimlessly and expends it improperly. Then there is the man to whom God gives neither wealth nor knowledge. He says, 'If I had money such as does that man, I would do as he does.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concluded, "Those two men shall be equal in punishment."

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[186] See Vol. IV, page 28.

Ibn Māja narrated it similarly from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and ῾Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted from Wakī῾. Ibn Māja also narrated it from another line, from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja῾d, from Ibn Abū Kabsha, from his father. Some sources give his name as ῾Abd Allāh b. Abū Kabsha.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. ῾Abd Rabbihi related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Zubaydī, from Rāshid b. Sa῾d, from Abū ῾Āmir al-Hawzanī, who stated that Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī came to him and said, "Loan me your horse; for I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "A person who loans to a Muslim a horse that then gives birth for him will receive a reward equivalent to that for 70 horses he might have provided to bear fighters in God's cause.'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ismā῾īl, from Abū Nu῾aym, from ῾Ubāda b. Muslim, from Yūnus b. Khabbāb, from Sa῾īd Abū al-Bukhturī al-Ṭā᾽ī, who quoted Abū Kabsha as having quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "There are three things to which I will swear. And I will relate to you something; remember it. Charity never diminished a worshipper's wealth. No worshipper was ever maltreated by an injustice and then remained patient in face of it without God increasing his glory thereby. And no worshipper will ever open the door to begging without God opening for him a door to poverty."

He categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Aḥmad narrated this from Ghundar, from Shu῾ba, from al-A῾mash, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja῾d.

Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Ibn Thawbān, from his father, from Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have blood cupped from the top of his head and from between his shoulders.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated that Ḥumayd b. Mas῾ada related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥamrān, from Abū Sa῾īd – he being ῾Abd Allāh b. Busr – who said, "I heard Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī say, 'The caps worn by the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were flat and close-fitting.'"

They also included Abū Muwayhiba, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was of mixed Arab descent from Banū Muzayna. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased and then manumitted him. His given name, may God be pleased with him, is not known.

Abū Muṣ῾ab al-Zubayrī stated, "Abū Muwayhiba was present at the battle of al-Muraysī῾. It was he who would lead the camel of ῾Ā᾽isha, may God be pleased with him."

Above is given the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad with a line of transmission back to Abū Muwayhiba, who reported having gone with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) at night to the al-Baqīʿ cemetery. He narrated how the latter had stopped there, prayed, and asked forgiveness for them and then said, "You should be more pleased to be where you are than are some people to be where they are. Dissensions have arisen like pieces of dark night, riding the one upon the other, the latter ever more intense than the first. You should be pleased to be where you are."

He then came back and said, "Abū Muwayhiba, I have been given to choose between having the keys to those places my nation will conquer after me, going to paradise, or meeting my Lord (soon). I have chosen to meet my Lord." Abū Muwayhiba went on, "Soon – just seven or eight days thereafter – he died."

The above are, then, the slaves of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE WOMEN SERVANTS OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

These include Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna.

What is correct is that it was this woman's mother Razīna who should be credited, as will be explained. However, the former name is given in the account of Ibn Abū ʿĀṣim, who narrated that ʿUqba b. Makram related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Mūsā, quoting ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-ʿAtkiyya, quoting her father, who quoted Amat Allāh, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said that the latter took Ṣafiyya captive at the battles against Banū Qurayẓa and Banū al-Naḍīr, then manumitted her and gave her Razīna, the mother of Amat Allāh as her dowry.

This *ḥadīth* is very strange.

They also included Umayma. Ibn al-Athīr stated, "She was a freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

It is the people of Syria who narrate a *ḥadīth* from her. Jubayr b. Nufayr quoted her as saying that she would wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (before the prayer) and that one day a man came to the latter and asked him, "Give me advice!" He responded, "Do not associate any other with God, even if you should be mutilated or burned by fire. Do not deliberately omit a prayer; anyone who does this deliberately has the protection of God and that of His Messenger withdrawn from him. Do not drink intoxicants, for they are the chief factor of every sin. Do not disobey your parents, even if they should order you to abandon your family and your way of life."

These also include Baraka, Umm Ayman, and Umm Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

She was Baraka, daughter of Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik b. Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥabashiyya.

She was generally known by her agnomen "Umm Ayman", "the mother of Ayman", her son by her first husband ʿUbayd b. Zayd al-Ḥabashī. After him she married Zayd b. Ḥāritha, to whom she bore Usāma b. Zayd. She was also known as "Umm al-Ẓibāʾ", "the mother of the gazelles".

She went out on both[187] Hijras, may God be pleased with her. She was the nursemaid to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with his own mother, Āmina, daughter of Wahb. She was one of those received by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the inheritance of his father. Al-Wāqidī stated this.

Others say that he inherited her from his mother. Yet others say she belonged to Khadīja's sister, who presented her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that she accepted Islam early and went on the Hijra, following him later on.

We have given above the account of the visit made to her by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both, after the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and how she had wept. They then asked her, "Don't you realize that what is with God is better for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" She replied, "Yes, indeed; but I am weeping because revelation from heaven has ceased." And they both wept along with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his history, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf stated, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhrī, who said, 'Umm Ayman suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he was weaned. He manumitted her and married her to Zayd b. Ḥāritha."

She died five months after the Prophet (ṢAAS). Some, however, give the period as six months. She is alternatively said to have been still alive after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Muslim narrated this from Abū al-Ṭāhir and Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī. He gave her name as Umm Ayman al-Ḥabashiyya.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, quoting al-Wāqidī, "Umm Ayman died early during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Dīnār informed him, from a sheikh of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to address Umm Ayman as '*yā ammah*', 'mother'. And he would look over at her and say, 'This woman is what remains of my (childhood) family household.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated that Sulaymān b. Abū Sheikh used to tell him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, 'Umm Ayman is my mother who came after my own mother.'"

Al-Wāqidī quoted his colleagues of Medina as having said, "Umm Ayman looked over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was drinking and said, 'Give me to drink.' ʿĀʾisha demanded, 'Would you say such a thing to the Messenger of God?' She replied, 'I served him far longer!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You are right.' And he then brought her water for her to drink.'"

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAssān stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, "I heard ʿUthmān b. al-Qāsim say, 'When Umm Ayman went on the Hijra, she arrived in the evening at al-Munṣarif, before al-Rawḥāʾ. She was fasting, and she was overcome by intense thirst. A bucket of water, attached to a white well-rope, came down from heaven for her, and she said, "I drank, and never again did I experience thirst. I was open to thirst through fasting on the Hijra journeys, but I was never actually thirsty thereafter!"'"

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[187] That to Abyssinia and that to Medina.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Sālim b. Qutayba, from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭāʾ, from al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Umm Ayman, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a pottery bowl into which he would urinate. When morning came, he would call out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot.' One night I got up feeling thirsty and drank what it contained. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot', I replied, 'Messenger of God, I got up feeling thirsty and drank what was in it!' He commented, 'You'll never suffer from your stomach!'"

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad narrated from Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥakīma, daughter of Umayma, who quoted her mother Umayma, daughter of Raqīqa, as having said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a wooden bowl into which he would urinate and then place beneath his bed. A woman named Baraka came one day and drank it. He asked where it was, being unable to find it, and he was told, "Baraka drank it!" He stated, "She is kept out of hell-fire by a screen!"'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr stated, "It is said that the woman who drank the urine of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was none other than Baraka al-Ḥabashiyya, who came with Umm Ḥabība from Abyssinia."

He differentiated between the two women. But God knows best.

I note that Burayra belonged to the family of Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh. They had entered into a contract of manumission with her. ʿĀʾisha purchased her from them and manumitted her. The right of *walāʾ*[188] then passed to her, as is shown by the *ḥadīth* to that effect in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. Ibn ʿAsākir does not mention her.

Khaḍra was also one of them. Ibn Manda mentioned her, saying that Muʿāwiya narrated, from Hishām, from Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, who quoted his father as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a servant called 'Khaḍra'."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted al-Wāqidī as having said that Fāʾid, the freed-man of ʿUbayd Allāh related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from his grandmother Salmā, who said, "The servants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were myself, Khaḍra, Raḍwa and Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted them all."

Also included among them was Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar.

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt narrated her *ḥadīth* from her grandmother, from Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, who told the story of Ḥafṣa and ʿĀʾisha with Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa and their joking with her that al-Dajjāl[189] had come forth. And so she hid in a house where they would light a fire and laugh together. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived and asked, 'What are you two up to?' they told him about what had happened with Sawda, and he went over to her and she asked, 'Messenger of God, has *al-Dajjāl* really come forth?' He replied, 'No; though it is as though he had.' And so she emerged, brushing spiders' eggs from herself."

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[188] This refers to the right of the manumitted slave to inherit from the freed-man in the absence of heirs.

Ibn al-Athīr mentioned Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Salmān al-Fārisī, saying, "Reference is made to her regarding the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Fārisī, how his mistress manumitted him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated her by planting 300 palm seedlings. She mentioned this as a matter of distinction."

They also include Khawlā, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS); Ibn al-Athīr mentions her.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym narrates her *ḥadīth* on a line of transmission through Ḥafṣ b. Saʿīd al-Qurashī, from his mother, from her mother Khawlā, who was the servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He presented her *ḥadīth* on the subject of the interruption in the revelation due to a puppy dog having died beneath the bed of the Prophet (ṢAAS), without anyone having been aware of this. When they took it away, the revelation returned, and the words of Almighty God were revealed, "By the early morning and the night when it becomes dark!" (*sūrat al-Ḍuḥā*; XCIII, v.1, 2).

This is strange; it is well known that the reason for the revelation of this is quite different. But God knows best.

They include Razīna. Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "In fact she belonged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, and also served the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

I note that it has been stated above regarding her daughter Amat Allāh that the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her mother Razīna to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, as her dowry. In this case, she must originally have belonged to him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā stated that Abū Saʿīd al-Jushamī related to him, quoting ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt, quoting her mother Amīna, who quoted Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having stated that the latter took Ṣafiyya captive at the battles in which God gave victory against Banū Qurayẓa and Banū al-Naḍīr. He led her in as a captive. When she saw the women, she called out, "I testify that there is not god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God!" He then released her, having been holding her by the arm, and manumitted her. Later he proposed marriage to her, married her and gave her Razīna as her dowry.

This is the sequence of events as given in this text which is better than that previously presented from the account of Ibn Abū ʿĀṣim.

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[189] *Al-Dajjāl*, "the imposter", or *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl* "the anti-Christ", the Arabic word thought to be derived from Aramaic and Syriac, refers to a figure variously mentioned in the *ḥadīth* literature, though not in the Qurʾān. See the entry under al-Dadjdjāl in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

However, the truth is that the Prophet (ṢAAS), selected Ṣafiyya from the booty taken at Khaybar and that he made her manumission her dowry. The reference in this *ḥadīth* to this having happened at the battles against Banū Qurayẓa and Banū al-Naḍīr is nonsensical; there was a period of two years between these two engagements. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *Dalā'il* that Ibn ʿAbdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Sukarī, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Qawārīrī, quoting ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-ʿAtkiyya, who quoted her mother Amīna as having said, "I asked Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Amat Allāh, did you ever hear your mother relate that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mention the fast of ʿAshūrā'?'[190] She replied, 'Yes; he venerated it highly. He would call that day for his suckling infants and those of his daughter Fāṭima. He would spit into their mouths and tell their mothers, 'Do not suckle them until night.'"

There is testimony to this in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

They also included Raḍwā.

Ibn al-Athīr stated that Saʿīd b. Bashīr narrated, from Qatāda, who would quote Raḍwā, daughter of Kaʿb, as having said that she asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about menstruation causing staining. He replied, "There's no harm in that."

Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī narrated this.

(Regarding) Rayḥāna, of Banū Qurayẓa, though some say of Banū al-Naḍr, daughter of Shamʿūn, reference is made to her above, following the section dealing with the wives, may God be pleased with them, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They also include Zarīna, referred to above under the correct spelling "Razīna".

Sā'iba, freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), is included among them.

She narrated from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a *ḥadīth* relating to things found. Ṭāriq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quoted her. It was Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī who narrated it; Ibn al-Athīr gives it thus in his work *al-Ghāba*.

Sadīsa al-Anṣāriyya is one of them. She is said to have been a freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar.

She quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "Satan has bowed down before ʿUmar every time he met him since ʿUmar accepted Islam."

Ibn al-Athīr stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Faḍl b. al-Muwaffaq quoted from his father, from Isrā'īl, from al-Awzāʿī, from Sālim, from Sadīsa, and Isḥāq b. Yasār narrated it from al-Faḍl. He gave it from Sadīsa, from Ḥafṣa, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Nuʿaym narrated this, as did Ibn Manda.

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[190] A "voluntary" fast observed on the 10th of Muḥarram, from sunset to sunset. In *shīʿa* practice, the day is associated with the death of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and the occasion of pilgrimage to sacred shrines.

They also include Sallāma, the wet-nurse for Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

She narrated from him a statement he made on the virtues of pregnancy, divorce, the foster-relationship and remaining awake. The *ḥadīth* has objectionable aspects both to its line of transmission and to its content.

Abū Nuʿaym and Ibn Manda narrated it, from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿAnmār b. Nuṣayr, the orator of Damascus, from his father ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Khawlānī, from Anas, who quoted Salāma. Ibn al-Athīr gave it.

Salmā was also one of them. She was the mother of Rāfiʿ, and the wife of Abū Rāfiʿ, as al-Wāqidī narrated, quoting her as having said, "I used to serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as did Khaḍra, Radwā and Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted us all."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū ʿĀmir and Abū Saʿīd, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Mawālī, from Fā᾽id, the freed-man of Ibn Abū Rāfiʿ, from his grandmother Salmā, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "Whenever I heard anyone complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about a headache, he inevitably responded, 'Have your blood cupped.' When the complaint related to the person's legs, he would say, 'Dye them with *ḥannā*.'"[191]

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abū al-Mawālī. Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, both of them quoting from Fā᾽id, from his freed-man ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from his grandmother Salmā.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "(This *ḥadīth*) is *gharīb*, but we do recognize it from a *ḥadīth* of Fā᾽id."

She narrated a number of *aḥādīth* quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), too many to give and examine here.

Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī stated, "Salmā was present at the battle of Ḥunayn."

I note that it is said that she would cook *ḥarīra*, a milk and flour soup, for the Prophet (ṢAAS), that he greatly enjoyed.

She lived on until after his death and was present at the death of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her. She had first belonged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to whom she went thereafter. It was she who acted as midwife at the births of Fāṭima's children and at the birth of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was present at and participated with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib in the pre-burial washing of the latter's wife, Fāṭima, along with Asmā᾽, daughter of ʿUmays, the wife of Abū Bakr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from Salmā, who said, "Fāṭima suffered greatly in the illness from which she died, and I would nurse her."

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[191] "Henna" the orange-red dye produced from the foliage of the plant of that name, still widely used as a cosmetic.

One morning Salmā went to her as usual during her illness. She said, "ʿAlī went out on some business of his and Fāṭima said to me, '*yā ammah*! 'Maid'! Pour me some water to wash.'

"I poured her some and she washed herself more thoroughly than I had ever seen her do before. She then said, '*yā ammah*, hand me my new clothes.' And she put them on. She then said, '*yā ammah*, put my bed in the centre of the house.' I did so. She lay down on it, facing towards the *kaʿba*, placed her hand beneath her cheek and said, '*yā ammah*, I am dying now. I have cleansed myself and so no one should uncover me.' And she died right there. When ʿAlī came, I told him."

This (*ḥadīth*) is very *gharīb*, strange.

Shīrīn was also one of them. She was also called Sīrīn. She was the sister of Māriya the Copt and was therefore the aunt of Ibrāhīm, may peace be upon him. We have explained above how the *muqawkis*, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Mīnā had presented her along with a slave named Mābūr and a mule named al-Duldul. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her to Ḥassān b. Thābit and she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

They also included ʿUnqūda al-Ḥabashiyya, mother of Malīḥ. She was a servant girl belonging to ʿĀʾisha. Her early name was ʿInba, "a grape", and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed her ʿUnqūda, "bunch of grapes".

Abū Nuʿaym narrated this. Her name is also given as "Ghafira".

Also there was Farwa, the wet-nurse of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to her, 'When you go to bed, recite, 'Say: "O you unbelievers"' (*sūrat al-Kāfirūn*; CIX, v.1). It will keep you free from unbelief."

Abū Aḥmad made reference to her. This is stated by Ibn al-Athīr in his work *al-Ghāba*.

Fiḍḍa al-Nūbiyya is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Ghāba* as having been a freed-woman of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then gave, through an indistinct line of transmission, from Maḥbūb b. Ḥumayd al-Baṣrī, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Layth, from Mujāhid, material from Ibn ʿAbbās, regarding the statement of the Almighty, "And they donate for love of Him food to the poor, to orphans and to captives"(*sūrat al-Insān or al-Dahr*; LXXVII, v.8). He went on to relate, in essence, that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn fell ill and were visited by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and by the general public. They asked ʿAlī, "To what would it be, if you were to swear a resolution?" ʿAlī said, "If they recover from what ails them both, I will offer God three days of fasting." Fāṭima said the same, and so did Fiḍḍa.

God did cure them both, and they fasted. Then ʿAlī went and borrowed from Shamʿūn al-Khaybarī three *ṣāʿ* weight of barley. That night they prepared one *ṣāʿ* of it to eat. As they were about to eat it for their evening meal, there was a beggar standing at their door who asked, "Feed the poor! May God feed you at the tables of paradise!" ʿAlī gave orders and they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night they prepared the second *ṣāʿ* of barley and when they had it ready before them stood a beggar, who said, "Feed the orphan!" And so they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night he asked, "Feed the captive!" And so they fed him, themselves not eating.

And so God sent down regarding them, "Surely there came for man a period of time" to "We desire from you neither reward nor thanks" (*sūrat al-Insān*; V, v.1–9).

This *ḥadīth* is objectionable. Some of the *imāms* consider it fabricated, basing their views on the weakness of its phraseology. They also note that this *sūrat* was revealed in Mecca, whereas al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were born in Medina. But God knows best.

Also there was Laylā, ʿĀʾisha's freed-woman. She (is reported to have) said, "O Prophet of God, when you return from the wasteland (after defecation) and I go there after you, I never see anything; all I sense is the odor of musk." He replied, "The bodies of us prophets grow on the souls of the people of paradise; whatever filth comes forth from us the earth swallows up."

Abū Nuʿaym quoted her as having said this, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Madanī – he being an unidentified source.

Māriya al-Qubṭiyya, the mother of Ibrāhīm, was one of them; she has been considered above among "the mothers of the Believers".[192]

Ibn al-Athīr made a distinction between her and Māriya Umm al-Rabbāb. He stated that she was also a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

She is credited by the scholars of Baṣra with a *ḥadīth* narrated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥabīb, from Umm Salmā, from her mother, who quoted her grandmother Māriya as having said, "I bent over so that the Prophet (ṢAAS) could stand on me to get over a wall when he fled from the polytheists."

He went on, "Māriya was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS)". And Abū Bakr narrated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Muthannā b. Ṣāliḥ, who quoted his grandmother Māriya, who had been a servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "My hand never touched anything more smooth than the palm of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb*, stated, "I do not know whether she (this Māriya) is the same one as mentioned before, or not."

They also include Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAlī b. Baḥr related to him, quoting ʿĪsā – he being Ibn Yūsuf – quoting Thawr – he being Ibn Yazīd – from Ziyād b. Abū Sawda, from his brother, that Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, "Furnish us with information about Jerusalem."

He replied, "(It is) the land of both *al-manshar and al-maḥshar*, 'the dispersal and the in-gathering'. Go there and pray therein; a prayer there is as a thousand prayers (elsewhere)."

She asked, "What do you think of someone not being able to withstand the strain of being borne there, or of making his way there?" He replied, "Then let him have oil for lamps taken there. For anyone who presents a gift for it is as one who prays there."

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[192] The title, of course, given to the acknowledged wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Raqqī, from ᶜĪsā b. Yūnus, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from his brother ᶜUthmān b. Abū Sawda, from Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from al-Faḍl b. Miskīn b. Bukayr, from Saᶜīd b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from Maymūna, without any mention of Ziyād's brother. But God knows best.

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abū Nuᶜaym both related to him, quoting Isrā'īl, from Zayd b. Jubayr, from Abū Yazīd al-Dabbī, from Maymūna, daughter of Saᶜd, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about a child born as the result of fornication. He replied, 'There will be no good in him; I would prefer a pair of shoes I might use hard in God's cause to manumitting a child of fornication!'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from ᶜAbbās al-Dūrī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, both of whom quoted from Abū Nuᶜaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaᶜlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting al-Muḥāribī, quoting Mūsā b. ᶜUbayda, from Ayyūb b. Khālid, from Maymūna – who was a servant to the Prophet (ṢAAS). She quoted him as having said, "A woman who swaggers in finery outside her own household will be like darkness on Judgement Day – absolutely devoid of light."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ᶜUbayda. He stated, "We know this only from his *ḥadīth*." He categorized him as a weak source for *aḥādīth*. Others also quote him for it, but without full lines of transmission.

Also among them was Maymūna, daughter of Abū ᶜUnaysa – or the name is "Abū ᶜAnbasa". Abū ᶜAmr b. Manda stated this.

Abū Nuᶜaym stated that this name was a misspelling, and that the correct name was Maymūna, daughter of Abū ᶜAsīb.

Similarly, al-Munjiᶜ b. Muṣᶜab Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-ᶜAbdī gives a *ḥadīth* from Rabīᶜa, daughter of Marthad, who lived among Banū Qurayᶜ, from Munabbih, from Maymūna, daughter of Abū ᶜAsīb, also known as the daughter of Abū ᶜAnbasa, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She stated that a woman of Ḥuraysh came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and called out, "ᶜĀ'isha, help me out with some prayer from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with which you can provide me contentment and tranquillity." He replied to her, "Place your right hand over your heart, rub it and say, 'In the name of God. O God, cure me by your cure, heal me by your healing and by Your grace let me dispense with all others.'"

Rabīᶜa went on, "I did use this prayer and found it excellent."

Also among them was Umm Ḍumayra, the wife of Abū Ḍumayra. Reference has been made to them both hereabove; may God be pleased with them both.

Umm ῾Ayyāsh was also among them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her along with his daughter to serve her after he had arranged her marriage to ῾Uthmān b. ῾Affān.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that ῾Ikrima related to him, quoting ῾Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ṣafwān, quoting Abū Ṣafwān, from his father, from his grandmother Umm ῾Ayyāsh – who had been the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that the latter sent her along with his daughter to ῾Uthmān. She said, "I would press out dates for ῾Uthmān in the morning and he would drink it in the evening. In the evening I would press grapes that he would drink in the morning. One day he asked me, 'Do you mix anything into it?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Don't do that again,' he told me."

These, then, were his women servants, may God be pleased with them all.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī῾ related to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl, quoting Thumāma b. Ḥazn, who said, "I asked ῾Ā᾽isha about *al-nabīdh*[193] wine. She replied, "This is the servant of the Messenger of God, ask her." She was referring to an Abyssinian servant woman. She said, "I would press grapes into a waterskin in the evening and tie it closed. Next morning he would drink from it."

Muslim and al-Nasā᾽ī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl.

The authorities on the sayings of the Prophet (ṢAAS), include this in those attributed to ῾Ā᾽isha. However, it would be more appropriate to refer to it in a collection devoted to the sayings from an Abyssinian slave-woman who was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She was either one of those to whom we have made mention above, or else she was a person in addition to them.

Chapter: On those of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who acted as his servants, but who were not freed-men.

Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Ḍamḍam b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Jundab b. ῾Āṣim b. Ghanm b. ῾Adī b. al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī, the father of Ḥamza al-Madanī; he was originally from al-Baṣra.

He served the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), throughout the length of his ten-year residence in Medina. The latter never criticized him for anything. He never asked him why he had done something, nor why he had not done something.

His mother was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān b. Khālid b. Zayd b. Ḥarām. It was she who presented him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who received him kindly. She asked him to say a prayer for him, and he responded, "O God, increase his wealth, grant him children, give him long life and admit him to paradise."

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193. Unfermented grape-juice; the Companions were interested to know from the Prophet how long it could be stored and remain permissible for their consumption.

Anas stated, "I did see two of these and I await the third. I swear by God, I have much wealth and my children and grandchildren approach 100 in number."

In one account he is quoted as having said, "My vineyard bears fruit twice a year. And my progeny totals 106 children."

There are differences of opinion over whether or not he was present at the battle of Badr. An Anṣārī narrated from his father who quoted Thumāma as having said that Anas was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, "Where else would I have been than at Badr, may you lose your mother!"

However, it is widely accepted that he did not attend either the battles of Badr or Uḥud, due to his youth. He did not participate in the events of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, al-Ṭāʾif and those subsequent.

Abū Hurayra stated, "I never saw anyone perform prayer more like that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than the son of Umm Salīm" – meaning Anas b. Mālik.

Ibn Sīrīn stated, "He performed the prayer better than anyone else, whether travelling or at home."

He died at Baṣra, the last of the Companions to survive there, according to ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī. His death was in 90 AH. Others give that date as 91, 92 or 93 AH. The first date given is the one most widely and fully accepted.

Regarding his age at his death, Imām Aḥmad stated in his compendium of *aḥādīth* attributed to him, "Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān related to us, from Ḥamīd, that Anas lived to 100 minus 1 year."

The least figure given is 96 years. The highest are 107, 106 and 103 years. God knows best.

They also included al-Aslaʿ b. Sharīk b. ʿAwf al-Aʿrajī.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "His name was Maymūn b. Sinbādh. Al-Rabīʿ b. Badr al-Aʿrajī stated, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted al-Aslaʿ as having said, 'I used to be a servant of the Prophet and journey with him. One night he told me, "Aslaʿ, get up and prepare to travel." I replied, "Messenger of God, I have experienced a major ritual impurity."[194] He was quiet a while, and Gabriel brought him the *āyat al-ṣaʿīd*[195] (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.43), and he said, "Aslaʿ, get up and cleanse yourself with sand." I wiped myself and prayed. When I reached water, he told me, "Aslaʿ, off you go and wash yourself." He showed me how to clean using sand or earth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) plunged his hands into the earth and then shook them and used them to wipe both arms, the right hand wiping the left, the left the right, on both their upper and lower sides.'

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[194] That is, having engaged in sexual intercourse, or having experienced, as in this case, a nocturnal ejaculation, one is under an obligation to perform a total ablution.

[195] The verse allows the use of clean earth or sand for self-purification in the absence of water for those for whom a total ablution was necessary. The verse is so named because it includes the words *fatayammamū ṣaʿīdan ṭayyiban*, "make your way to high ground", to dust, sand or earth.

"Al-Rabīʿ went on, 'My father showed me, as had his father him, as al-Aslaʿ had him, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had shown him.'

"Al-Rabīʿ also stated, 'I related this *ḥadīth* to ʿAwf b. Abū Jamīla, who said, "I swear by God, that is what I saw al-Ḥasan do!"'"

Ibn Manda and al-Baghawī narrated this in their book *Muʿjam al-Ṣaḥāba*, from a *ḥadīth* of this al-Rabīʿ b. Badr. Al-Baghawī stated, "I do not know of anyone else who narrated it."

Ibn ʿAsākir stated that al-Haytham b. Ruzayq al-Mālikī al-Mudlijī narrated this *ḥadīth*, from his father, from al-Aslaʿ b. Sharīk.

Asmāʾ b. Ḥāritha b. Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād b. Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Aqṣā al-Aslamī was also one of them. He was from al-Ṣuffa, according to Muḥammad b. Saʿd.

He was the brother of Hind b. Ḥāritha; they both served the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala, from Yaḥyā b. Hind b. Ḥāritha. Hind was a Companion who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. It was Hind's brother Asmāʾ b. Ḥāritha whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent to his people with orders to fast the day of *al-ʿashūra*.

Imām Aḥmad went on to state that Yaḥyā b. Hind related to him, from Asmāʾ b. Ḥāritha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him (Hind) to him and said, "Tell your people to fast today." Asmāʾ asked, "But what if I found they have already eaten?" "Then they should fast the rest of the day," he replied.

Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Dhahabī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Ḥabīb b. Hind b. Asmāʾ al-Aslamī, from his father Hind, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Aslam's people. I told them, 'Tell your people to fast today; those you find to have eaten already should fast for the remainder of the day.'"

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that al-Wāqidī quoted Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mujammir, who quoted his father as having said, "I heard Abū Hurayra say, 'I used to think of Hind and Asmāʾ, the sons of Ḥāritha, as merely two *mamlūks*[196] owned by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "These two men, along with Anas b. Mālik were servants of his and never left his door."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Asmāʾ b. Ḥāritha died in 66 AH in al-Baṣra, at the age of 80.

Bukayr b. al-Shaddākh was among them.

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[196] The word *mamlūk*, literally "person owned", "slave", is a term not elsewhere used in this work to apply to any of the servants or freed-persons to whom reference is made. The term was, of course, used to refer to the dynasty that later ruled Egypt for several centuries and to those functionaries, often of high rank, who were acquired for high service in the military and the bureaucracy under the Ottomans.

Ibn Manda stated, quoting from a line of transmission through Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yaʿlā al-Laythī, who said that Bukayr b. Shaddākh al-Laythī was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he attained puberty, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was aware of that. Bukayr said, "I have been going in to your household. But I have now attained puberty, Messenger of God." The latter replied, "O God, (put) trust in his word and grant him success!"

(Ibn Manda went on) "During the rule of ʿUmar, a Jew was killed. ʿUmar stood to make an address and said, 'I adjure you by God, does any man of you have knowledge of that?' Bukayr arose and said, 'I killed him, Commander of the Believers!' ʿUmar asked, 'And what solution do you have, now that you have spilled his blood?'

"He replied, 'Commander of the Believers, a certain warrior left me in charge of his family and I discovered that Jew with his wife. He was reciting:

> 'Ashʿath was diverted away from me by Islam; I was
> left alone with his bride on the consummation night.
> I sleep upon her breast bones, while he spends the
> night on dusty harnesses.
> Her inner thighs are as though up and ready for all and
> sundry!'"

"ʿUmar believed what he said and judged the blood of the Jew to have been shed without need for him to be avenged, in light of the prayer of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for (the truthfulness of) Bukayr, as given above."

They also include Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabashī.

Born in Mecca, he had been the freed-man of Umayya b. Khalaf. Abū Bakr purchased him from him for a substantial sum because Umayya was severely persecuting Bilāl to persuade him to give up Islam. Bilāl, however, may God be pleased with him, insisted on remaining a Muslim. When Abū Bakr purchased Bilāl, he set him free as an act of homage to God.

He went out on the Hijra with the others and participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud and later engagements.

He was known as Bilāl, son of Ḥamāma, who was his mother.

He was one of the most eloquent of men; he did not, as some believe, mispronounce the letter *sīn* as *shīn*, despite the fact that some relate a groundless *ḥadīth* from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to that effect.

He was one of the four persons who made the call to prayer, as will be explained. Moreover, he was the first to ever make the call, as we have narrated above. He was in charge of the expenses for the children and the sum of the wealth (for distribution) was in his possession.

Following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he was one of those who went on the military expeditions against Syria. It is also said, however, that he stayed behind and acted as the *mu'azzin* for Abū Bakr throughout his caliphate. The first of these two possibilities is the better and is more widely accepted.

Al-Wāqidī stated that he died in Damascus in 20 AH, at some 60 years of age.

Al-Fallās stated that his grave is in Damascus. Others say it is at Dāriyā.[197] Alternatively, he is said to have died in Aleppo; the truth, however, is that it was his brother Khālid who died in Aleppo.

Makḥūl stated, "Someone who had seen Bilāl described him to me as of very dark skin, lean and hump-backed, and with thick hair, the grey of which he did not dye. May God be pleased with him."

Ḥabba and Sawāʾ, sons of Khālid, were also among them; may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting Wakīʿ, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Sallām b. Shuraḥbīl, who quoted Ḥabba and Sawāʾ as having said, "We once went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was mending something, and we helped him. He then told us, 'Never despair of provision (from God), so long as your heads have movement. Man is born of his mother skinless, with no outer covering, and then God, the Almighty and Glorious, provides it for him.'"

Dhū Mikhmar was also one of them; he is also named as Dhū Mikhbar. He was the son of the brother of the Negus, the king of Abyssinia; others say he was his sister's son. The first possibility is correct. The king sent him to serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as a substitute for himself.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Yazīd b. Ṣulayḥ, who quoted Dhū Mikhmar, a man from Abyssinia who served the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "We were with him on a journey. He made a rapid departure; this he would do because of the paucity of the provisions. Someone told him, 'Messenger of God, the rest have been left behind.' He told us all to stop until they caught up. He then asked them, (or someone asked him) 'Would you like to have a stop for sleep?' He dismounted, and they did the same. People asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' 'I will, my God make me your ransom!' I replied. He handed me the bridle of his camel, saying, 'Take it then, and don't be negligent.'

"So I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of my own camel and led them a little way away. There I released them to graze. I was observing them when sleep overcame me. The next thing I knew was the sun's heat on my face. I woke up and looked to right and left and there were the two camels, not far away from me. I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of my own and led them over to the closest of our people. I woke him up, and asked, 'Have you performed the prayer?' 'No,' he replied.

"The rest then woke one another and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awoke. He asked, 'Bilāl, is there water in the *mayḍaʾa*, "the ablution water-vessel"?' He was referring to the *idāwa*, 'the water skin'. Bilāl replied, 'Yes, may God make me your ransom!' He took the ablution water to him, but it did not cleanse him fully of the dirt. He then gave order to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and performed a prayer of two *rakaʿat* before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, but did not hurry. He then again gave orders to Bilāl and again performed the prayer, but without hurrying. Someone asked him, 'Messenger of God, have we been neglectful?' He replied, 'No; God took away our souls, then restored them to us, and we have prayed.'"

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[197] A large village near Damascus.

They also included Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb al-Aslamī Abū Firās.

Al-Awzāʿī stated that Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr related to him, from Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb, who said, "I would spend the night with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and bring him his water for ablution and whatever he needed. He would get up at one time of the night and say, 'Glory be to God, and may He be praised!' Later he would arise again, at another time of the night, and say, 'Glory be to God, Lord of the two worlds!' He asked me, 'Do you have a request?' I replied, 'To accompany you in paradise, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'Help yourself; by often prostrating in prayer.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭāʾ, from Nuʿaym b. Muḥammad, from Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb, who said, "I used to spend my entire day serving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he would perform the second *ʿishāʾ* prayer. Then I would sit at his door when he went into his home. I would say, 'Perhaps something might happen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' I would hear him constantly repeating, 'Glory be to God; may He be praised!' until I became tired and returned home, or until my eyes overcame me and I fell asleep.

"One day, because of his having observed my fulfilment of my duty and service to him, he said, 'Rabīʿa b. Kaʿb, ask me and I will grant it to you.' I replied, 'I will consider my situation, Messenger of God, then I will tell you.'

"I gave the matter much thought, realizing that this life is transitory and subject to interruption, and that there was sufficient bounty in what I had and might come to me. So I told him, 'What I shall ask the Messenger of God will have to do with my life in the hereafter: he does have that (special) status with God.'

"So I went to him and he asked, 'Have you done it, Rabīʿa?' I replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God. I'd like to ask you to intercede for me to your Lord and to free me from hell-fire.' He asked, 'Who told you to ask for this, Rabīʿa?' I replied, 'No, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, no one ordered me. But when you said, "Ask me and I'll give you," since you have a (special) status with God, I did look into my situation, realized that this world is subject to interruption and is transitory, and that I do have bounty that will come to me, I said, "I'll make a request about my after life."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was silent for a long time, and he then told me, 'I will do something; help yourself, by often prostrating in prayer.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Mubārak b. Faḍāla, quoting Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, from

Rabīʿa al-Aslamī, who had been a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "One day the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Rabīʿa, aren't you going to get married?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I don't want anything to divert me from serving you. And I don't have anything to give to a woman.'

"After that I told myself that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew more about me than I did myself, and that he was suggesting I get married. I decided that if he repeated the suggestion I would agree. And he did ask me, 'Rabīʿa, aren't you going to get married?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, who would marry me; I don't have anything to give the woman?' He replied, 'Go to Banū so-and-so and tell them the Messenger of God orders you to marry me to your girl so-and-so.'

"I went to them and said, 'The Messenger of God has sent me to you for you to arrange my marriage with so-and-so.' They asked, 'To so-and-so?' 'Yes,' I replied. They responded, 'Welcome to the Messenger of God and welcome to his messenger!' And they did arrange the marriage.

"I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'Messenger of God, I come to you from the very best of peoples. They gave me their trust and arranged my marriage. But where do I get the dowry to give?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Burayda al-Aslamī, 'Collect for Rabīʿa a dowry worth the weight of one *nawāt*[198] of gold.'

"They collected and gave this to me, I took it to Banū so-and-so and they accepted it. I then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him where I would get the food for a wedding feast. He told Burayda, 'Get for Rabīʿa the price of a ram.' They brought it and he then told me, 'Off you go to ʿĀʾisha and ask her to give you what barley she has.' I went to her and she gave it to me. So I took to Banū so-and-so the ram and the barley and they told me, 'We'll look after the barley for you, but ask your friends to slaughter the ram.' And so they cooked the barley and, I swear to God, we thus had bread and meat.

"After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned to Abū Bakr some land he had and Abū Bakr and I fell into a dispute over a laden date-palm. I maintained that it was on my land, he that it was on his. We quarrelled and Abū Bakr used a word to me that offended me. He regretted it and came to me, asking, 'You say to me as I did to you.' I replied, 'No, by God, I'll not speak to you as you did to me!' 'Well then,' he said, 'I'm going to the Messenger of God.'

"He did go, and I followed him. My people came along as well, saying, 'He's the one who used the word to you, yet he's going off to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' I turned to them and asked, 'Do you know who this man is? This is *al-Ṣiddīq*, "the trusting", the *dhū shayba*[199] of the Muslims! Go back so that he does not turn and see you and think that you are coming to help me against him. Otherwise he might get angry and go and tell the Messenger of God, and then Rabīʿa will be finished!'

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[198] A date stone; a measure of weight equal to five *dirhams* in value.

[199] This epithet, *dhū shaybat al-muslimīn*, in English approximating "the Muslims' revered elder statesman" is commonly applied to Abū Bakr.

"When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, 'I used against Rabīʿa a word he found offensive. I told him to say it back to me, but he refused.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Rabīʿa, what's the problem between you and "the trusting"?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I swear I'll not speak to him as he did to me.' He told me, 'Don't speak to him as he did to you. Say instead, "May God forgive you, Abū Bakr."'"

Saʿd, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them. He is also known as the *mawlā*, the "freed-man" of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Abū ʿĀmir related to him, from al-Ḥasan, from Saʿd, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Abū Bakr to set Saʿd free – Saʿd being then a *mamlūk*, a "slave", owned by Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been highly impressed by Saʿd's qualities as a servant. Abū Bakr replied, "He is the only servant we have here." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Free Saʿd; (other) men will come to you. (Other) men will come to you."

Aḥmad related it thus from Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī also stated that Abū ʿĀmir related to him from al-Ḥasan, from Saʿd, who said, "I placed some dates before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and people began eating them two at a time. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then forbad them from doing this."

Ibn Māja narrated this from Bandār, from Abū Dā'ūd.

They also include ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. On the day of the *ʿumrat al-qaḍā'* he entered Mecca leading the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting:

> "Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will
> fight you about its interpretation
> As we fought you over its revelation . . ."

We have narrated this at length above.[200]

ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was killed some months thereafter at the battle of Muʿta, as also narrated above.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb b. Shamakh, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hudhalī was also one of them.

He was one of the *imāms* of the Companions. He participated in both of the Hijras and took part in Badr and engagements thereafter. He was in charge of the footwear of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and of cleaning it. He would also load his baggage camel if he wished to ride.

He had a major role in interpreting God's words; he had great knowledge, virtue and wisdom. There is a *ḥadīth* to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, after they had expressed surprise at the thinness of his legs, "By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh more heavily in the scales than does Uḥud!"

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[200] Volume III, page 309 *et seq.*

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated about Ibn Masʿūd, "He was a storehouse filled with learning." They say he was frail in form, fine in character. It is said that when he walked, he would be face to face with those seated (in stature, that is). He was like the Prophet (ṢAAS) in his manner, conduct and behaviour.

This means that he was like the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his movements and when at rest, as well as in his speech. He imitated his performance of the prayer to the best of his ability.

He died during the rule of ʿUthmān, in 32 or 33 AH in Medina, at the age of 63. It is also said that he died in Kūfa; the first is correct.

ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Juhanī, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Walīd b. Muslim related to him, quoting Ibn Jābir, from al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir, who said, "I was leading the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along a mountain trail when he asked me, 'ʿUqba, won't you ride?' I was not to be disobedient. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted and I rode for a while. Then he rode again and said, 'ʿUqba, would you like me to teach you how to repeat the two finest *sūras* people ever recited?' I replied, 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God.' And so he recited to me, 'Say: "I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn"' (*sūrat al-Falaq*; CXIII,v.1), and 'Say: "I seek refuge with the Lord of mankind"' (*sūrat al-Nās*; CXIV, v.1).

"The prayer was held and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forward and recited both *sūras*. He then passed by me and said, 'Recite them both whenever you go to sleep and whenever you get up.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of al-Walīd b. Muslim and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jābir. Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated it also from a *ḥadith* of Ibn Wahb, from Muʾāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥārith, from al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿUqba.

Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī was also among them.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Anas as having said that Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda had the same role with the Prophet (ṢAAS), as does the *ṣāḥib al-shurat*, "the police chief", to the *amīr*, "the ruler".

This Qays was an exceptionally tall man. His beard was scarce.[201] It is said that the tallest of men if standing with his feet on the ground would have Qays's trousers reach up to his nose!

Muʿawīya dispatched his trousers to the emperor of Byzantium asking whether they had a man tall enough to wear them. The emperor was amazed at this.

It is related that he was a praiseworthy and noble man of sound judgement and intelligence. He was with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Ṣiffīn.

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[201] The Arabic word is *kawsaj*. A footnote to the Arabic printed text gives its meaning as referring to a person who has missing teeth. However, the word may also refer to someone whose beard is scarce.

Misʿar stated, quoting Maʿbad b. Khālid, that he was always holding up his finger giving praise and prayer to God. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Al-Wāqidī, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and others said that he died at Medina in the last days of Muʾāwiya.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sijistānī related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Ḥanafī, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Ṣalt, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Anas, who said, "There were 20 young *anṣārīs* who would keep close by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to take care of his needs; if he wanted something, he would send them after it."

They also included al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafī, may God be pleased with him. He performed the function of *salaḥdār*, "armourer" for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he, moreover, who held the sword raised above the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the tent at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Whenever Mughīra's uncle ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, who had come in the delegation, would reach out to take hold of the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as it was customary for the Arabs to do in such conversations, al-Mughīra would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword and say, "Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you'll never get it back!"

The *ḥadīth* is so narrated above.[202]

Muḥammad b. Saʿd and others stated that he participated in all the battles in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part. The latter gave joint command to him and to Abū Sufyān when they went out and destroyed the idol belonging to the people of al-Ṭāʾif that was named *al-Rabba*, "the lady", *al-Lāt* that is.

He was one of the most shrewd of the Arabs. Al-Shaʿbī stated, "I heard him say, 'No one ever got the better of me!'"

Al-Shaʿbī stated, "I heard Qabīṣa b. Jābir say, 'I was a companion of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba. If a city had eight gates through none of which one could leave without some trickery, he would find a way to get out through them.'"

Al-Shaʿbī went on, "The *al-quḍāt*, the 'judges', were four in number: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, Ibn Masʿūd and Abū Mūsā. The *duhāt*, 'those most shrewd', were four in number: Muʾāwiya, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Mughīra and Ziyād."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "The *duhāt* were five in number: Muʾāwiya, ʿAmr and al-Mughīra, along with two with ʿAlī – Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and ʿAbd Allāh b. Badīl b. Warqāʾ."

Imām Mālik stated, "Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba was a much-married man. He used to say, 'A man with one wife suffers menstruation along with her, and when she gets sick, so does he. And a man with (only) two wives is right between two blazing fires!'

"He would marry four women at once, and divorce them all together!"

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[202] Vol. III, page 474.

Other sources state variously that he married eighty or three hundred women. It is also said that he married a thousand women.

There is difference of opinion concerning his death. The most likely and most widely believed statement is that given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who gave the consensus as being that he died in 50 AH.

Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad Abū Maʿbad al-Kindī, an ally of Banū Zuhra, was among them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, who said, "I and two companions came to Medina. We made our presence known to people, but no one offered us accommodation. So we went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and told him. He took us to his home, where he had four goats. He told me, 'Milk them, Miqdād. Divide up their milk in four portions and give one share to each person.' And that is what I would do.

"One night the Prophet (ṢAAS) was invited elsewhere and was delayed. As I lay in my bed, my inner self told me, 'The Prophet has gone to the home of one of the *anṣār*. You might just as well get up and consume the drink.' The thought persisted until I got up and drank his portion. When it had entered my stomach and settled there, I felt troubled about what had happened. I told myself, 'The Prophet is now going to arrive hungry and thirsty and he'll see nothing in the jug!' So I pulled a cloth up over my face.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, he voiced a greeting that someone awake would hear but would not awaken someone asleep. He uncovered the jug and found nothing. He then raised his head to the sky and said, 'O God, provide drink for those who give me to drink, and feed those who feed me.'

"I responded to his call, got up, took a sharp knife and went over to the goats. I felt them all to see which one was the one with the most flesh to slaughter. My hand fell upon the udder of one of them and, to my surprise, it was full! I examined the next and it too was full and so too were the others! I drew milk into a jug and took it to him, asking him to drink it. He said, 'What's going on, Miqdād?' 'Drink up', I told him, 'then I'll tell you.' 'One of your pranks, Miqdād?' he commented. He drank and then said, 'Now you, drink.' I replied, 'No, you drink more, Prophet of God.' He did so until he had his fill and then I took and drank it. After that I told him what had happened and he told me to tell him more. I told him in greater detail and the Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'This was a blessing sent down from heaven! Could you not have told me so that I could have given some to your two companions?' I replied, 'So long as you and I have drunk this blessing, I'm not concerned about whom it has missed!'"

Imām Aḥmad also narrated it from Abū al-Naḍr, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who quoted al-Miqdād. His account is as above, except that in that version al-Miqdād drew the milk into the vessel they never expected to fill with it, and that he kept on drawing it until it foamed on top. After he brought it back, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him (according to that account) "Didn't you all have your drink tonight, Miqdād?"

(The account proceeds) "I replied, 'Do drink it, Messenger of God.' He did so and then handed it to me. I asked, 'Drink some more, Messenger of God.' He then again handed it to me, and I took it and drank what remained.

"When I knew that the Messenger of God, had quenched his thirst, and that his prayer had touched upon myself, I laughed so hard I rolled on the ground. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'One of your pranks, Miqdād?'"

"I replied, 'Messenger of God, this is what I did. I did so-and-so.' He then said, 'This was nothing but a mercy from God. Should you not have warned me to wake up your two companions to share in it?' I replied, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I don't care whoever else were to receive it so long as you and I did!'"

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

Also among them was Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salama.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Abū al-Zinbā' Rawḥ b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, who stated that he heard Bukayr say, "I heard Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salma, say, 'I served the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for many years. He never asked me why I had done something I had done, nor did he ask me why I had ever not done something.'"

In other accounts the wording is that she had served him for ten or for five years.

Abū al-Samḥ was also one of them. Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Thaqafī stated that Mujāhid b. Mūsā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Walīd, quoting Muḥill b. Khalīfa, quoting Abū al-Samḥ, who said, "I was a servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If he wanted to wash, he would say, 'Pass me my water vessel.' And I would hand it to him and screen him. Once Ḥasan or Ḥusayn had been brought to him and had urinated over his chest. When I came over to wash him, he said, 'Someone upon whom a girl has urinated should wash (the area), while someone upon whom a boy has urinated should merely splash thereon.'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it thus from Mujāhid b. Mūsā.

They also included that man who was absolutely the finest of the Companions, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him. He served him by himself on his journey into exile, especially in the cave, but after his leaving it as well, until they arrived in Medina. This has all been explained above; and to God be all praise and credit.

Chapter: Those, may God be pleased with them, who wrote down the revelations and other matters in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They included the four caliphs: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with them all. Also of them was Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣay al-Umawī.

Abān accepted Islam after his two brothers Khālid and 'Amr. He did so following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This came about because it was he who gave protection to 'Uthmān when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent the latter to meet with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Others say that his conversion occurred at Khaybar; this is believed because of a *ḥadīth* mentioning him that is recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Hurayra concerning the division of the booty taken at Khaybar.

The reason for his accepting Islam was that, while on business in Syria, he met with a monk to whom he mentioned the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The monk asked him to name him and he told him his name was Muḥammad. The monk then offered to describe him, and did so exactly. He asked Abān, "When you return home to your people, give him my greetings."

And so he accepted Islam after his return. He was also the brother of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān killed.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, "The first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was Ubayy b. Ka'b. If he were not present, then Zayd b. Thābit would record. 'Uthmān, Khālid b. Sa'īd and Abān b. Sa'īd also wrote for him."

That is his statement. This refers to Medina; for Ubayy b. Ka'b was not present at the revelation of the Meccan *sūras*. These were written down by the Companions in Mecca, may God be pleased with them all.

There is disagreement over the death of this man Abān b. Sa'īd. Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and most of the scholars of biography state that he was killed at the battle of al-Ajnādayn. That is, in Jumādā al-Uwlā of 12 AH. Others say he was killed at the battle of Marj al-Ṣufr in 14 AH.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "He and his brother 'Amr were killed at the battle of Yarmūk, on the 5th of Rajab, 15 AH." It is also stated that he lived on into the time of 'Uthmān, that the latter ordered him to dictate the *muṣḥaf al-imām*,[203] 'the Qur'ān', to Zayd b. Thābit and that he died thereafter, in 29 AH. But God knows best.

They also include Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays b. 'Ubayd al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī Abū al-Mundhir, also known as Abū al-Ṭufayl. He was the chief reciter. He participated at the second 'Aqaba meeting, at Badr and at the engagements thereafter. He was of middle stature, slim and white of head and beard, the grey of which he left unchanged.

Anas stated, "Four persons" – of the *anṣār*, he means – "collected the Qur'ān. These were Ubayy b. Ka'b, Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit and an *anṣārī* named Abū Yazīd."

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[203] An authorized version of the Qur'ān compiled during the reign of 'Uthmān and held in safekeeping by Ḥafṣa bt. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included it.

In both of these collections a *ḥadīth* is given from Anas stating that Ubayy quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "God ordered me to recite the Qurʾān to you."

Ubayy asked, "Did he actually name me, Messenger of God?" "Yes," he replied. And Ubayy's eyes welled with tears.

What is meant here by "to recite the Qurʾān to you" is a recitation to inform and to make heard, not a recitation from which learning comes. This is something that none of the scholars understand; however, we are drawing attention to this view so that its opposite will not be believed.

In another place we have given the reason for the recitation made to him, and to the fact that he recited to him the *sūrat*: "Those of the people of the Book and the polytheists who disbelieved could not be abandoned until clear evidence came to them, a Messenger from God reciting pages made pure that contain priceless writings" (*sūrat al-Bayyina*; XCIX, v.1–3).

That related to Ubayy b. Kaʿb having berated another man for having recited the *sūra* in a manner different from Ubayy's own recitation. Ubayy complained about him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "Recite then, Ubayy." When Ubayy had done so, he said, "That is how it was revealed." He then said to the other man, "Now you recite." He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "That is how it was revealed."

Ubayy narrated, "At this doubt seized me, that I might still be in the *jāhiliyya*! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck me on the chest and I broke out in sweat, feeling that I was looking differently at God." After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to him this chapter to establish and explain to him that this Qur'ān was truth and veracity, and that it was revealed in many recitations in mercy and kindness to the worshippers.

Ibn Abū Khaythama stated. "He was the first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

There is disagreement over the date of his death. It is variously said to have occurred in 19, 30 or 23 AH. It is also said to have been one week prior to the assassination of ʿUthmān. But God knows best.

Arqam b. Abū Arqam was also one of them. His name was ʿAbd Manāf b. Asad b. Jundab b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Makhzūmī.

He accepted Islam early. It was he in whose home at al-Ṣafā the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained hidden. That house later became known as *al-khayzurān*, "the tiller of the rudder". He participated in the Hijra, at the battle of Badr and thereafter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs.

It was he who wrote out the tenancy document for land at Fakh for ʿAẓīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāribī, and other documents, as ordered by the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS). This is according to the account of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir, through ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb al-Zubayrī, who narrated on a line through ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Ḥazm.

He died in either 53 or 55 AH, at the age of 85.

Imām Aḥmad narrated two *aḥādīth* in which Arqam is quoted. In the first, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa stated, the wording given being from Aḥmad, that ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī related to him, from Hishām b. Ziyād, from ʿAmmār b. Saʿd, from ʿUthmān b. Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, from his father, a Companion of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who quoted the latter as having said, "Whoever steps over the necks of the people at the Friday prayer assembly and separates between two (persons) after the appearance of the Imām (for the sermon) is like him who drags his intestines in hell-fire!"

In the second case, Aḥmad stated that ʿIṣām b. Khālid related to him, quoting al-ʿAṭṭāf b. Khālid, quoting Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. al-Arqam, from his grandfather al-Arqam, who said that he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, "Where are you heading?" "I am heading over there, Messenger of God," he replied, gesturing in the direction of Jerusalem. "And what is taking you there; business?" asked the Prophet (ṢAAS). "No," he replied, "I wanted to pray there." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Prayer over here," – and he gestured towards Mecca – "is better than 1,000 prayers" – and he gestured towards Syria.

Aḥmad is alone in giving both of these.

They also include Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, also known as Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī, the *khāṭib al-anṣār*, "the orator of the *anṣār*", and as the *khāṭib al-nabī*, "the orator of the Prophet (ṢAAS)".

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī informed him, giving lines of transmission from his elders from the delegations of Arabs who had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These men said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbs al-Numālī and Maslama b. Hazzān al-Ḥuddānī came in a group of men of their tribes to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after the conquest of Mecca. They accepted Islam and pledged allegiance on behalf of their people. He wrote for them a document specifying the alms payments due from their properties. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās wrote it out, and Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Muḥammad b. Maslama, may God be pleased with them, witnessed it.

This man is among those of whom it is affirmed in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced that they would go to paradise.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his *ḥadīth* collection, with a line of transmission that meets the criteria of Muslim, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "What an excellent man is Abū Bakr! What an excellent man is

ʿUmar! What an excellent man is Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ! What an excellent man is Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr! What an excellent man is Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās! What an excellent man is Muʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ."

Thābit b. Qays, may God be pleased with him, was martyred at the battle of al-Yamāma, in 12 AH, during the rule of Abū Bakr.

They also include Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣayfī b. Rabāḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Mukhāshin b. Muʾāwiya b. Sharīf b. Jarwa b. Usayd b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī al-Usaydī al-Kātib, "the scribe", his brother Rabāḥ, who was also a Companion, and his uncle Aktham b. Ṣayfī, who was (known as) *ḥakīm al-ʿArab*, "the sage of the Arabs".

Al-Wāqidī stated, "He wrote a document for the Prophet (ṢAAS)." Others said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to the people of al-Ṭāʾif to make peace. He participated in Khālid's campaigns in Irāq and elsewhere. He lived on into the rule of ʿAlī, but he did not participate with him in 'the battle of the camel'[204] and other engagements. He moved away from Kūfa because of the curses ʿUthmān spoke on it, and died after the period of ʿAlī's rule."

Ibn al-Athīr narrated in *al-Ghāba* that after his death, his wife expressed her grief over him, leading her neighbouring women to criticize her. She spoke the following verses on the subject:

"Daʿd was surprised at a woman mourning for a venerable
grey-beard!
If you would ask me today what it is that pained me, I
would tell you what is no lie;
My eye is deathly afflicted by sorrow for Ḥanẓala, the
scribe."

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Raqqī stated, "He remained aloof from civil strife until he died, after ʿAlī. Two *aḥādīth* stem from him."

I observe that in fact there were three.

Imān stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and ʿAffān both stated that Hamām related to them, that Qatāda quoted Ḥanẓala al-Kātib as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Those who observe the five prayers, performing their prostrations, and the kneelings and their ablution at their proper times, and recognize that these are a duty owed to God, will enter paradise.'" Alternately, the words were "their due will be paradise".

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. It is missing a link connecting between Qatāda and Ḥanẓala. But God knows best.

The second *ḥadīth* is as follows. Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, who quoted Ḥanẓala as having (quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS)), as having said, "If all of you remain as you are with me, the angels will greet you while you are meeting, while you are travelling and while you are in your beds; but you (only spend) part of your time with me."

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[204] At Khurayba, near Basra, on 10th Jumādā 11 AH (December 4, 656 AD), where the caliph ʿAlī defeated the combined forces of ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr who were contesting the legitimacy of his rule.

Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿImrān b. Dā'ūd al-Qaṭṭān, from Qatāda, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, from Ḥanẓala.

The third *ḥadīth* is as follows. Aḥmad, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayfī b. Ḥanẓala, from his grandfather, concerning the prohibition of killing women in warfare.

However, Imām Aḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who gave a line from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqaʿ b. Ṣayfī b. Rabāḥ b. Rabīʿ, from his grandfather Rabāḥ b. Rabīʿ, the brother of Ḥanẓala al-Kātib.

Aḥmad also narrated it similarly from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-ʿAbbās, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from his father. And from Saʿīd b. Manṣūr and Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqadī, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqqaʿ, from his grandfather Rabāḥ. And also through al-Mughīra. Al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja narrated it similarly. Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. Muraqqaʿ, from his father, from his grandfather Rabāḥ.

The *ḥādīth* is therefore from Rabāḥ, not from Ḥanẓala. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba therefore stated, "Sufyān al-Thawrī was mistaken about this *ḥadīth*."

I note that Ibn al-Raqqī was correct in stating that Ḥanẓala narrated only two *aḥādīth*. But God knows best.

Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf Abū Saʿīd al-Umawī was among them.

He accepted Islam early. It is said that he was the third, fourth or at most fifth after Abū Bakr.

It is said that his accepting Islam was due to a dream he had. In it he was standing on the edge of hell, the extent of which only God knew.

"It was as though his father was pushing him towards it, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was holding him by the hand to prevent him from falling. He narrated this vision to Abū Bakr, who told him, 'Nothing but good was wished for you; this is the Messenger of God; follow him and you will escape what you feared.'" And so he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam.

"When news of this reached his father, he was very angry and hit him so hard with a stick he held that he broke it over his head. He threw him out of the house, denied him food and forbad his brothers from speaking to him. And so Khālid remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), night and day. Thereafter his brother ʿAmr also accepted Islam

"When the Muslims went to exile in Abyssinia, these two men accompanied them. It was he who eventually arranged the marriage betweeen Umm Ḥabība and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have told above. Both men thereafter went on the Hijra from Abyssinia (to Medina) in the company of Jaʿfar. They reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar after his conquest of it. After consultation with the other Muslims, he gave them both shares of the spoils. Their brother Abān b. Saʿīd also arrived and participated at Khaybar, as narrated above, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned them various duties.

"During the caliphate of Abū Bakr both men went to battle in Syria, and Khālid was killed at Ajnadayn; however, some say it was at Marj al-Saffar. God knows best."

ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, to the effect that Khālid b. Saʿīd wrote the following document on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): "In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. This has been given by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabb al-Sulamī. He has awarded him two *ghalwa*[205] (of land) and one *ghalwa* at the rock at Ruhāṭ. No one should fear him. He is trustworthy. Khālid b. Saʿīd wrote this."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, according to al-Wāqidī, that Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Khālid related to him, that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said, "Khālid b. Saʿīd remained in Medina following his arrival from Abyssinia. He acted as a scribe for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it was he who wrote the document for the people of al-Ṭāʾif to the delegation of Thaqīf and strove to arrange peace between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

They also included Khālid b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm Abū Sulaymān al-Makhzūmī.

He was the commander of the victorious armies, the man in charge of those illustrious soldiers, and glorious and famous battles. He was of firm judgement, great bravery and fine conduct. He was father to Sulaymān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd.

It is said that he was never a participant in an army that was defeated, either before or after Islam.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "He had the status of a chief among Quraysh and was in command of the cavalry."

He, along with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, accepted Islam after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) soon gave him charge of expeditions and then, during the rule of Abū Bakr, he became commander-in-chief of all the Muslim forces.

When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power, he dismissed him and appointed Abū ʿUbayda as *amīn al-umma*, "the guardian of the community", with orders that he not disregard the views of (Khālid b. al-Walīd) Abū Sulaymān.

Khālid died during the reign of ʿUmar, it is said in 21 AH or 22 AH, the former date being correct, in a village a mile distant from Ḥimṣ. Al-Wāqidī stated, "I asked about its whereabouts but was told that it had been obliterated."

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[205] A measure of length; the distance travelled by an arrow.

Duḥaym stated, "He died in Medina." The first place of death mentioned is correct.

He narrated *aḥādīth* too numerous to relate here.

ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, that the following referred to land tenancies the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted: "In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Believers. The game from Ṣaydūḥ and Ṣayda[206] may not be mutilated or killed. Anyone discovered so doing shall be flogged and have his clothing taken away. Those transgressing this order shall be seized and the Prophet shall be informed of him. This comes from Muḥammad the Prophet. It is written by Khālid b. al-Walīd upon command of the Messenger of God. Let no one transgress this or he will do harm to himself regarding what Muḥammad has ordered."

They also include al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Asadī.

He was one of "the ten"[207] and also one of the *aṣḥāb al-shūrā*, "the Companions consulted" about whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his satisfaction at the time of his death. He was also regarded as a *ḥawārī*, "disciple", of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with his cousin, the son of his aunt Ṣafiyya, daughter of Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and was the husband of Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb narrated, with the line of transmission given above, that it was al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām who wrote the document for Banū Muʾāwiya b. Jarwal, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated this, giving his line of transmission from ʿAtīq.

Al-Zubayr, may God be pleased with him, accepted Islam early, while he was 16 years old; some say his age was 18. He took part in both exiles and participated in all the battles. He was the first person to draw his sword in God's cause.

He participated, with the greatest distinction of all, at the battle of al-Yarmūk. That day he twice pierced the ranks of the Byzantines from front to rear, emerging safely from the other side. However, he received two wounds on his back. May God be pleased with him.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for both his parents at the battle of al-khandaq, "the trench" and said, "Every prophet has a disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr."

Many virtues and fine deeds are attributed to him. He died at the battle of the camel. His death came about after he had turned around and was returning from the battle. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz, Faḍāla b. Ḥābis and a third man called al-Naʿr, all of Banū Tamīm, caught up with him at a place called Wādī al-Sibāʿ. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz came upon him while he slept and killed him. That was on a Thursday, ten days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā in 36 AH. At that time he was 67 years old.

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[206] Locations near Medina.

[207] See Vol. I.

He died leaving a substantial inheritance. After the deduction of 2,200,000 *dīnārs*, he left a testamentary bequest of one-third. When his debts had been satisfied, and the third had been extracted, the remainder was divided among his heirs. Each of his wives – of whom there were four – received 1,200,000 *dīnārs*. The total amount of his estate to which we are referring was some 59,800,000 *dīnārs*.

All this came to him by legitimate means during his life, from income he received from the *al-fay*ʾ and the *maghānim*[208] and through various kinds of permissible business activities. All that accrued after his payment of the *zakāt*, "the charity payments", at the appropriate times, and numerous contacts with the recipients at the times of their need.

May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, making the gardens of paradise his residence; and indeed He has! For the Lord of both those who came first and those who came after, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, has testified that there will be paradise for him. And to God be all praise and credit!

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba* that he had a 1,000 slaves collecting the *kharaj* tax payments for him, and that he would donate all that to charity.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses giving him praise and credit for that:

> "He grew up in the era and guidance of the Prophet, as
> his disciple, and speech with merit rings true.
> He grew up in accord with his way and his path, allying
> with the agent of truth, and the truth is fully just.
> He was that famous knight, that hero who sprang forward
> at every famous battle.
> He was a man whose mother was Ṣafiyya, and he descended
> from a proud man named Asad, 'lion'.
> He had close family ties with the Messenger of God, and
> from fighting for Islam comes glory deeply secure.
> Many were the dangers al-Zubayr deflected with his
> sword from *al-Muṣṭafā*, 'the chosen one', and God rewards
> most generously.
> When war emerged, he would slice at it, his blade
> flashing forward, charging proudly towards death.
> He had no peer among them, nor was ever his like
> before, and his fame will never, for all time, fade."

It has been recorded above that ʿAmr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī killed him in Wādī al-Sibāʿ while he was asleep. Alternately, it is said that he emerged in a daze from his sleep and rode away, but was confronted by Ibn Jurmūz. When al-Zubayr overcame him, Ibn Jurmūz was rescued by his two companions, Faḍāla and al-Naʿr, and they all killed him. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz took his head and his sword. When he brought both of these to ʿAlī, the latter said on seeing al-Zubayr's sword, "Many is the time this sword deflected danger from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

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[208] The term *al-fay*ʾ is generally applied to goods and properties taken from unbelievers without battle having been engaged, while *al-maghānim* applies to spoils seized after warfare.

Among other comments he made, ʿAlī said, "Announce to the killer of Ṣafiyya's son that he's going to hell-fire!"

It is said that when ʿAmr b. Jurmūz heard that, he killed himself. The fact is, however, that he lived on after ʿAlī into the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr (al-Zubayr's son ʿAbd Allāh). The latter appointed his brother Muṣʿab to rule in Irāq on his own behalf, and ʿAmr b. Jurmūz disappeared, fearing that once in authority Muṣʿab would kill him to avenge his father. Muṣʿab ordered, "Inform him that he is safe; does he really think I would kill him for ʿAbd Allāh's father (al-Zubayr)? Certainly not, I swear by God; they are not equal!"

This decision stems from Muṣʿab's qualities of shrewdness, intelligence and leadership.

Al-Zubayr narrated numerous *aḥādīth* relating to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), too many to mention here.

When al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām was killed at Wādī al-Sibāʿ, as related above, his wife ʿĀtika, daughter of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, recited the following verses:

"Ibn Jurmūz deceived the army's champion knight, that
day the forces clashed; he was not one to flee!
ʿAmr, if you had warned him, you would not have found
him effeminate, his hand or heart trembling.
Many were the battles he engaged, no resistance turning
him aside, you utter coward!
May your mother mourn you! You were never victorious
over his like in any that went before or ever will be.
By God, your Lord, if you kill a Muslim, the punishment
of the Resolute One will alight upon you!"

Zayd b. Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī, Abū Saʿīd, was among them. He was also known as Abū Khārija, and as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī.

He came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in Medina when he was 11 years old. Therefore, due to his youth, he did not participate in the battle of Badr, nor in that at Uḥud. The first battle in which he took part was that of al-khandaq, "the trench". He participated in all thereafter.

He was a *ḥāfiẓ*, a learned man of high intelligence. It is established about him in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to learn the writing system of the Jews in order to be able to read to the Prophet (ṢAAS) whatever they might write to him. He learned this in 15 days.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Khārija b. Zayd, who quoted his father Zayd as having said, after having come to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Medina, "I was taken to him, and he was impressed with me. People said, 'Messenger of God, this youth is from Banū al-Najjār; he knows from ten to twenty or so of the *sūrat* that God revealed to you.' This delighted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told him, 'Zayd, learn for me the writing of the Jews; I swear by God, I don't trust a Jew to read to me.'"

Zayd went on, "So I set about learning their writing and had mastered it before 15 days had passed. I used to read to him whatever letters they wrote to him, and answered them on his behalf."

Aḥmad then narrated this from Shurayḥ b. al-Nuʿmān, from Ibn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārija, from his father who related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī gave it in his work *al-Aḥkām* from Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit in an abbreviated form.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from ʿAlī b. Ḥajr. They both related it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārija, from his father.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

This was truly extraordinary intelligence. He was one of those who collected the Qur'ān during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the reciters, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Anas.

Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadith* of Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, "The person most kind towards my nation is Abū Bakr. The most severe in it for God's religion is ʿUmar. The one in it most sincere in humility is ʿUthmān. The most decisive of them is ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. The man of them most knowledgeable of what is permissible and what forbidden is Muʿādh b. Jabal. The one most knowledgeable about the religious duties of Islam is Zayd b. Thābit. And every nation has an *amīn*,[209] 'a fully trustworthy man'. The *amīn* of this nation is Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ."

There are some *ḥuffāẓ* who consider this *ḥadīth mursal*, "incomplete", except in so far as it refers to Abū ʿUbayda. It is given in this line of transmission in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Zayd wrote down the revelations in the presence, in several locations, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

One of the clearest evidences of this is in the statement from him established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in which he said, "When the words of Almighty God came down, 'Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God's cause are not equal'[210] (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.95), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to me and said, 'Write down, "Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God's cause are not equal."'

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[209] This honorific epithet is, of course, said to have been universally applied in Mecca to the Prophet (ṢAAS), prior to his Hijra. See Vol. I.

[210] The additional words referred to in the next paragraph are, part of the text of the Qur'ān as we know it and follow the word "back" in this verse.

"Then Ibn Umm Maktūm arrived and began complaining about his injuries. While his leg was pressing hard against my own – hard enough to almost bruise it – revelation again came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the words *ghayru ūlī al-ḍarar*, 'except those who have suffered injury'. He ordered me to add these words, and I did so. And I well know the place where it was added – at a crack in that tablet – of bone, that is."

Zayd participated in the expedition to al-Yamāma and he was struck by an arrow that did not seriously harm him. It was he whom Abū Bakr thereafter ordered to seek out and assemble the Qurʾān. He told him, "You are an intelligent young man about whom we have no suspicions; and you used to write down the revelation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Therefore, seek out and assemble the Qurʾān." And Zayd did as Abū Bakr had ordered him. There was much good in that; and to God be all praise and credit.

ʿUmar twice, while making the pilgrimage, appointed Zayd to govern Medina on his behalf, as he did when he made an expedition to Syria. ʿUthmān also appointed him to govern Medina.

ʿAlī liked him very well. Zayd extolled ʿAlī and gave recognition to his worthiness, although he did not participate with him in any of his battles. He lived on after ʿAlī, dying in 45 AH; that date is also given as 51 or 55 AH.

He was one of those who wrote the *maṣāḥif al-aʾimma*,[211] "the master copies", that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān dispatched to all parts. It was these that gave to the reading the official stamp of consensus and approval, as we have established in our book *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis of*) al-Qurʾān. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Sijil was also one of them, as is stated in the *ḥadīth* narrated on that subject from Ibn ʿAbbās; on the assumption of its authenticity, that is, about which there is some controversy.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd narrated to him, quoting Nūḥ b. Qays, from Yazīd b. Kaʿb, from ʿAmr b. Mālik, from Abū al-Jawzāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Al-Sijil was a scribe of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from Qutayba, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as having said regarding the verse, "That day when we will roll up the heavens as *al-sijil*[212] rolls up writings" (*sūrat al-Anbiyyāʾ*; XXI, v.104). This word *al-Sijil* refers to the man."

This is his wording.

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[211] The term given to the "authorized" text of the Qurʾān agreed upon by a commission formed by the caliph ʿUthmān consisting of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith. Copies of this text were dispatched to various cities with instructions that any "deviant" versions should be destroyed.

[212] The word is frequently interpreted to mean "scroll"; the text would therefore read, "as a scroll rolls up writings".

Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr narrates, concerning the same verse, from Naṣr b. ʿAlī, from Nūḥ b. Qays, a source considered trustworthy and among those quoted by Muslim. Ibn Maʿīn, however, categorizes him as a weak source in one account quoting him. Regarding his teacher Sheikh Yazīd b. Kaʿb al-ʿAwdhī al-Baṣrī, only Nūḥ b. Qays quotes from him. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥibbān includes him among those to be considered trustworthy sources.

I brought this *ḥadīth* to the attention of my teacher the *ḥāfiẓ* Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī; he deprecated it strongly. I informed him that our very learned Sheikh Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Taymiyya used to say, "This *ḥadīth* is fabricated, even if included in the *sunan* of Abū Dā'ūd!" Our teacher Sheikh al-Mizzī commented, "I say the same!"

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAdī narrated it in his work *al-Kāmil* from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, known as "Būma", from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr, from Mālik al-Bakrī, from his father, from Abū al-Jawzāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a scribe named al-Sijil. He is referred to in the words of the Almighty, 'That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.' Just as al-Sijil rolls up writings, thus will the heavens be rolled up."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly from Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, from Abū ʿAlī al-Rafāʾ, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr b. Mālik. This Yaḥyā is considered a very weak source, one upon whom one should not depend. But God knows best.

Stranger still than that is what was also narrated by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Manda from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Baghdādī, known as "Ḥamdān", from Ibn Bahz, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a scribe called Sijil and God revealed, 'That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.'" Ibn Manda commented, "This is *gharīb*. Ḥamdān is alone in giving it."

Al-Barqānī stated, "Abū al-Fatḥ al-Azdī stated, 'Ibn Numayr was alone in giving it, if authentic.'"

This is also objectionable when narrated from Ibn ʿUmar, just as it was when from Ibn ʿAbbās. For a quite different statement is also attributed to both. Al-Wālibī and al-ʿAwfī quote Ibn ʿAbbās as having stated with reference to this verse, "(it means) like the rolling of a *ṣaḥīfa* (sheet of paper etc) over writings". Mujāhid stated the same.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It is well known in the language that *al-sijil* means a *ṣaḥīfa*."

He went on, "No one among the Companions is known by the name al-Sijil."

And it is objectionable for al-Sijil to have been the name of one of the angels, as was narrated from Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Yamān, who stated that Abū al-Wāfāʾ al-Ashjaʿī related to him, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, regarding the verse, "That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings", "Al-Sijil was an angel. Whenever he ascended with a request for forgiveness, God would say, 'Write it in light.'"

He also stated that Bandar related to him, from Mu᾽ammil, from Sufyān, who said, "I heard al-Suddī say . . ." And he went on to narrate it similarly.

Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir stated the same, narrating from Abū Kurayb, from Mubārak, from Ma'rūf b. Kharrabūdh, from someone who heard Abū Ja'far say, "Al-Sijil is an angel."

Ibn Jarīr's denial that al-Sijil was the name of either a Companion or an angel is very convincing, while the *ḥadīth* to the contrary is very objectionable. Those, like Ibn Manda, Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī and Ibn al-Athīr, in *al-Ghāba*, only do so to give credibility to this *ḥadīth*, or to comment upon its authenticity. But God knows best.

They also included Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, according to a statement made by Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ.

It has been imagined that this man was his son 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, as will be explained shortly, if God so wills it.

'Āmir b. Fuhayra, a freedman of Abū Bakr, was also one of them.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Razzāq related to me, from Ma'mar, who quoted al-Zuhrī as having said, "'Abd al-Malik b. Mālik al-Mudlijī informed me, he being the cousin of Surāqa b. Mālik, that his father informed him that he heard Surāqa say . . .'" And he proceeded to narrate the Hijra of the Prophet (ṢAAS). In this narrative, he said, "So I told him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'Your people have put a price on your head!' And I related to them news relating to their departure and what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and asked me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, who did so on a piece of leather. Then he left."

I note that the *ḥadīth* is given complete above in the material relating to the Hijra. It is also recorded that it was Abū Bakr who wrote this document for Surāqa. But God knows best.

Āmir b. Fuhayra – known as Abū 'Amr – was of mixed blood of Banū Azd. He was black in complexion. He had earlier been a freed-man of Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of 'Ā᾽isha through her mother Umm Rūmān. He accepted Islam early, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took refuge in the home of al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam at al-Ṣafā. 'Āmir was tortured along with all the others persecuted at Mecca to make them give up their faith. He refused, and Abū Bakr purchased him, then set him free. He would herd goats for him outside Mecca.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the Hijra, he accompanied Abū Bakr, who bore him on his mount. They also had al-Dilī, the guide, with them. This is narrated in full above.

Upon their arrival in Medina, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between 'Āmir and Aws b. Mu'ādh. He participated in Badr and at Uḥud.

He was killed at the battle of Biʾr Maʿūna, as was related above. That was in 4 AH. At that time he was 40 years of age. But God knows best.

ʿUrwa, Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī and other scholars state that ʿĀmir was killed at Biʾr Maʿūna by a man named Jabbār b. Sulmā, of Banū Kilāb. When ʿĀmir was pierced by the spear, he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" ʿĀmir was then raised up until he disappeared from sight, so that ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, "He was raised up until I could see the sky and not him!"

"ʿAmr b. Umayya was asked about him and he replied, "He was one of the best of us, and one of the earliest members of the household of our Prophet (ṢAAS).'

Jabbār stated, "I asked al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān what he meant by what he said. He replied, 'He was referring to paradise.'

"Al-Ḍaḥḥāk invited me to accept Islam, and I did so when I saw what happened at the death of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of my acceptance of Islam and of what had happened to ʿĀmir. He commented, 'The angels concealed him and he has taken up residence with the spiritual hierarchy.' "

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Anas is quoted as having said, "He recited to us a Qurʾān verse about them: 'Inform our people that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.' "[213]

Reference is made above to this in the material treating the engagement at Biʾr Maʿūna.[214]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from his father, that ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl used to ask, "Which of your men was it whom, when killed, was raised up between earth and sky so that you could see sky only, and not him?"

"That was ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra," they would reply.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra was raised up into the sky; his body was not found."

They say that the angels concealed it.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqam b. Abū Arqam al-Makhzūmī was also among them.

He accepted Islam the year of the conquest of Mecca and he wrote on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Mālik stated, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) would send out what he did and would thank him and express his appreciation."

Salama stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam b. ʿAbd Yaghūth to write letters for him in response to the (letters) of the kings. His trust in ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam so developed that he would tell him to write to certain kings; he would write and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would put his seal on what he read (back) because of his trust in him.

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[213] This verse, not present in the Qurʾān, is evidently a false attribution thereto.

[214] Vol. III, p. 95 et seq.

He acted as scribe for Abū Bakr, who gave him charge of the treasury. ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb confirmed him in both positions. When ῾Uthmān succeeded, he dismissed him from them.

I note that this was after ῾Abd Allāh b. Arqam had tendered his resignation. It is said that ῾Uthmān offered him 300,000 *dirhams* as his salary, but he refused to accept this. He replied, "What I did was for God; my reward is up to God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Zayd b. Thābit wrote for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If neither Ibn al-Arqam nor Zayd b. Thābit were there, then someone else present would write.

"῾Umar, ῾Alī, Zayd, al-Mughīra b. Shu῾ba, Mu᾿āwiya, Khālid b. Sa῾īd b. al-῾Āṣ and others named by the Arabs wrote for him."

Al-A῾mash stated, "I asked Shaqīq b. Salama, 'Who was the scribe for the Prophet (ṢAAS)?' He replied, '῾Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam. ῾Umar brought out at al-Qadisiyya a document of Abū Bakr and at its base were the words, "Written by ῾Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam."'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ῾Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Hāni᾿, quoting al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, quoting ῾Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting ῾Abd al-῾Azīz b. Abū Salama al-Mājushūn, from ῾Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ῾Awn, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, who quoted ῾Abd Allāh b. ῾Umar, as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) brought a letter from some man and he asked ῾Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam, 'Respond for me.' He wrote the reply, then read it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You have done it correctly and well. May God give him success!'

"When ῾Umar acceded, he would seek ῾Abd Allāh's counsel. And ῾Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is quoted as having said, 'I never saw anyone more fearful of God than him.' He meant any one of the workers."

He was, may God be pleased with him, injured before his death.

῾Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. ῾Abd Rabbihi al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, the originator of the call to prayer, was one of them.

He accepted Islam early and was present at the *῾aqabat al-sab῾īn*, the "῾Aqaba meeting of the 70".[215] He participated at the battle of Badr and later engagements.

One of his greatest credits is his having had a vision of the call to prayer in his sleep and his having repeated this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who responded, "These are visions of truth. Stand with Bilāl and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you."

We have given the *ḥadīth* relating to this above.[216]

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[215] See above Vol. II, pages 129–140.

[216] See Vol. II, page 222.

Al-Wāqidī narrated, giving lines of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote a letter to those of Banū Jurash who accepted Islam, ordering them to peform the prayer, pay the *zakāt*, and to donate one-fifth of the booty they took.

He died in 32 AH at 64 years of age. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, may God be pleased with him, performed the prayers for the deceased.

Of them also was ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ al-Qurashī al-ʿĀmirī, a foster-brother of ʿUthmān by his mother; ʿUthmān's mother suckled him, that is.

He wrote down the revelation and later seceded from Islam, joining the polytheists in Mecca. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered it, having declared it lawful to spill his blood, along with certain others there, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd went to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and sought his protection. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then guaranteed his safety, as we have narrated above in the account of the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd was an extremely good Muslim.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marūzī related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazīd al-Naḥwī, from ʿIkrima, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās, as having said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ was a scribe for the Prophet (ṢAAS). Then Satan made him slip, and he joined the unbelievers. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that he be executed. ʿUthmān asked for him to have protection and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) guaranteed his safety."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid.

I note that he was on the right wing of the army of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ when ʿAmr conquered Egypt in 20 AH, during the rule of ʿUmar. ʿUmar appointed ʿAmr his governor there; when ʿUthmān succeeded to the caliphate, he dismissed ʿAmr and, in 25 AH, appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd in command of Egypt.

ʿUthmān ordered ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd to conquer Africa and he attacked and conquered it. There the army acquired great wealth. The share of the booty received by each of the army's cavalry was 3,000 *mithqāl*[217] of gold. Each foot soldier received 1,000 *mithqāl*. With him in that army were three men named ʿAbd Allāh: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr.

Thereafter ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd attacked the blacks of Nubia and established with them a truce that is still in effect today. That was in 31 AH. He then commanded a naval expedition against the Byzantines; it was a great expedition.

When disagreement arose over ʿUthmān, he left Egypt, appointing a deputy to govern it, in order to go to aid ʿUthmān. When ʿUthmān was killed, he took up residence in ʿAsqalān (Ashkelon) – or alternatively, at Ramla – and prayed to God to take him during prayer. One day he performed the dawn prayer, in the first part of which he recited the *fātiḥa* and the (*sūrat*) *al-ʿĀdiyāt* (C), and in the second part the *fātiḥa* and a *sūrat*. When he had finished the *al-tashahhud* he performed the salutation of the first *taslīma*. He was then about to perform the second *taslīma*, but died between the two salutations; may God be pleased with him. His death occurred in 36 AH or in 37 AH. It is also said that he lived on until 59 AH. The first date of death is correct.

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[217] A weight equal to one-and-a-half *dirham*.

No narratives stemming from him occur in the six canonical collections of *aḥādīth*, nor in the *al-Musnad* collection of Imām Aḥmad.

They also include ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān, Abū Bakr, "the trusting". I have made reference to his biography in the material relating to his caliphate. I constructed a whole volume on his life and the *aḥādīth* he narrated and the statements attributed to him.

The proof that he wrote for him is in what Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Juʿshum, from his father, from Surāqa b. Mālik, in his account of his pursuit of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had left the cave and was passing through his tribe's territory. When he came upon them and the incident occurred with his mare, he asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for a safe conduct and the latter told him to write a note for him and then gave it to him.

Imām Aḥmad narrated, through al-Zuhrī, with the same line of transmission, that ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra wrote it. It is likely that Abū Bakr wrote part of it, then gave orders to his freed-man ʿĀmir, who wrote the remainder. But God knows best.

Also among them was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the Commander of the Believers. I have detailed his biography in the material relating to his caliphate; his having engaged in writing in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is well known. Al-Wāqidī gives lines of transmission narrating that when Nahshal b. Mālik al-Wāʾilī came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter gave orders to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and so he wrote for him a document specifying the ordinances of Islam.

They also included ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the Commander of the Believers. I have detailed his biography in material relating to his caliphate. It is narrated above how he wrote the peace agreement between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyya, specifying that the Muslims would be safe, that there would be no swords drawn, nor chains used, and that there would be no warfare for ten years. He also wrote other documents in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Regarding the claim made by a group of Jews of Khaybar that they hold a document from the Prophet (ṢAAS), concerning their exemption from payment of the *jizya* tax, and its having been signed as having been written by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib and witnessed by a group of Companions, including Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān – this is all a lie and a fabrication, a pure invention.

A number of scholars have made clear the falseness of their claim; however, certain early jurists were deceived and recommended that they be exempt from payment of the *jizya*. This decision is very weak.

I have gathered all material relating to this, dedicating to it a separate section in which I established its falseness and the fact that it was a fabrication. They completely invented it, as they are capable of doing! I have examined this fully and gathered all the variety of statements made about it by the *imāms*. And all praise and credit go to God.

Included among those who wrote for him was the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; I have given details of his life in its proper place. I have devoted a separate volume to him and another large work that gives the *aḥādīth* he narrated concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the statements and regulations attributed to ʿUmar. Reference to his having written for the Prophet (ṢAAS) is given above in the material relating to the life of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam.

They include al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Ḥaḍramī's name is also given as ʿAbbād, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād b. Akbar b. Rabīʿa b. ʿArīf b. Mālik b. al-Khazraj b. Iyyād b. al-Ṣadaf b. Zayd b. Muqniʿ b. Ḥaḍramawt b. Qaḥṭān. A different genealogy is also given for him.

He was of the allies of Banū Umayya. Reference to his having written (for the Prophet (ṢAAS)) is given above in the details relating to the life of Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.

He had ten brothers. They included ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the first polytheist killed by the Muslims, in the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, the first such foray, as is narrated above.

ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī was also among them. It was he to whom Abū Jahl, may God curse him, gave orders so that he exposed his private parts and called out, "Woe for ʿAmr! Woe for ʿAmr!".[218] This was when the Muslims and the polytheists lined up to do battle at Badr. At that the warfare was waged furiously, with the outcome as we have described at length above.

They also included Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the very best of the Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, "That is a man who does not use the Qurʾān as a pillow!" By this he meant that he did not go to sleep and abandon it, but was conscious of it at all times of the day and night.

All these men had only one sister, al-Saʿba, daughter of al-Ḥaḍramī, the mother of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, the king of al-Baḥrayn. He appointed al-ʿAlāʾ as its ruler after he conquered it, and Abū Bakr confirmed him in that position, as did ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He remained in that role there until ʿUmar removed him and appointed him Governor of Basra. He died while *en route*, in 21 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī and others attribute to him many wonderful deeds. One such is his having led his army out upon the sea without the water having reached up to the stirrups of their horses! Other accounts say the undersides of their horses' hooves did not even get wet, after he had ordered them all to call out, Yā Ḥalīm! Yā ʿAẓīm! "O Wise One! "O Mighty One!". Another incident related to his being with his army when they were desperate for water. He prayed to God who sent down rain to satisfy their need. Also, when he was about to be buried, no trace at all of him could be seen! He had asked God for that.

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[218] See Vol. II, page 270.

Details relating to all this will come shortly in my work *Dalā᾽il al-Nubuwwa*, if God so wills it.

He is credited with three *aḥādīth* from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first is as follows. Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, from al-Sā᾽ib b. Yazīd, from al-ʿAlā᾽ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "The *muhājir* remains for three days after the completion of his ceremonies."

The scholastic community all give this from his *ḥadīth*.

The second is as follows. Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Manṣūr, from Ibn Sīrīn, from Ibn al-ʿAlā᾽ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that his father wrote to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and began it by reference to himself.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

The third *ḥadīth* is narrated by Aḥmad and by Ibn Māja, through Muḥammad b. Zayd, from Ḥibbān al-Aʿraj, to the effect that al-ʿAlā᾽ b. al-Ḥaḍramī wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from al-Baḥrayn concerning a *ḥā᾽iṭ* – an orchard, that is – that was owned by brothers. He asked what (would be the tax consequences) if one of the brothers accepted Islam. He ordered him to collect *al-ʿushr*, "the tithe", from the Muslim and then the *kharāj*, "the poll tax"; from the one who had not accepted Islam, that is.

Al-ʿAlā᾽ b. ʿUqba was also one of them. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "He was a scribe of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I know of no one who made mention of him other than as we are narrating."

He went on to give a line of transmission to ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb, who quoted ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who detailed land grants made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to certain persons. He gave the wording of the deed as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent: this is a grant made by the Prophet, Muḥammad to ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī. He has given him Madmūr. No one has a right to interfere with him there; he has full rights. Written and witnessed by al-ʿAlā᾽ b. ʿUqba."

He also went on to quote, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), has awarded to ʿAwsaja b. Ḥarmala al-Juhanī: from Dhū al-Marwa and what lies between Balkatha to al-Zubya, to al-Jaʿlāt, to Mt. al-Qibliyya. No one has a right to interfere with him there. He has full rights. Written by al-ʿAlā᾽ b. ʿUqba."

Al-Wāqidī narrated, giving full lines of transmission, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made a grant of land to Banū Sīḥ b. Juhaym. Their deed relating thereto had been written and witnessed by al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿUqba.

Ibn al-Athīr mentioned this man briefly in his work *al-Ghāba*. He stated, "Al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿUqba wrote on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS) . . ." He gave his name also in a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Ḥazm. Jaʿfar included this, and Abū Mūsā – al-Madīnī, that is – gave it in his book.

Also among them was Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Ḥuraysh b. Khālid b. ʿAdī b. Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī al-Khazrajī Abū ʿAbd Allāh, known as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and as Abū Saʿd al-Madanī, the ally of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

He accepted Islam in the presence of Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, or alternatively Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. Upon his arrival in Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. He participated at Badr and at battles thereafter. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him his vice-regent over Medina in the year of the expedition to Tabūk.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb* that he had an extremely dark complexion, was tall, bald and corpulent. He was one of the most excellent of the Companions. He avoided involvement in civil unrest and carried a wooden sword.

He died in Medina in 43 AH, as is widely known. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam prayed over him. He narrated many *aḥādīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī, with lines of transmission back from him, that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who, at the order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wrote the document for the delegation from Banū Murra.

They also included Muʾāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, Sakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya al-Umawī; we have detailed his biography in materials relating to his period of rule.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj includes him among the scribes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Muslim narrated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Sufyān asked, "Messenger of God, are there three requests you would fulfil for me?" "Yes," he replied. He then said, "Give me command, so that I can battle the unbelievers, just as I used to battle the Muslims." "Granted," he replied. He then asked, "Appoint Muʾāwiya as your scribe." 'Granted," he replied. And the *ḥadīth* continues thereafter.

I have devoted a separate section to this *ḥadīth* since it incorporates reference to his request to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the latter marry Umm Ḥabība. Moreover, it does include reference to Abū Sufyān's appointment as a commander and to Muʾāwiya's part as scribe on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

On this issue scholars are unanimous.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* relating to Mu᾿āwiya given by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ‘Asākir in his work of history that is relevant here. He stated that Abū Ghālib b. al-Banā related to him, quoting Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, quoting Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Atashī, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Būrānī, quoting al-Sarī b. ‘Āṣim, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Gabriel over appointing Mu᾿āwiya as his scribe and that the latter said, "Appoint him as a scribe; he is trustworthy."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb* and, indeed, objectionable. This man al-Sarī b. ‘Āṣim is Abū ‘Āṣim al-Hamadhānī, who used to act as tutor to al-Mu᾿taz Bi Allāhi; Ibn Khirāsh stated that he was untruthful in *ḥadīth* narration.

Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn ‘Adī stated that he would steal *aḥādīth*. Ibn Ḥibbān added, "He would ascribe to (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) statements that belonged to the Companions. It is not permissible to use such materials in arguments." Al-Dārquṭnī stated that his *aḥādīth* were weak.

His teacher was Sheikh al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, who stated, "If the latter was al-Lu᾿lu᾿ī several of the *imāms* have ignored him. Many of them asserted that he was mendacious. If applicable to some other person, nothing whatsoever is known about him."

The source in the above *ḥadīth* named as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām might refer to either of two persons. One possibility would be a man known as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām al-Asadī al-Wāsiṭī al-A‘raj, whose origins were in Isfahān. Al-Nasā᾿ī quoted him from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, at length for his statement relating to the *ḥadīth al-qunūt*.[219] Ibn Ma‘īn, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Ḥibbān categorize him as a trustworthy source. The second man was al-Qāsim b. Bahrām Abū Hamdān, the *qāḍī* of Hīt. Ibn Mu‘īn stated that he was a notorious liar.

In sum, therefore, this *ḥadīth* from this line of transmission is not firmly established and is one by which one should not be misled.

It is surprising that the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ‘Asākir, a scholar of such illustrious reputation and a man of greater knowledge regarding the fabrication of *aḥādīth* than his contemporaries – or his predecessors for many years before – should give this in his work of history along with many other such *aḥādīth*, without any (negative) commentary, direct or subtle. Such behaviour is questionable. But God knows best.

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[219] The reference seems to have two possible connotations. The first relates to a question posed to the Prophet (ṢAAS), regarding which prayer was best. To this he responded with the words, "(the one) *ṭūl al-qunūt*", "the one for which one remains standing at length". A specific prayer is therefore known as the "*du‘ā' al-qunūt*", "the prayer delivered standing". Alternatively, the reference could be to a *ḥadīth* telling of the curse delivered by the Prophet daily for one month against the tribes of Ri᾿āl and Dhakwān for their actions at the engagement at Bi᾿r Ma‘ūna. See Vol. III.

They also included al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba al-Thaqafī. I have given his biography above in the section devoted to those of his Companions apart from his freed-man who served the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I noted that it was he who would hold a sword above the latter's head.

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated from ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb, along several lines of transmissions, as above, that it was al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba who wrote out the land tenure deed for Ḥuṣayn b. Naḍla al-Asadī awarded him at the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

These, then, were the scribes who would write at his command and in his presence.

Chapter.

Ibn ʿAsākir included among those who were trusted (scribes) Abū ʿUbayda ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Qurashī al-Fihrī, one of "the ten",[220] may God be pleased with him, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī.

Regarding Abū ʿUbayda, al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qilāba, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Every nation had an *amīn*, 'a fully trustworthy person'. And the *amīn* of this community is Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ."

In one text the wording is, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told a delegation of (Banū) ʿAbd al-Qays of Najrān, "I will send with you an *amīn*, a true *amīn*." And he sent Abū ʿUbayda with them.

Ibn ʿAsākir went on, "Among them also was Muʿayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima al-Dawsī, the freed-man of Banū ʿAbd Shams. He was in charge of his (seal) ring; it is also said that he was his servant. Others have said that he accepted Islam early and emigrated with the others to Abyssinia, and thereafter to Medina. He participated in the battle of Badr and engagements thereafter, and he was in charge of his ring. Both of the sheikhs[221] placed him in charge of the treasury."

They also say that he contracted leprosy, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered that he be treated with colocynth and that the disease was arrested. His death came during the caliphate of ʿUthmān, in the year 40 AH, it is said. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Shaybān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, who quoted Muʿayqīb to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said about a man smoothing out the earth where he would prostrate in prayer, "If you have to do it, let it be once (only)."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shaybān al-Naḥwī. Muslim added, "And also (from) Hishām al-Dastuwāʾī." Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja also gave it from al-Awzāʾī. All three of them also gave it from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

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[220] See Vol. I.

[221] Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, that is.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Khalaf b. al-Walīd related it to him, quoting Ayyūb, from ʿUtba, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, who quoted Muʿayqīb as having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Woe to those (who neglect to wash their ankles properly) from hell-fire.'"

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated from a *ḥadith* of Abū ʿAttāb Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn Nūḥ b. Rabīʿa, from Iyyās b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muʿayqīb, who quoted his grandfather – who was in charge of the (seal) ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – as having said, "The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of iron with silver overlaid upon it. Sometimes it was in my hand."

I note that the ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was actually made of silver, with its protusion integral to it, as will be shown in the quotations from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He had earlier had a gold ring that he had worn for a period but later discarded, saying,"I swear by God, I'll not wear it!"

He then began use of this ring made of silver with its raised design integral, inscribed with the words, "Muḥammad, Messenger of God", with "Muḥammad" on one line, "*rasūl*, 'messenger'", on another, and "*Allāh*, 'God'", on the third.

After remaining in his possession, it was passed on after him to Abū Bakr, then to ʿUmar and then to ʿUthmān, with whom it remained for six years. Then it dropped from him into the well at Arīs. He made every effort to retrieve it, but failed.

Abū Dā'ūd, may God have mercy upon him, devoted an entire chapter of his work *al-Sunan* to the ring; we will if God so wishes it, shortly hereafter quote from it material we find useful. And God is the source of help.

The reference above to Muʿayqīb's wearing this ring point to the weakness of the report of his having been afflicted with leprosy, as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and others related. However, this is widely believed. Perhaps he contracted this disease after the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), or he may have been infected by it but not have been contagious. Or this might indicate the nature of the strength of the trust in God characteristic of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is suggested by what the latter said to the leper as he placed his hand in the dish of food, "Eat; with confidence in God and reliance upon Him!"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Flee from the leper as you flee from a lion!" But God knows best.

Regarding the military commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we have made reference to them, arranged by their names, in the materials relating to the expeditions he dispatched. And all praise and credit belong to God.

People are in disagreement over the question of the total number of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Zurʿa is quoted as having said, "They totalled 120,000 persons."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there were some 60,000 Muslims (alive) who had seen and heard him."

Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "There are some 5,000 Companions who narrated *aḥādīth* (from him)."

I note that the Companions whose *aḥādīth* were quoted by Imām Aḥmad – with all his breadth of knowledge, extensive travels and recognized expertise – totalled 987 persons.

The six canonical collections of traditions quote from some 300 Companions in addition to these.

A number of *ḥuffāẓ*, may God be pleased with them, have devoted themselves to establishing the names, biographies and deaths of these Companions. One of the most illustrious of these men was Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namrī, whose book is entitled *al-Istīʿāb*. Other such scholars were Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Manda, and Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī.

The *ḥāfiẓ* ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jazarī, known by the epithet Ibn al-Ṣaḥāba, "son of the Companions", collected all this material. He compiled it into his book *al-Ghāba*, an excellent and highly useful work in which he gathered all such material with great care and precision. May God have mercy upon him, reward him and unite him with the Companions! Amen, O Lord of the worlds!

Chapter: Information relating to the clothing, weapons, mounts and personal effects that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used during his life.

References to the ring he wore and to the material from which it was made.

Abū Dā'ūd gave a separate chapter on this in his work *al-Sunan*; we will give here the most important of these references and additional materials stemming from reliable sources.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muṭrif al-Ruʾāsī narrated to him, quoting ʿĪsā, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, "The Messenger of God's (ṢAAS) wished to write to certain non-Arabs and he was told that they will not read a letter unless it has been signed with a seal. He therefore took a ring and had inscribed on it, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbū al-ʿArūba, from Qatāda.

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya narrated to him, from Khālid, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas, to the same effect as in the *ḥadīth* of ʿĪsā b. Yūnus. he added, "It was on his hand until he died; then it was worn by Abū Bakr until he died, and by ʿUmar until he died. Then ʿUthmān wore it. While he was at a well it fell into that well. He ordered it to be emptied, but it could not be found."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Qutayba b. Sa‘īd and Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ both stated that Ibn Wahb informed them, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Anas related to me, 'The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of silver, and its stone was Abyssinian.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth. Muslim gave it from one of Ibn Wahb. Talḥa gave it from Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī and Sulaymān b. Bilāl. Al-Nasā᾿ī and Ibn Māja added to these ‘Uthmān, from ‘Umar. All five scholars gave the *ḥadīth* from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Ablī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as, *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb* from this line.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas, who said, "The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was entirely made of silver, its 'stone' being an integral part of it."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā᾿ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr b. Mu᾿āwiya al-Ju‘fī Abū Khaythama al-Kūfī. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ gharīb* from that line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Ma‘mar related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Wārith, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a ring made. He said, 'We have acquired a ring and had an inscription engraved on it. Let no one make a (similar) inscription on it (his own ring).'"

Anas went on, "I can still see its gleam on his little finger."

Abū Dā'ūd continued that Naṣr b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from ‘Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) obtained a gold ring and wore it with its stone facing towards the centre of his palm. And on it he had inscribed, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'.

"People then began wearing gold rings. When he saw them doing this, he threw his away, saying, 'I'll never wear it!' He then began wearing a silver ring inscribed with the words, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'. After his death, Abū Bakr wore it. Then, after him, ‘Umar wore it, and then ‘Uthmān (did so) until it dropped inside the Arīs well."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yūsuf b. Mūsā, from Abū Usāma Ḥammād b. Usāma.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Ayyūb b. Mūsā, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who gave this same information about the Prophet (ṢAAS), and stated, "He inscribed it with the words, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God', and said, 'Let no one (else) inscribe on this ring of mine!'" And he concluded the *ḥadīth*.

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* all give this, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, in similar form.

Abū Dā'ūd further stated that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Fāris related to him, quoting Abū ‘Āṣim, from al-Mughīra b. Ziyād, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said as follows concerning this statement from the Prophet (ṢAAS), "They searched but could not locate it. And so ʿUthmān took (another) ring and inscribed on it 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'. And he used it as a seal, or it was so used."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Maʿmar, from Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad al-Nabīl.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to give a chapter entitled, *How the ring was lost.*

He proceeded to state that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Luwayn related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Ibn Shihāb, from Anas b. Mālik, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people did the same and began wearing them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then discarded his, and the people did the same.

He went on to say that this was also narrated from al-Zuhrī by Ziyād b. Saʿd, Shuʿayb and Ibn Musāfir, all of whom said that the ring referred to above was made *min wariq*, "from silver".

I note that al-Bukhārī narrated it as follows, "Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'Anas b. Mālik related to me, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people then also made and wore such rings of silver. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) discarded his ring, and the people did the same with theirs.'"

Al-Bukhārī then gave it on a line from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī al-Madanī, Shuʿayb b. Abū Jamra and Ziyād b. Saʿd al-Khurāsānī. Muslim quoted his *ḥadīth.* Abū Dā'ūd is alone in relating it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. Musāfir. All of these quoted al-Zuhrī as given above by Abū Dā'ūd, with the words that the ring was made *min wariq*, "from silver".

However, what is true is that the ring he wore for only one day and then discarded was made of gold, not silver. This is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Mālik, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to wear a gold ring and then he discarded it, saying, 'I'll never wear this!' And the people discarded their rings."

He wore the silver ring frequently. It was on his hand until his death. Its "stone" was integral to it; that is, it had no stone separate from it. Those who narrate that in it there was engraved the image of a person are totally mistaken. In fact it was entirely of silver and its "stone" integral to it. And it was engraved with the three words "Muḥammad, Messenger of God", in three lines with "Muḥammad", "Messenger", and "God", on separate lines.

It is likely, though God knows best, that the letters were written in reverse so that it would print out correctly, as was typical (of such seals). It has been said, however, that the inscription was not reversed but was printed that way. The correctness of this view is disputed. I do not know a single line of transmission for that, neither one that is authentic, nor one that is weak.

The above *aḥādīth* we have given to the effect that his ring was made of silver refute those *aḥādīth* we have given from the *sunan* collections of Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasāʾī through Abū ʿAttāb Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn

Nūḥ b. Rabīᶜa, from Iyyās b. al-Ḥārith b. Muᶜayqīb b. Abū Fāṭima, from his grandfather, who said, "The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of iron overlaid with silver."

This is further weakened by one *ḥadīth* narrated by Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā᾽ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ṭayba ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muslim al-Sulamī al-Marwuzī from ᶜAbd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as having said that a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a brass ring. The latter asked him, "Why do I detect from you the odour of idols?" The man threw the ring away, then returned wearing one made of iron. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked him, "Why do I see you wearing the ornamentation of the denizens of hell?" The man discarded it and asked, "What, then, should I wear, Messenger of God?" He answered, "Have one made of silver, but do not make it a full *mithqāl* in weight."

The Prophet (ṢAAS), used to wear it on his right hand, according to what Abū Dā'ūd narrated, as did al-Tirmidhī in *al-Shamā᾽il* and al-Nasā᾽ī, all quoting from Sharīk, from Abū Salama b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qāḍī, from Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan, from his father, from ᶜAlī, may God be pleased with him, back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Sharīk stated, "Abū Salama b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to wear his ring on his right hand."

It is also, however, narrated that he wore it on his left hand. Abū Dā'ūd narrated this, from a *ḥadīth* of ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfiᶜ, from Ibn ᶜUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore his ring on his left hand, keeping its "stone" facing towards the centre of his palm.

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, "Abū Isḥāq and Usāma b. Zayd quoted from Nāfiᶜ that he wore it on his right hand."

He went on, "Ḥammād related to us, from ᶜAbda, from ᶜUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiᶜ, that Ibn ᶜUmar used to wear his ring on his left hand."

Abū Dā'ūd further stated, "ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜīd related to us, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said, 'I saw al-Ṣalt b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Nawfal b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib wearing a ring on the little finger of his right hand. So I asked him, "Why so?" He replied, "I saw Ibn ᶜAbbās wear his ring that way, with its stone on its top."'"

He (presumably Abū Dā'ūd) went on, "It cannot be imagined that Ibn ᶜAbbās would not have mentioned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not wear his ring that way."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it similarly from *aḥādīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl – al-Bukhārī, that is – went on to state, "The *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq from al-Ṣalt is *ḥasan*."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, in his work *al-Shamā᾽il*, from Anas, and from Jābir and from ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jaᶜfar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore his ring on his right hand.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī related to him, quoting his father, from Thumāma, from Anas b. Mālik, that when Abū Bakr succeeded to power, Anas acted as his scribe and that the ring was inscribed with three lines: "Muḥammad", on one line, "Messenger" on another, and "God" on a third line.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "Abū Aḥmad went on to add that al-Anṣārī, quoting his father, quoting Thumāma, from Anas, who said, 'The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was worn on his hand, on that of Abū Bakr and then after him on that of ʿUmar. When ʿUthmān ruled, he was once sitting at the well of Arīs and began toying with the ring and it fell. We stayed there with ʿUthmān for three days; the well was emptied, but he did not locate the ring.'"

Then there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Tirmidhī in his work *al-Shamāʾil.* He quoted Qutayba, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Yusr, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a silver ring he used for sealing, but did not wear.

This *ḥadīth* is very odd. It is stated in the *al-sunan* from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the desert (to relieve himself), he would take off his ring."

THE SWORD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Zinnād, from his father, from al-Aʿmā ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired his sword Dhū al-Fiqār as booty at the battle of Badr. It was that sword in which he saw the visions of the battle of Uḥud. He said, 'I saw a notch in my sword, Dhū al-Fiqār, and this I interpreted as a defect that was in you. Then I saw myself with a *kabsh*, "a leader", riding behind myself; this leader I interpreted as that of the squadron. Then I saw myself dressed in stout armour; this I interpreted as Medina. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered. And a fine cow, a very fine cow, by God, it was indeed!'"[222]

This was the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father.

The *ahl al-sunan* maintain that a voice was heard saying, "There is no sword like Dhū al-Fiqār and no warrior like ʿAlī!"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Hūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, from his grandfather Mazīda b. Jābir al-ʿAbdī al-ʿAṣrī, may God be pleased with him, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a sword overlaid with gold and silver."

He went on to categorize this *ḥadīth* as *gharīb*.

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[222] See a slightly different version of the wording of this vision given above, Vol. III, page 15.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, in *al-Shamāʾil*, that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Muʿādh b. Hishām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. Abū al-Ḥasan, who said, "The pommel of the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was made of silver."

He also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUthmān b. Saʿd, who quoted Ibn Sīrīn as having said, "I made my sword like that of Samura, who claimed that he had made his modelled on the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a *ḥanafī*.[223] One of the swords of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed into the possession of the family of ʿAlī. It was with al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, may God be pleased with them both, when he was killed at Karbalāʾ, at al-Ṭaff. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn then took it with him to Damascus when he went in to see Yazīd b. Muʾāwiya. The sword returned to Medina with him thereafter."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, that he (al-Miswar) conducted him (ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn) out to show him the route and asked the latter, "Is there anything you would like me to do on your behalf?" "No," he replied. Al-Miswar then said, "Perhaps you would like to give me the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I'm afraid people will take it away from you. I swear by God, if you give it to me, no one will get to it for as long as I am alive."

Weapons other than this are said to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These include the coats of mail to which several persons made reference. Al-Sāʾib b. Yazīd and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, for example, state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put on two coats of mail at the battle of Uḥud.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated, in a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the city on the day of the conquest of Mecca wearing a helmet. As he was removing it, he was told, "That Ibn Khaṭal is clinging on to the curtains of the *kaʿba*." He then said, "Execute him."

Muslim gives a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, he was wearing a black turban.

Wakīʿ stated, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, who quoted his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people while wearing a grey-black turban."

Both these accounts are given by al-Tirmidhī in his work *al-Shamāʾil*. He also gives a *ḥadith* of al-Darāwardī, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore a turban, he let it hang down between his shoulders."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, in his *musnad* collection, that Abū Shayba Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Makhūl b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Isrāʾīl, from ʿĀṣim, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who also said that Anas b. Mālik had in his possession a staff that had belonged to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that when he died it was buried with him, between his side and his shirt.

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[223] An adherent of the school of law, one of the "four orthodox schools", founded by its *imām*, known as Abū Ḥanīfa.

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of no one who narrated this except Makhūl b. Rāshid; he was entirely truthful and somewhat Shīʿa. It is considered therefore in that (light)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, after having recounted this *ḥadīth* through this Makhūl, "He was a Shīʿa. He quoted some individual *aḥādīth* from Isrāʾīl that are given by no one but him. The weak nature of his accounts is clearly evident."

CONCERNING THE SANDALS WORN BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore sandals made of smooth cattle leather.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn al-Mubārak, that is, quoting ʿĪsā b. Ṭahmān, who said, "Anas b. Mālik brought out for us a pair of two-thonged sandals. He said, 'Thābit, these are the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

He narrated it again in his *Kitāb al-Khums*, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from ʿĪsā b. Ṭahmān, who said, "Anas brought for us a shabby pair of two-thonged sandals."

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Thābit al-Banānī related to me, also quoting Anas, that they were the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this in his work *al-Shamāʾil* from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī.

He also stated in *al-Shamāʾil* that Abū Kurayb narrated to him, quoting Wakīʿ, from Sufyān, from Khālid al-Ḥadhāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had double thongs, their laces plaited."

He also stated that Isḥāq b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Abū Dhiʾb, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Tawʾama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Muḥammad b. Marzūq Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Qays Abū Muʾāwiya, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs, as did those of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The first to tie his sandal using one thong was ʿUthmān."

Al-Jawharī stated, "The word 'thong', *qibāl*, of a sandal, spelled with an 'i', is the lace that is positioned between the middle toe and the one next to it."

I note that in the period shortly after 600 AH a merchant named Ibn Abū al-Ḥadrad became widely known as having a single sandal that he claimed to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al-Mālik al-Ashraf Mūsā b. al-Mālik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb[224] offered to buy it from him for a large sum of money, but he refused to sell it. But shortly thereafter, he happened to die and the sandal came into the possession of that al-Mālik al-Ashraf. He venerated it mightily and later, having built the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafiyya* next to the *qalʿa*, the citadel of Cairo, placed it in one of its treasuries. He appointed a curator to look after it who was paid 40 *dirhams* a month. It is still there in that building to this day.

Al-Tirmidhī stated in *al-Shamāʾil* that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ and various others stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī related to them, quoting Shaybān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mukhtār, from Mūsā b. Anas, who quoted his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) owned a small leather bag from which he took perfume."

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DRINKING CUP USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from ʿĀṣim, who said, "At the home of Anas, I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS). It had a silver band."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī, quoting Ḥammād b. Shākir, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, al-Bukhārī, that is, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Mudrik, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, who quoted ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal as having said, "I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the home of Anas b. Mālik. It had cracked and he had wired it together with silver."

The narrator went on, "It was a fine, wide cup of tamarisk wood."

Anas stated, "I have poured into that cup for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) innumerable times."

Ibn Sīrin stated, "It had on it a ring of iron. Anas wanted to replace that with a ring of gold or silver, but Abū Ṭalḥa told him, 'Don't change anything made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' So he left it as it was."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Ḥassān, who said, "We were at the home of Anas and he called for a vessel to be brought. It had three bands and a ring, all of iron. It was less than a *rubʿ* but more than a half a *rubʿ* in capacity. Anas gave orders and water was poured into it. We then took it and drank, pouring some water over our heads and faces; then we spoke prayers for the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Accounts of the antimony case used by the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an antimony case. Before going to sleep he would put antimony into each eye three times."

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[224] The Mamlūk ruler of Egypt at that time.

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn in which ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī is quoted as having said, "I heard Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd say, 'I asked ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr, "Did you hear this *ḥadīth* from ʿIkrama?" He replied, "Ibn Abū Yaḥyā told it to me, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn."'"

I note that I have heard that somewhere in Egypt there is a shrine containing many of the personal effects of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that certain recent government ministers have assembled. These include an antimony case, along with, it is said, a comb and other items. But God knows best.

THE CLOAK (AL-BURDA).

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated as follows, "Regarding the cloaks in the possession of the caliphs, we learn from the account of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq relating to the battle of Tabūk, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to the people of Aelia a *burda*, 'a cloak', along with the safe conduct document he wrote for them. Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the first of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, known as al-Saffāḥ, 'the shedder of blood', later purchased it for 300 *dīnārs*."

The ʿAbbāsid rulers inherited this *burda* from one another. The Caliph would wear it over his shoulders on festival days, holding in one hand the staff said to have been used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He would appear in it with such a sense of tranquillity and dignity that would completely overwhelm and bedazzle all. They would dress in black on Fridays and festivals; this they did to emulate the practice of him who was Lord of all, whether bedouin, farmers or town-dwellers.

This they did because of the accounts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the two prime scholars of the historical record, from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a helmet. In one such account, he is said to have been wearing a black turban. And in another that he let its end hang down between his shoulders.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad, from Abū Burda, who said, "ʿĀ'isha brought out to us a *kisā'*, 'an upper garment', and an *izār*, 'a waist-wrapper', made of coarse cloth and said, 'The spirit of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was taken while he was wearing these two garments.'"

Al-Bukhārī gave a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿĀ'isha and Ibn ʿAbbās which quoted them both as having said, "When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he immediately threw a black-bordered cloak of his over his face. If distressed, he would uncover his face and say, while thus, 'God curse the Jews and the Christians! They treat the graves of their prophets as shrines; what they do is to be avoided.'"

I note that the later disposition of these three items of clothing is not known.

It is stated above that a piece of red velvet upon which he had prayed was placed beneath him in his grave.

It would consume a great deal of time for us to detail the items of clothing he wore throughout his life. The proper place for this will be the chapter devoted to clothing in my major study the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance.

REFERENCE TO THE HORSES AND OTHER MOUNTS USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Ibn Isḥāq stated, from Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, from Marthad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Razīn, who quoted ‘Alī as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) owned a horse named 'al-Murtajiz', a donkey named '‘Ufayr' and a mule named 'Duldul'; his sword was 'Dhū al-Fiqār', and his armour was 'Dhū al-Fuḍūl'."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam, from Yaḥyā b. al-Azzār, from ‘Alī in similar words.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We have narrated in our work *Kitāb al-Sunan* the names of his horses that were with their fortunate recipients. Those horses were named 'Lazāz', 'al-Laḥīf' also known as 'al-Lakhīf' and 'al-Ẓarīb'. The horse he rode that belonged to Abū Ṭalḥa was called al-Mandūb. His camels were named 'al-Qaṣwā᾽', 'al-‘Aḍbā᾽' and 'al-Jad‘ā᾽', while his mule was named 'al-Shahbā' and 'al-Bayḍā᾽'."

Al-Bayhaqī also stated, "There is nothing in the accounts to indicate that he died leaving them as inheritance, except for what information we have given about his mule 'al-Bayḍā᾽', his weapons, and a piece of land he left to charity."

We have made reference to his clothing, his mule and his ring in this chapter.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated that Zam‘a b. Ṣāliḥ narrated to him, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Sa‘d, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died leaving a *jubba*, 'a long, wide-sleeved outer garment', made of woven wool."

The line of transmission for this is excellent.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya‘lā stated, in his *musnad* collection, that Mujāhid narrated to him, from Mūsā, quoting ‘Alī b. Thābit, quoting Ghālib al-Jazarī, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, a woollen garment was being woven for him."

This testifies to what is narrated hereabove.

Abū Sa‘īd b. al-A‘rābī stated that Sa‘dān b. Naṣīr related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from al-Walīd b. Kathīr, from Ḥusayn, from Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, that at the time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, two leather vessels were being made for him.

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, "incomplete in its line".

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Isḥāq al-Tasturī related to him, quoting Abū Umayya ‘Amr b. Hishām al-Ḥarrānī, quoting ‘Uthmān b.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿUrwa, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Sulaymān, from ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a sword the hilt and pommel of which were made of silver; it was known as 'Dhū al-Fiqār'. He had a bow called 'al-Sidād' and a quiver named 'al-Jamʿ'. He had a coat of armour inlaid with brass called 'Dhāt al-Fuḍūl', and a spear called 'al-Ṣughrāʾ'. He had a shield called 'al-Dhaqan'. He also had a white leather shield called 'al-Mūjiz', a black horse named 'al-Sakb', a saddle called 'al-Mūjiz', a grey mule called 'Duldul', a camel called 'al-Qaṣwāʾ', a donkey called 'Yaʿfūr', a carpet called 'al-Karr', a woollen garment called 'al-Namīr', a leather bag called 'al-Ṣādir', a mirror called 'al-Mirāʾa', scissors called 'al-Jāḥḥ', and a fir-wood staff called 'al-Mamshūq'."

I note that it has been related above from several of the Companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a single *dīnār*, nor even a *dirham*, and not a slave, male or female. All he left was a mule and a piece of land that he had given to charity. This requires him to have fully emancipated the slaves to whom we have referred, to have given to charity all the weapons we have ennumerated, along with his animals, and all his personal effects, whether or not mentioned by myself above.

Regarding his mule, its name was "al-Shahbā" and also "al-Bayḍāʾ"; though God knows best. It was that animal that the Muqawqīs, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Mīnāʾ, had given him along with other valuables. It was this mule that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode at the battle of Ḥunayn into the very midst of the enemy, bravely extolling God's name and placing all his reliance in God the Almighty and Glorious. It is said that the mule lived on a long time after him, belonging to ʿAlī during his caliphate and surviving on after his death and passing into the ownership of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar who would mash up its barley after it became too weak to eat it otherwise.

His donkey "Yaʿfūr" is also known by its diminutive name "Ufayr". This was a mount he would occasionally ride.

Aḥmad narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAwfī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Razīm, who quoted ʿAlī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to ride a donkey named 'ʿUfayr'."

Abū Yaʿlā narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAwn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn Masʿūd.

It is narrated in a number of *aḥādīth* that he rode the donkey.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS), mounted on a donkey, passed by an assembly at which ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl was present with a mixture of Muslims, idol-worshippers and Jews. He dismounted and invited all to accept God, the Almighty and Glorious. This occurred prior to the battle of Badr. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was intending to visit (the sickbed) of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Ubayy) said to him, "You did not do well by what you said! If it is all true, you still shouldn't bother us with it in our meetings." That was before Islam appeared. It is said that this ʿAbd Allāh puckered up his nose at the odour coming from the dung from his donkey, and said, "Don't disgust us with the filth from your donkey!"

ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa responded, "I swear by God, the odour from the donkey of the Messenger of God is sweeter than the stench from you!" He went on, "Messenger of God, do come and tell us of it in our meetings; we would enjoy that." The two tribes then rose to confront one another and were about to do battle when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pacified them.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on to visit Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and complained to him about ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy. Saʿd told him, "Go easy on him, Messenger of God; by Him who honoured you with the truth, God has truly sent you with the truth. We were about to make a diadem with which to make him our king. When God brought the truth, he choked on his own spittle!"

We have narrated above how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode his donkey in some of the battles at Khaybar, and how he mounted Muʿādh behind himself on it.

This section would be over-long if we were to now give all the phraseology and lines of transmission for this.

The *qāḍī* ʿAyyād b. Mūsā al-Sabtī stated in his book *al-Shifāʾ*, as had Imām al-Ḥaramayn[225] in his great book on the origins of the faith, and as others have also maintained, that the Messenger had a donkey named Ziyād b. Shihāb. These authorities also related that he would send off this donkey to fetch one or other of his Companions; when he did so, it would stop at their door and bray, so that the man would know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was requesting his presence. The above scholars also state that this donkey was the seventieth in a line of donkeys, each one of which had been ridden by a prophet. They maintain that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, this donkey wandered off, threw itself into a well, and died.

No lines of transmission whatsoever are given for these accounts. Their veracity has been denied by various of the *ḥufāẓ*, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥātim, and his father, may God have mercy upon them both. On several occasions, I heard my teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, may God have mercy upon him, vehemently deny its authenticity.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated in his work *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*, that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-ʿAnbarī related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Suwayd al-Jadhūʿī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUdhayn al-Ṭāʾī, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Khālid b. Maʿdān, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said, "A black donkey came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was at Khaybar and stood right in front of him. He asked the donkey, 'And who are you?' It replied, 'I am ʿAmr, son of so-and-so. We were seven brothers, each one of whom was ridden by a prophet. I am the youngest. I was to be for you. A Jew owned me, and whenever I thought of you, I would stumble and he would beat me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), replied, 'You are Yaʿfūr.'"

This *ḥadīth* is extremely *gharīb*.

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[225] Al-Juwaynī, a scholar of the eighth century AH.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Yaʿqūb b. 'Utba' means 'Yaʿqūb, son of ʿUtba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Yaʿqūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single qabīla (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's *ʿashīra* (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāḥib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

hijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure of pilgrims from ʿArafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

*ka*ʿ*ba*: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

*liwā*ʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *ka*ʿ*ba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *ka*ʿ*ba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rak*ʿ*āt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabāʾil*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth.*

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba.*

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wuḍūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

INDEX

A
Abān 481
Abān b. Saʿid 481
Abān b. al-Faḍl b. Maʿqil b. Sinān 143
Abbā b. Ḥunayf 28
ʿAbbād 246, 344, 456, 498
Abbās 409
al-ʿAbbās 323, 348, 359, 369, 372, 373, 374, 375, 381, 385
al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib 35, 98, 211, 245, 347, 372, 408
al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī 202, 468
ʿAbd al-Aʿlā 161, 168, 188, 223, 381, 504
ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAmir al-Thaʿlabī 304
ʿAbd Allāh 105, 136, 155, 163, 173, 184, 302, 303, 314, 353, 364, 392, 495, 509, 510
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās 10, 163, 172, 192, 277, 310, 326, 495
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abd Allāh 175
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāʾifī 49
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maʿmar b. Hazm 301
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā 192, 360, 404
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr 2, 14, 103, 207, 353, 387, 471
ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa 1
ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad 303, 304
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir 496
ʿAbd Allāh b. Amr 193
ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqam 498
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn 360
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Baghdādī 116
ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda 141, 311
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Dibabī 134
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl 205
ʿAbd Allāh al-Hafiz 143
ʿAbd Allāh b. Hakīm al-Kinānī 156
ʿAbd Allāh b. Hammad al-Amilī 132
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith 386, 395, 510
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa 319
ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs 156, 377, 396
ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar 388, 397, 417, 439, 507
ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh 313, 498
ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb 326
ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik 359
ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah 448, 457
ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd 22, 326, 362, 476
ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak 12, 179, 192, 406, 477
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad 10, 164, 226, 243, 406, 510
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl 307
ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā 455
ʿAbd Allāh b. Niyar 143
ʿAbd Allāh b. Niyār al-Aslamī 143
ʿAbd Allāh b. Qurad al-Ziyyadi 134
ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa 314, 315, 447, 476
ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madāʾinī 359, 362
ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿad 496
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy 45, 47, 53
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar 154, 157, 158, 162, 171, 172, 174, 176, 193, 195, 203, 204, 214, 247, 282, 291, 316, 319, 445, 496
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Qawāriri 303
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmarī 172
ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays 314
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān 13, 220, 225, 496
ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb 139, 171, 174, 224, 387, 394, 451
ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf 65, 159, 168, 204, 247, 248, 324, 334, 460
ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa 333
ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd 102, 186
ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr 156, 160, 490, 509
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 116, 175, 221, 337, 449
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj 380
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb 184, 187, 505
ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd 342

ʿAbd al-Hamid b. Bahrān 131
ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd 327, 387, 427
ʿAbd al-Malik 183, 242, 302, 332
ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 362
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām 399
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muhammad 180
ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr 21, 86
ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr al-Lakhmī 354
ʿAbd Maʿshar 132
ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib 35, 212, 326, 465
ʿAbd al-Nadr 192
ʿAbd al-Raḥīm 236, 250
ʿAbd al-Raḥman 194, 196, 304, 314, 316, 328, 343, 347, 398, 403, 404, 466, 490, 507
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr 197, 324, 327, 380
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn 138
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā 303, 304, 479
ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abu al-Mawalī 465
ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abu Nuʿm 146
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād 159, 508
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf 172, 309, 316, 350, 358, 385, 408, 409, 449, 450
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanam 141
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith 228
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd 280
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Isbahānī 364
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq 333
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Ḥaḍramī 138
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik 141
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī 206, 220, 250, 334, 458
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Juʿshum 497
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī 364
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim 152, 159, 167, 279, 340, 364, 372, 384, 387
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. khabbāb al-Sulamī 4
ʿAbd al-Razzāq 10, 67, 139, 175, 179, 180, 184, 186, 192, 206, 219, 229, 241, 253, 289, 302, 303, 312, 326, 327, 334, 380, 387, 406, 493, 510
ʿAbd al-Salām b. Harb 163
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad 4, 12, 177, 255, 404, 484
ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith 4, 12, 255, 337, 368
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 170, 184, 226
ʿAbd al-Wāhid xix, xxi, 233
ʿAbd al-Wārith 164, 337, 505
Abd b. Humayd 159, 427
Abraham 142, 173, 221, 222, 330
Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm 103, 156, 202, 344, 345, 374
Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb 185
Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm 357
Abū ʿAbd Allāh 208, 343, 347, 392, 449, 452, 508
Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Dhababi 301, 306, 308
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ 103, 359, 373, 396
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāfiz 362
Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juʿfī 445
Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī 302
Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī 104
Abū Aḥmād al-Asadabali 112
Abū Aḥmād b. Jaḥsh 462
Abū Aḥmād al-Zubayrī 307
Abū al-Astiʿath 342
Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ 357
Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ 356
Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrād 280
Abū ʿĀmir al-ʿAqdī 304, 330
Abū ʿAmmār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth 61
Abū ʿAmr 106
Abū ʿAmr al-Madanī 319
Abū Artāt 107
Abū asmaʾ al-sayqal 188
Abū Āsim 164, 505
Abū ʿĀsim al-Nabīl 311
Abū al-Aswad 168, 327, 347, 368
Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī 141
Abū ʿAwāna 135, 158, 185, 305, 325, 330, 354, 383, 440, 508, 511
Abū ʿAwf 247
Abū ʿAwn 140
Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ al-Sulamī 313
Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī 306
Abū al-Bakhlarī 147
Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām 447
Abū Bakr 138, 156, 172, 196, 309, 311, 312, 315, 320, 333, 334, 335, 337, 338, 341–3, 346, 347, 349, 368, 371, 379, 380, 381, 382, 389, 392, 396, 397, 398, 405, 406, 407, 408, 460, 465, 467, 472, 475, 504, 505, 508
Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh 26, 36, 38, 40, 48–9, 101, 414, 445, 450, 457, 476
Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām 333
Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā 381
Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa ‘The Trusting’ 50, 51, 52, 55, 70, 94, 97, 217, 250, 399, 480, 486
Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba 99, 156, 160, 164, 210, 218, 227, 231, 237, 258, 262, 264, 307, 372, 376, 396, 452, 455, 468, 481, 491, 493, 495, 496, 503
Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qāḍī 459
Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī 185
Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī 132, 310, 356, 373
Abū Bakr al-Bazzār 155, 156, 171, 183, 184, 186, 187, 291, 309, 364, 374, 392, 478, 509
Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba 160, 258, 262, 264, 452, 455

Abū Bakr b. Isḥāq 347
Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl 90
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zakī of Merv 359
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Amib Hazam 103–4
Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma 356
Abū al-Bukhtarī b. Hishām xxi, 49
Abū Burda 135, 334, 372, 392, 512
Abū Burda b. Niyār 92
Abū Dāʾūd 28, 37, 40, 42, 82, 104, 153, 155, 156, 158, 165, 167, 173, 181, 182, 201, 207, 212, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 236, 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 262, 268, 271, 275, 281–2, 285–6, 288, 291, 296, 305, 310, 333, 334, 372, 375, 377, 385, 389, 393, 394, 402, 405, 406, 407, 411, 447, 455, 459, 465, 468, 477, 480, 490, 491, 496, 499, 501, 504, 505, 506
Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālisī 4, 62, 69, 155, 160, 166, 178, 199, 216, 250, 368, 378, 451, 476, 504, 513
Abū Dharr 9–10, 138, 234, 238, 404
Abū al-Ḍuḥā 160, 440
Abū al-Fidā ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr *see* Ibn Kathīr xix
Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām 283
Abū Ḥamza 130, 195
Abū al-Ḥanīfa 236
Abū al-Hārūn 302
Abū al-Hārūn al-ʿAbdi 302
Abū al-Ḥasan 130, 155, 171
Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Isfarāyīnī 356
Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī 338
Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr 450, 462
Abū Hāshim al-Makhzūmī 356
Abū Ḥātim 362, 363
Abū Ḥāzim 513
Abū Hurayra 11, 50, 78, 93, 94, 119, 150, 205, 206, 250, 304, 307, 308, 310, 405, 408, 414, 453, 470, 471, 481, 483, 510
Abū al-Husayn 171, 172, 302, 336
Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bashrān 160, 188
Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī 345, 347, 474
Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhi 190
Abū Isḥāq 51, 61, 62, 71, 142, 144, 151, 182, 188, 189, 195, 197, 302, 303, 307, 310, 335, 336, 368, 402, 440, 507
Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī 78
Abū Isḥāq al-Muzakkī 143
Abū Iṣhāq al-Sabīʿī 105, 302, 310, 311
Abū Jaʿfar 387
Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir 227, 231, 439, 493
Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr 310
Abū Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Tabari 300, 306
Abū Jahl 498
Abū Jamra 178
Abū Juḥayfa 242
Abū Kabsha 458
Abū Khaythama 7–9, 364, 474
Abū Khaythama al-Maṣīṣī 440, 446
Abū Khaythama Zuhayrb Harb 341
Abū Kubaysha 118
Abū Kurayb 6, 12, 307, 341, 380, 510
Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib 429
Abū Lubāba 253
Abū Maʿbad 136
Abū al-Mālik 135
Abū Maʿmar 164, 505
Abū Maryam 304
Abu Masʿūd 94
Abū Masʿūd ʿUqba b. ʿAmr 94
Abū Mijlaz 142
Abū Muʾāwiya 139, 170, 190, 191, 301, 326, 327, 334, 340, 402
Abū al-Mughīra 137
Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Maqburī 357
Abū Mūsā 6, 105, 135, 241, 334, 392, 500
Abū Mūsā al-Anṣārī 136
Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī xix
Abū Mūsā al-Madini 464, 504
Abū Muwayhiba 460
Abū al-Naḍr 131, 248, 369, 448, 465, 473, 479
Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim 15, 268, 383
Abū Naḍra 25, 203, 356, 257
Abū Naḍrat al-Mundhir b. Mālik b. Natʿa 357
Abū Nuʿaym xxi, 55, 92, 105, 153, 257, 262, 359, 368, 375, 404, 427, 433, 437, 453, 455, 459, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 515
Abū Nuʿaym al-Maʿnī 305
Abū Nukhayla 106
Abū al-Nuʿmān 238
Abū al-Nuʿmān Muhammad b. al-Fudayl 342
Abū Qalāba 153, 184
Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir 300
Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Baghawī 447, 448, 450, 469
Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Ṭabrānī 241, 513
Abū Qatāda 31
Abū Qatan 105
Abū Qilāba 158, 186
Abū Qudama al-Hanafi 188
Abū Rāfiʿ 419, 431, 444, 446, 465
Abū Razīn 123
Abū Sahl b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭan 144
Abū Saʿīd 86, 131, 156, 301, 304, 308, 329, 330, 404, 465
Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī 378, 513
Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī 11, 130–44, 203, 316, 340, 356, 357
Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī 301

Abū Saʿīd Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khudarī 357
Abū Salama 61, 232, 347, 368, 455, 502, 503
Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad 313
Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 307, 507
Abū Ṣāliḥ 11, 283, 427, 430
Abū Sarīḥa 305
Abū Sufyān 141, 170, 478
Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb 312, 317, 318
Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb 74
Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥ b. Nāfiʾ 341
Abū Sufyāna 341
Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī 128
Abū al-Ṭahir 461
Abū Talḥa 511
Abū Talḥa Zayd b. Sahl 184, 186, 190, 381, 450
Abū Ṭālib 427, 431–2, 438
Abū Thaʿlaba 129
Abū Thawr 140
Abū al-Ṭufayl 301, 303, 305
Abū ʿUbayd 305, 456
Abū ʿUbayda 398
Abū ʿUbayda 313, 315, 316
Abū ʿUbayda ʿĀmir b. al-Jarrāḥ 484, 486, 502
Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ 352
Abū ʿUḥayḥa 446
Abū Usāma 6, 46, 93, 392, 505
Abū Usayd 422
Abū ʿUthmān 451
Abū Uways 167
Abū al-Wahid 136
Abū Wāʾil 106, 180, 181, 340, 359
Abū Wajza al-Saʿdī 121
Abū al-Walīd 221, 330
Abū Yaḥyā al-Mawṣulī 340, 451
Abū Yaʿlā 155, 364, 380, 381, 440, 462, 463, 468, 474, 513
Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawsilī 302, 307
Abū al-Yamān 50, 66, 130, 138, 337
Abū Yazīd al-Azdī 307
Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Ishāq 155, 402
Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr 314
Abū al-Zinād 167, 405, 485, 490
Abū Ziyād b. ʿUbayd Yaḥyā al-Ghassānī 137
Abū al-Zubayr 190, 217, 231, 236, 242, 309, 311, 454, 501, 509
Abū Ẓubyān 137
Abū Zurʿa 61, 302, 362, 363, 503
Abyssinia, Emigrants to 462
ʿAdī 302
ʿAdī b. Thābit 258, 302, 403
ʿAffān 3, 51, 99, 141, 185, 305, 345, 354, 370, 391, 404, 456, 471, 479, 484
ʿAffān b. Muslim 166
ʿAffān b. Salam 357
Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus [illegible]
Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Allāh b. Ahmad al-Nīrī 308
Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār 103, 170, 328, 345, 382
Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Imām) xxi, 152, 156, 158, 165, 231, 247, 251, 311, 363, 375, 377, 449, 499
Aḥmad b. Hāzim 305
Aḥmad b. Mansūr 303, 304
Aḥmad b. Numayr al-Wakīʿ 304
Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Baghdādi 492
Aḥmad b. Sulaymān 180, 307
Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd 331, 336, 463
Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān Abū al-Jawẓāʾ 306
Aḥmad b. Yūnus 363, 385
al-Ajdnādayn, battle of 481
ʿĀʾisha 167, 324, 325, 327, 333, 334, 340, 341, 342, 343, 348, 366, 367, 368, 371, 375, 376, 380, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388, 394, 402–9, 461, 462, 466, 467, 469, 475
ʿĀʾisha bt. Abū Bakr 61, 216, 217, 226, 235, 236, 512
  marriage to the Prophet 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 278, 447
ʿĀʾisha bt. Saʿd 306
al-Akbar 103
al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī 498, 499
al-Albānī, Nāsir al-Dīn xxv
ʿAlī 50, 51–2, 142, 161, 177, 181, 209, 212, 217, 234, 236, 240, 241, 309, 311, 313, 316, 324, 335, 356, 357, 358, 359, 361, 362, 364, 372, 373, 374, 378, 385, 386, 395, 396, 398, 407, 409, 448, 452, 454, 455, 466, 491, 495, 508, 513
ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās 354
ʿAlī at al-Rahba 303
ʿAlī b. Abd Allāh 162
ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalḥa 105
ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib 35, 50, 51, 86, 87, 92, 177, 182, 193, 201, 242, 303, 313, 314, 326, 342, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 372, 374, 378, 408, 451, 465, 477, 480, 497
ʿAlī b. Aḥmad 180, 331, 336
ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim 357, 449
ʿAlī b. Hakīm 187, 303
ʿAlī b. Hakīm al-ʿAzdī 302
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan 371, 463
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn 177, 181
ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid 496
ʿAlī b. al-Isḥāq 308
ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd 155, 363
ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī 353, 363, 452, 470, 511
ʿAlī b. Muhammad 191, 302, 336
ʿAlī b. Muhammad al-Muqaddimī 308
ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf b. Shabbān b. Mālik b. Masmaʿ 308
ʿAlī b. Mushīr 147, 164, 203, 231, 388

ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Ramalī 308
ʿAlī b. Zayd 302
ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿan 187, 302
al-Aʿmash 11, 106, 160, 170, 180, 203, 205, 218, 244, 301, 303, 326, 333, 334, 340, 341, 360, 362, 368, 393, 402, 458, 473, 478, 495
Amat Allāh 460, 463, 464
Amir b. Aqū 123
ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra 493, 497
ʿĀmir b. Ḥaḍramī 498
ʿĀmir b. Saʿd 368
Amir b. Salama al-Khayr b. Qushayr 123
ʿAmir b. Saʿsaʿa 122
ʿAmir b. Shalaḥīl al-Shaʿbi 119
ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl 146
Amm Anas 127
ʿAmmār 369, 370
ʿAmmār b. Yāsir 24
ʿAmr 353, 480, 496, 498
ʿAmr b. Mālik b. Qays b. Biyīd b. Ruʾash b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿab 122
ʿAmr b. Abū Hakim 141
ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās 362
ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ 315, 478, 486, 496
ʿAmr b. Dīnār 192, 221, 369, 439
ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī 498
ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Bukayr 248
ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Labda 402
Amr b. Hazam 103
ʿAmr b. Ḥazm 135
ʿAmr b. Khanāfa 433–44
ʿAmr b. Maymūn 142
ʿAmr b. Murra 147, 177, 181
ʿAmr al-Nāqid 95
ʿAmr b. Qays 347, 359
ʿAmr b. Salama al-Jarmī 129
ʿAmr b. Shaʾs 143
ʿAmr b. Shaʾs al-Aslamī 143
ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb 150, 193, 251
ʿAmr b. Sufyān 359
ʿAmr b. Ṭufayl 78
ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī 317
ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr 343
ʿAmr Dhū Amr 303
ʿAmra 387
Anas 155, 158, 167, 183, 319, 341, 364, 367, 368, 391, 392, 403, 465, 470, 482, 504, 505, 509, 511, 512
Anas b. Iyād 154
Anas b. Mālik 51, 78, 84, 153, 154, 155, 158, 164, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 243, 304, 308, 311, 326, 337, 338, 342, 355, 367, 368, 396, 469, 470, 471, 504, 505, 506, 508, 509
Anasa 137, 445
ʿAquil 161, 172, 173, 406, 409
ʿĀqil 247, 368
ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī 347
ʿĀrim b. al-Faḍl 354
Arqam b. Abū Arqam 482, 483
Asad b. Mūsā 363, 378
al-Aṣamm 161, 170, 206, 328, 341, 382
Asbāt b. Muḥammad 342
Ashʿath 158, 183
al-Ashʿath b. Taliq 362
ʿĀṣim 116, 353, 403, 509, 511
ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal 219, 511
ʿĀṣim b. Ḥamīd al-Sakūnī 137
ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda 2
Aslam 219
Asma b. Haritha 471
Asmāʾ bt. Abū Bakr 156, 465
Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays 32, 208, 349
Aswad 333, 335, 445
al-Aswad 160, 360, 402, 445
Aswad b. ʿĀmir 147, 244, 307, 364, 441, 448, 450
al-Aswad b. Qays 359
ʿAṭā 167, 170, 238, 242, 243, 331, 445
ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib 160, 230, 451, 452, 454
ʿAttāb b. Usayd 140, 312
ʿAwf al-Bajali al Kufi 105
ʿAwn 242
ʿAwn b. Abū Juḥayfa 116
al-Awzāʿī 78, 162, 167, 375, 464, 474, 502
Ayman 445
ʿAyn Zaʿīʾ 119
Ayyūb 153, 158, 164, 165, 171, 175, 176, 184, 215, 219, 248, 249, 328, 343, 468, 503, 505, 512
Azami, M. M. xxvi
al-Azd 129
Azra b. Thābit 155

B
Badr 470, 472, 508
  battle of 417, 438, 445, 446, 449, 450, 454,
    names of those present at 458
al-Baghawi 471
Bahz 187, 345, 448
Bahz b. Asad 166, 386
Bajīla 129
Bakr b. Abd Allāh Al-Muzani 183
Bakr b. Sawāda 307
Bandar 492, 493
Bandar b. Bashshār 356
Banū Al-Ahnaf 313
Banu ʿAqil 123
Banū Asad 313
Banu al-Azd 100
Banu Ghāmid 129
Banū Khasīb 313

Banū al-Mulawwah 313
Banū al-Nadīr 460, 463, 464
Banū Qurayza 460, 463, 464
al-Barāʾ 144, 302, 311
al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib 142, 182, 189, 302
Baraka 460, 462
Bashīr b. al-Khaṣaṣīyya Abd Allah b. Maīthad 126
Bashīr b. Saʿd 313, 354
Basra 470, 471
Basra, battle of 359
al-Baydāʾ 158, 163, 165, 166, 167, 174, 186
al-Bayhaqī xxi, 4, 6, 11–12, 16–18, 21, 25, 29, 35–6, 46–7, 59, 60, 63, 70, 77, 78, 81, 91, 108, 135, 144, 152, 155, 159, 160, 163, 167, 170, 171, 172, 180, 182, 188, 189, 190, 192, 197, 203, 206, 216, 217, 221, 224, 234, 235, 237, 242, 248, 250, 251–2, 276, 309, 328, 330, 331, 335, 337, 338, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 357, 359, 362, 363, 364, 365, 373, 374, 377, 378, 382, 383, 384, 385, 388, 391, 392, 395, 396, 397, 416, 420, 422, 492, 495, 498, 510, 511, 512, 513
Baysan 119
al-Bazzār 155, 156, 184, 190, 364, 378, 392, 439, 510
Bilāl 60, 122, 241, 248, 282, 316, 333, 447, 472, 473
Bint Khārija 350
Bir Maʿūra, battle of 494
Bishr b. Bakr 157, 171, 185
Bishr Muawina 124
Bishr b. Saʿīd 329, 330
Bishr b. Qudāma al-Dibābī 156
Boulainvillier, Henri de xxiv
Bukayr b. Shaddākh al-Laythi 472
al-Bukhārī xxi, 6, 12–13, 27–8, 45–6, 55, 62, 64–5, 66, 67, 69, 71, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 129, 135, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 204, 205, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 230, 238, 240, 242, 243, 247, 248, 254, 256–64, 267–8, 272–3, 280–2, 288–9, 292–6, 299, 307, 311, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 328, 340, 341, 343, 355, 359, 362, 363, 368, 375, 389, 390, 397, 402, 406, 407, 410, 413, 416, 423, 443, 445, 452, 458, 460, 490, 502, 504, 505, 512
Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh 392
Burayda 301, 475
Burayra 462
Byzantines 118
Byzantines, the legends of Persia 125

C
Chosroe, Emperor 89, 90, 91
Crone, Patricia xxii, xxv, xxvi

D
al-Dabarī 253
al-Daḥḥāk 1, 122
al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays 191
al-Daḥḥak b. Sufyān al-Kilābī 122
Ḍamra 308
al-Darāwardi 170, 509
al-Dārquṭnī 129, 172, 234, 362, 432
Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdi 354
Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār 192
Dāʾūd b. Abū Hind 203, 265, 356
Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn 512
Dāʾūd b. Yazīd 308
al-Dhahabī 306, 307
Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays 445–6
Dhū Amarr 312
Dhū al-Fiqār 508
Dhū Khalasa 107
Dhu Mikhmar 473
Dhū al-Qaʿda 135
Dhū al-Qiṣṣa 357
Dhū al-Salāsil 354
Ḍihya b. Khalīfa 313
Dumayra 450, 451, 456
Duri, A. A. xx

F
al-Faḍl 211–12, 264–6, 331, 332, 455, 464, 468
al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās 372, 385
al-Faḍl b. Dukayn 301
al-Faḍl b. Mūsā 105, 303
al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Sinānī 61
Fāʾid 462, 465
al-Farʿroad 167
Farwa 466
Farwa b. Abū al-Maghrāʾ 388
Farwa b. ʿAmr 117
Faṭima 314, 352, 387, 406, 407, 408, 464, 465, 466
Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad 240, 321, 513
Faṭima bt. Qays 119
Fidda al-Nūbiyya 466
Firās 325
Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān 138, 165, 213, 240
Fulayh 165, 329, 330

G
Gabriel 321, 325, 343, 363, 395, 432, 501
Gadamer, H. G. xxvii
Ghālib al-Jazarī 513
Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al Kalbī 313, 315

Ghassan 129
Ghatafan 312
Ghawī b. Abd al-Uzzā 125
Ghaylān b. Jarīr 119
Ghunaym 191
Ghundar 106, 178, 180, 181, 194, 219, 368, 452, 459
Goldziher, Ignaz xxiv, xxvi

H
Ḥabashī b. Janāda 307
Ḥabīb 170
Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit 138, 301, 303, 305
Habib b. Hind 471
Ḥabība 229
Habshūn al-Khallāl 308
al-Ḥaḍramī 498
al-Ḥadramī b. ʿAmir 120
Ḥafṣa 161, 173, 195, 364, 462, 464
al-Ḥajj 103
al-Ḥajjāj 84, 166, 173, 174, 190, 194, 228, 241, 247, 416, 448, 449
al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt 191
Ḥajjāj b. Muhammad al-Aʿwar 177, 462
Ḥajjāj b. al-Shāʿir 304
al-Ḥakam 177, 178, 180, 181, 216, 226, 241, 244, 445
al-Ḥakam b. Ibrāhim 160
al-Ḥākim 78, 161, 170, 205, 206, 226, 325, 328, 357, 382, 388, 395, 421, 504
al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh 362
Hākima 462
Ḥakkām b. Salm 368
Hamid 183, 378, 470
Ḥamīd b. Masʿada 342
Ḥammād 51, 90, 215, 221, 392, 507
Ḥammād b. ʿAmr b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-Nasībī 362
Ḥammād b. ʿAmr al-Naṣībī 362
Ḥammād b. Salama 51, 99, 149, 160, 217, 225, 291, 302, 369, 370, 381, 411, 424, 448, 451, 479
Ḥammād b. ʿUmar 362
Ḥammād b. Zayd 90, 153, 165, 176, 197, 215, 219, 238, 249, 299, 343, 354, 390
Hammām 78, 177, 345
Hammām b. Yahyā 187
Ḥamza b. al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAqabī of Baghdad 362
Hamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar 162
Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib 313
Hamza b. Habīb al-Zayyāt 156
Ḥanash 147
Ḥanash b. al-Ḥārith b. haqīt al-Ashjaʿī 306
Ḥanash b. al-Muʿtamir 147
Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq 345
Hāniʾ b. Ayyūb 304
Hannād b. al-Sarrī 353
Ḥanẓala 484, 485
Hannād 155, 188
al-Ḥārith 122, 419
al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr 10
al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf 121
al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barṣāʾ 313
al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd 317, 340
Hārūn b. Maʿrūf 139
Ḥasan 336, 480
al-Ḥasan 371, 378, 384, 407, 471, 476
al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī 185, 393
al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī 61, 183, 371
al-Ḥasan al-Maqburī 362
Ḥasan b. Mūsā 370
al-Hasan b. Sallam al-Sawwaq 106
al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān 302
al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād 501
Hāshim 90, 155
Ḥashraj b. Nubāta 448, 457
Hassan b. Khūt 126
Ḥassān b. Thābit 318, 399, 437, 466
Ḥāṭib b. Abū Baltaʿa 450
Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl 165, 170, 210, 212, 311
Ḥazn b. ʿAbū Wahb 314
Heraclius, Emperor 18
Hibbān 136
Himyar 125
Hishām 18, 155, 206, 282, 325, 330, 355, 375, 378, 388, 406, 454, 462, 510
Hishām b. ʿAmmār 170, 212, 465
Hishām al-Dastuwāʾī 166
Hishām b. ʿUrwa 150, 159, 168, 216, 226, 324, 334, 344, 345, 358, 364, 375, 381
al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir 353
al-Ḥudaybiyya 143, 150, 156, 174, 179, 187, 192, 470, 471, 478
Hudayl b. Shuraḥbīl 360
Hudba 302
Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān 316
al-Hulayfa 157
Ḥumayd 50, 183, 184, 336, 345
Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 354, 378
Humayd B. Hilal al-Adawi al-Basri 184, 185, 194
Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl 183, 184, 187, 363, 383, 505
al-Hunayd b. ʿŪṣ 313
Hannad 245, 246
Hunayn, battle of 150, 187, 445, 446, 465, 470
Huraym 364
Hurmuz 454
Ḥusayn 480, 513
Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh 372, 381, 385, 441, 451, 456
Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 50, 290, 359
Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAlī 353

Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī 353
al-Ḥusayn b. Harb 303
Ḥuṣayn b. Muhammad 305
Hushaym 99, 147, 159, 166, 182, 183, 188, 336, 368, 370, 499
Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab 463

I
Ibn ʿAbbās 1, 35, 46, 60, 62, 65, 66, 80, 81, 82, 85, 136, 142, 150, 153, 154, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 171, 178, 180, 181, 192, 206, 216, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 232, 233, 237, 244, 249, 251–2, 260–1, 264, 266–7, 277, 292, 301, 310, 321, 324, 326, 327, 330, 331, 335, 336, 341, 347, 350, 353, 359, 360, 364, 366, 369, 370, 372, 374, 377, 380, 381, 385, 404, 423–4, 428, 431, 436, 446, 466, 467, 491, 496, 500, 501, 507, 511, 514
Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr 500
Ibn ʿAbdān 463
Ibn Abū ʿAṣim 304
Ibn Abū Bukayr 307
Ibn Abū Dhiʾb 249, 310, 451, 510
Ibn Abū Ghanīyya 301
bn Abu Laylā 183
Ibn Abū Mulayka 55, 327, 343, 380, 383
Ibn Abū Qahāfa 330, 333
Ibn Abu Shayba 152
Ibn Abū al-Zinād 168, 325, 490, 508
Ibn ʿAdī 501
Ibn Arṭat 190
Ibn ʿAsākir 366, 368, 377, 378, 384, 385, 390, 394, 437, 440, 451, 452, 453, 456, 462, 463, 471, 483, 499, 501, 502
Ibn al-Athīr 385, 447, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 484, 500
Ibn ʿAyyāsh 138
Ibn Burayda 311
Ibn al-Hādd 324
Ibn Hārūn 129
Ibn Hazm 153, 154, 158
Ibn Ḥibān 143, 182, 188, 190, 270
Ibn Ḥibbān 362, 501
Ibn Hishām xxi, 3, 7, 23, 47, 53, 58, 64, 80, 95, 313, 316, 317, 318, 319, 398
Ibn al-Iṣbahānī 364
Ibn Isḥāq xxi, 2–3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 20–1, 26, 37–8, 40, 42–5, 47–8, 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 64, 68, 69, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 88, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 133, 156, 162, 163, 167, 227, 247, 312, 313, 315, 317, 318, 319, 332, 333, 341, 344, 364, 366, 371, 372, 382, 385, 386, 387, 399, 418, 423, 437, 445, 450, 458, 495, 507, 513
Ibn Jarīr 51, 61, 253, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308
Ibn Jurayj 55, 153, 159, 195, 205, 207, 216, 221, 224, 225, 231, 236, 242, 261, 263–4, 268, 278, 309, 368, 380, 387, 437, 462, 508
Ibn Kathīr 139
  life of xix
  writings of xix, xx, xxi, xxvii, xxix
    life of Muḥammad (The Prophet) xxii
Ibn al-Khalīl 148
Ibn al-Khattāb 348
Ibn Khuzayma 407
Ibn Lahīʿa 22–3, 307, 347, 368, 432
Ibn Maʿīn 143
Ibn Māja 99, 141, 148, 152, 155, 156, 162, 168, 170, 181, 189, 190, 191, 192, 205, 206, 224, 230, 235, 237, 243, 249, 253, 268–71, 302, 307, 334, 336, 342, 372, 377, 381, 383, 384, 391, 393, 394, 402, 404, 432, 455, 456, 459, 465, 468, 476, 480, 484, 485, 499, 502, 505, 512
Ibn Manda 464, 465, 471, 472
Ibn Masʿūd 10, 234, 340, 353, 379, 392, 477, 478, 514
Ibn al-Musayyab 378
Ibn al-Nuʿmān 176
Ibn al-Numayr 137, 302
Ibn Rāhawayh 249, 271, 330
Ibn Salama 340
Ibn Salīm 363
Ibn Sīrīn 499, 511
Ibn Shawdhab 308
Ibn Shihāb 49, 169, 172, 173, 178, 191, 196, 204, 221, 223, 225, 245, 247, 258, 260, 324, 332, 333, 334, 347, 350, 353, 364, 405, 409, 505, 506
Ibn Shubayl 105
Ibn Sulaymān 363
Ibn Ṭāwūs 202
Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī xix
Ibn Taymiyyah xx
Ibn ʿUliyya 165, 175
Ibn ʿUmar 154, 155, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 183, 185, 195, 204, 205, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 230, 235, 242, 243, 247, 271, 274, 276, 279, 288–9, 294, 309, 310, 321, 358, 384, 505, 507, 509, 510
Ibn Umm Maktūm 491
Ibn ʿUyayna 364, 367
Ibn Wahb 164, 454, 201, 204, 205, 206, 217, 222, 223, 225, 247, 248, 325, 367, 454, 460, 461, 477, 505
Ibn al-Zubayr 174
Ibrāhīm 160, 203, 218, 234, 333, 403, 465, 466, 467
Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī 160
Ibrāhīm b. Abū Ṭālib 356

Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī 138
Ibrahim b. Maysara 153, 164
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad 236, 248
Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. al-Muntashir 158
Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā 55, 355, 362, 378
Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd 8, 187, 328, 465, 506
Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān 152, 226
Ibrāhīm al-Taymī 340, 360
Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb al-Jawzānī 362
Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf 144
Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Isḥāq 142
Idrīs al-Azdī 308
Ikrama 331, 469
ʿIkrima 1, 150, 157, 162, 179, 180, 192, 206, 226, 227, 250, 372, 381, 385, 404, 496, 512
Imām Ahmad 50, 51, 61, 63, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 90, 91, 99, 106, 138, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 166, 168, 169, 206, 207, 208, 210, 214, 219, 220, 229, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243, 248, 250, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 310, 322, 327, 329, 330, 332, 334, 335, 342, 343, 344, 350, 353, 354, 359, 364, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 375, 376, 377, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 391, 392, 397, 402, 406, 410, 439, 441, 446, 448, 449, 450, 451, 457, 458, 465, 469, 470, 473, 477, 483, 490, 493, 497, 499, 503, 504, 511
Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal 170, 357
Imān Abū al-Fidā 139
Imān Mālik 341
Imran b. Husayn 194
Isa 504
ʿĪsā b. Yūnus 227, 232, 468, 504
Isfrāfīl 363
Ishāq 155
Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh 42, 78, 456
Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm 210, 249, 330, 271
Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā 18, 167, 449
Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā al-Tabāʿ 350, 351
Isḥāq Abū Isrāʾīl 340
Isḥāq b. Manṣūr 148, 393, 510
Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh 141, 158, 223, 237, 330, 342, 353
Isḥāq b. Yasār 105, 386, 464
Ishaq b. Yusuf 402
Ismāʿīl 165, 167, 248, 319, 343, 512
Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh 369, 395
Ismāʿīl b. Abū Hakīm 341
Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid 94, 105, 106, 192, 369, 385, 396
Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways 144
Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Bajalī 304
Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh 138
Ismāʿīl b. Hafs 156
Ismāʿīl b. Kashīṭ 306
Ismāʿīl b. Muhammad 171
Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā 307
Ismāʿīl al-Suddī 385
Ismāʿīl b. Ulīyya 165
Ismāʿīl b. Umayya 176
Isrāʾīl 151, 303, 307, 335, 336, 464, 468, 509, 510

J
Jabbār b. Sulma 122
Jābir 2, 79, 153, 154, 161, 170, 182, 190, 204, 209, 212, 217, 218, 223, 225, 228, 230, 231, 233, 247, 248, 309, 311, 321, 417, 429, 454, 501, 507, 509
Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh 151, 167, 170, 182, 189, 208, 224, 227, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 242, 245, 307, 388, 395
al-Jadd b. Qays 2
Jaʿfar 208, 209, 236, 315, 395, 447, 500, 509
Jaʿfar b. Barqān 195
Jaʿfar b. Muhammad 152, 170, 182, 189, 236, 248, 311, 362, 395, 462
Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. Shākir 357
Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq 363, 387
Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān 221
Jāhilīyya 112, 117
Jamiʿ Shaddād al-Muhāribī 116
Jamīl b. ʿAmmāra 306, 307
Jārir 136, 340, 341, 342
Jarīr b. Abd Allāh al-Bajali 105
Jarir b. Abd Allaf 105
al-Jarīrī 357
al-Jārūd 64
al-Jassāsa 119
al-Jawzjānī 363
Jerusalem 512
Jesus 351
Jews and Judaism 497, 512
al-Jiʿrāna 121, 150, 156, 179, 187, 192, 199, 311
Joseph 333, 334
Juʿfī 127
Juhayna 129
Jundab b. ʿAbd Allāh 330
Jurash 100
Jurij b. Mina 466
Juynboll, G. H. A. xxvi

K
Kaʿb 464
Kaʿb b. Mālik 29–32, 308
Kaʿb b. ʿUjra 144
Kaʿb b. Zuhayr xxi
Kahmas b. al-Hasan 311
al-Kalbī 18, 428, 435, 442
Kāmil Abu al-ʿAlāʾ 305

Karbala 509
Kathīr b. Zayd 304
Khadra 462, 465
Khalaf b. al-Walīd 503
Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār 363
Khālid 134, 158, 278, 473, 481, 486, 504
Khālid al-Hadhāʾ 369
Khālid al-Hadhdhāʾ 226, 510
Khālid b. al-Ḥārith 194
Khālid b. Makhlad 28
Khālid b. Saʿīd 96, 486, 495
Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ 446
Khalid b. Ṣinān al-ʿAbsī 120
Khālid b. al-Walīd 83, 105, 240
Khalīfa b. Khayāṭ 371, 458, 478
Khārija b. Zayd 490
Khatham 129
Khawlā 463
Khaybar, battle of 93, 129, 325, 406, 453, 464, 470
Khidām b. Khālid 129
Khulaysa 462, 463
Khums 143
Khusayf 163, 166
Khuzāʿī ibn ʿAbd Nahm 55
Khuzayma 122
Khuzayma b. Sawā 122
Kitāb al-Fitan 120
Kurayb 165
Kurz b. ʿAlqama 75, 76
Kurz b. Jābir 312

L
Labīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar 79, 122
Lammens, Henri xxiv
al-Layth 15, 29, 49, 138, 161, 172, 173, 174, 198, 221, 223, 238, 247, 264, 272, 324, 406, 409, 466, 505, 506
Layth b. Abū Sulaym 138, 246
al-Layth b. Saʿd 65, 368

M
Maʿan b. ʿAdī 353
Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān 383
Makḥūl 216, 371, 473, 509, 510
Makḥūl al-Shāmī 362
Mālik 161, 162, 167, 174, 182, 191, 195, 238, 247, 248, 250, 352, 353, 367, 375, 383, 406
Mālik, Imām 15, 152, 159, 224, 251
Mālik b. ʿAmr 155
Mālik b. Anas 168, 174, 178, 350, 381, 405
Mālik b. ʿAwf 74
Mālik b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr 314
Mālik b. al-Ḥuwayrith 308
Mālik b. Hishām 285
Mālik b. Mighwal 360
Maʿmar 184, 196, 229, 302, 312, 334, 337, 340, 355, 373, 406, 493, 499
Manṣūr 159, 160, 180, 185
Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. ʿĀmir b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy 234
Margoliouth xxvi
Marj al Ṣufr, battle of 481
Marthad 468
Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-mazanī 513
Marthad b. Abū Marthad 313
al-Marwa 168, 169, 173, 174, 176, 183, 196
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam 177, 181, 500
Marwān b. Muʿāwiya 237
Marwān b. Muʿāwiya al-Fazārī 191
Masrūq 160, 180, 325, 336, 402
Maṭar b. Khalifa 303
Maṭar al-Warrāq 308
Maymūn Abū ʿAbd Allāh 305
Maymūna 248, 467, 468
Mikāʾīl 363
Miqdād 480
Miqdād b. al-Aswad 182, 479
Miqsam 216, 244, 377, 386
Misʿar 158, 402, 478
al-Miswar 509
al-Mizzī, Sheikh xx, 256
Muʿadh b Muʿadh 178
Muʾammil 493
Muʾammil Abū al-Raḥmān 327
Muʿāwiya 40, 44, 179, 201, 206, 221, 353, 368, 454, 462, 477, 478, 495, 500, 501
al-Mughīra 346
al-Mughīra b. Sakan 4, 38–9, 43–4
al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba 386, 478, 495
Muhājir b. Mismār 306
  preaching of xx
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā 194, 289
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī 158, 508
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Zayd 281
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Razma 156
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā 216
Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī 153, 155, 159, 165, 213, 219, 462
Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ 93
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 95, 404
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Hasan b. Shaqiq 181
Muḥammad b. ʿAmr 411, 474
Muḥammad b. ʿAmr ʿAlqama 319
Muḥammad b. Bakr 221, 277, 289
Muḥammad b. Bashshār 4, 181, 194, 290, 297, 509
Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Maṭar 396
Muḥammad b. Bukayr 153

Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl 411
Muḥammad b. Ḥātim 231, 242, 325
Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā 165
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq xxi, 55, 67, 75, 78, 82, 152, 161, 163, 227, 231, 246, 300, 301, 312, 316, 321, 322, 328, 341, 353, 355, 359, 372, 378, 381, 382, 386, 387, 398, 433, 441, 453, 457, 465, 471, 474, 481, 507, 512, 514
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzayma 357, 378
Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār 167, 310, 312, 341
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl 4, 447, 459
Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḥmasī 364
Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar 40–1, 50, 88, 181, 186, 189, 194, 241, 268, 336, 448
Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿīm 328, 409
Muḥammad b. Kathīr 218, 225, 378, 403
Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAthama 306
Muḥammad b. Mahrān 362
Muḥammad b. Maʿmar 506
Muḥammad b. Maslama 313, 358
Muḥammad b. Miskīn 171, 185
Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir 94, 153, 154, 164, 449
Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā 301
Muḥammad b. al-Muththanā 171, 177, 184, 194
Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ 233, 236, 274, 327, 511
Muḥammad b. Saʿd 354, 384, 396, 429, 449, 450, 452, 454, 456, 461, 462, 470, 471, 478, 483, 500
Muḥammad b. Sīrīn 89, 90, 281, 369, 509
Muḥammad b. Sulayman 452, 506
Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥaz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 3
Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda 286
Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAli al-Muqaddimī 304, 308
Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī 54
Muḥammad b. Yūsuf 205, 242
Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Gulābī 436
Muḥammad b. Zayd 499
Muḥmūd b. ʿAwf al-Tāʾī 306
Muḥriz b. Abū Huraya 50
Mujāhid 1, 150, 189, 369, 445, 466, 513
Mujālid 99, 178
Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj 468
al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr 313
Murra 364, 378
Murra b. Sharāhīl 362
Mūsā 513
Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh 16
Mūsā b. Ayyūb 362
Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl 177, 302, 331
Mūsā b. Muḥammad 394
Mūsā b. ʿUbāda 468
Mūsā b. ʿUbayda al-Rabadhī 309
Mūsā b. ʿUqba xxi, 9, 38, 43, 61, 153, 157, 162, 165, 195, 204, 206, 213, 214, 240, 242, 312, 337, 338, 358, 364, 366, 368, 387, 392, 458, 497
Mūsā b. ʿUthmān al-Hadrami 302
Muṣʿab b. Yaʿqūb al-Zamʿī 306, 333
Muṣʿab b. Sulaym al-Zubayri 187
Musaddad 183, 215, 221, 222, 226, 227, 245, 261, 371, 512
Musaylima 36, 66, 68–9, 70
Musaylima b. Ḥabīb 399
Muslim 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 242, 248, 249, 368, 369, 370, 375, 392, 393, 480, 484, 502, 503, 512
Muslim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Basri 166
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj 227, 357, 392, 407, 500
Muslim 407, 469, 505
Muslim b. Ibrāhīm 336, 457
al-Muʾtamir b. Sulaymān 179, 186, 192, 237, 470
Muṭarif b. Kāhin 125
al-Muṭṭalib b. Abd Allāh 345
al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab 206
al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād 307
Muʿlamur b. Sulaymān 342

N
al-Nadr b. Shumayl 158
Nafād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf 120
Nāfīʿ 154, 161, 162, 164, 165, 171, 172, 174, 176, 195, 203, 204, 205, 213, 214, 215, 216, 219, 221, 230, 231, 235, 242, 247, 327, 384, 453, 505, 509
Nahāwand, battle of 97
al-Nasāʾī 4, 91, 94, 150, 152, 153, 163, 164, 168, 173, 176, 179, 181, 182, 188, 191, 193, 205, 221, 222, 223, 229, 230, 234, 237, 247, 249, 256, 271, 282, 287, 301, 303, 305, 307, 334, 336, 342, 344, 345, 353, 362, 363, 375, 392, 394, 402, 406, 407, 448, 456, 468, 469, 477, 480, 485, 496, 501, 502, 503, 505, 506
Negus of Abyssinia *see* Aṣḥama (Aṣḥam, Maṣḥama, Negus of Abyssinia) 473
Noah 132
Noeldecke, Theodor xxiv
Nuʿaym b. Ḥakīm 304
Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād 227, 474
Nuʿaym b. Abū Hind 353
Nuʿaym b. Yazīd 342
Nubayṭ b. Sharīṭ 353
al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr 354

O
Ockley, Simon xxiv

P
Paret, Rudi xxii
Peters, F. E. xxiii
Prideaux, Humphrey xxiii

Q
Qabīṣa b. ʿAqaba 363
Qabīṣa b. Mukhāriq 126
al-Qādisīyya, battle of 97, 495
al-Qaʿnabī 406
al-Qāsim 159, 189, 342, 375, 477
al-Qasim b. Bahram 501
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad 167, 190, 328, 354
Qatāda 1, 161, 166, 171, 177, 181, 312, 341, 342, 371, 378, 403, 424, 456, 464, 484, 485, 504, 509
Qatāda b. Daʿama al-Sadūsi 187
Qays b. Abū Hazim 105
Qays b. al-Musaḥḥar al-Yaʿmurī 314
Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda 477
Al-Quʿayni 178
Qubayṣa 105
Qudāma 237
Quraysh faction 112
Quraysh tribes 151, 176, 210, 222
Qurra 367
Qurra spoke 123
Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī 62
Qutayba 94, 163, 165, 168, 174, 179, 191, 205, 238, 249, 326, 334, 375, 402, 404, 406, 491, 505, 508

R
Al-Rabi 471
Rabāḥ 446, 484
Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith 306
Rabīʿ Mutrif 123
Rabiʿa 468
Rabiʿa al-Aslami 475
Rabīʿa b. Badr 314
Rabiʿa b. Kaʿb 474
Rabīʿa al-Kināni al-Kūfi 147
Radwā 464, 465
Rāfiʿ al-Ṭāʾī 354
Rāfiʿ b. Zayd 313, 314
al-Rahawiyin 129
Rajab 2
Ramaḍān 101
Rashid b. Abd Rabbihi al-Sulami 125
Rāshid b. Saʿd 137
Rawḥ 158, 166, 168, 169, 183, 206, 207, 371
Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda 142, 166, 171, 178, 188, 369
Razina 460, 463, 464
Rifāʿa b. Zayd 453

Rodinson, Maxime xxii
Rukāna b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf 441
Ruzayna 460, 463, 464

S
Saʿd 167, 409, 462, 465, 476
Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ 493
Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ 178, 179, 191, 313, 408
Saʿd al-Ashira 129
Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm 358, 366
Saʿd b. Khaythama 493
Saʿd b. Muʿādh 81, 450, 497, 500
Saʿd b. ʿUbāda 352, 353, 354, 356, 514, 515
Saʿd b. ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbaq 341
Sadaqa b. Yasār 309
Sadisa 464
al-Safā 165, 168, 169, 173, 174, 176, 183, 196
Safīna 447, 448, 449
Ṣafiyya 203, 229
Ṣafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy 460, 463
Ṣafwān 137, 365
Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr 137
Ṣafwān b. Umayya 105
Sahl b. Ḥanīf b. Sahl b. Mālik 308
Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr 156
Saʿīd b. Abū Burda 136
Saʿīd 504
Saʿīd b. Jubayr 142, 163, 166, 220, 225, 230, 248, 249, 301, 326, 510
Saʿīd b. Jumhan 448
Saʿd b. Mālik 145
Saʿd b. Mālik b. al-Shahīd 145
Saʿīd b. Manṣūr 234, 388
Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab 312, 353
Saʿīd b. Musayyab 94, 177, 181, 201, 368, 378, 383
Saʿīd b. Sulaymān 192
Saʿīd b. ʿUrūba 342
Saʿīd b. Wahb 302, 303
Saʿīd b. Zayd 351
Salama 311, 314, 465
Salama b. al-Akwaʿ 311, 314
Salama b. al-Faḍl 82
Salama b. Kuhayl 148, 305
Salama b. Nubayṭ 353
Salama b. Shabīb 184
Salama b. Usāma 139
Ṣāliḥ 133, 249, 310, 372
Sālih b. Abū al-Akhdar 169
Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān 164, 406
Sālim 5, 41, 161, 162, 164, 165, 174, 213, 223, 247, 464
Salim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar 157, 162, 172, 173, 306, 317, 330

Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd 184, 185
Sālim b. Abū al-Nadr 329, 330
Sālim b. ʿUbayd 350, 353
Sallām b. Salam 363
Sallām b. Sulaym al-Tawīl 362
Sallām b. Sulāymān 116
Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Madāʾinī 362
Sallām al-Ṭawīl 363
Salmā 465, 466
Salman b. Rabīʿa 180
Salmān the Persian 449
Salman al-Farisi 463
al-Ṣalt 373
al-Sarī b. ʿĀṣim 501
al-Sarrī b. Khallād 362
al-Sarrī b. Yanʿam 138
Sawā b. al Ḥarith 122
Sawda 462, 463
Schacht, J. xxv
Schweitzer, Albert xxii
Shabāba 304, 336
Shabāba b. Sawwār 359
Shaʿban 127
al-Shaʿbī 92, 106, 148, 234, 255, 325, 359, 369, 385, 421, 424, 478
Shādhān 308
al-Shāfiʿī 97, 151, 201, 202, 203, 207, 216, 226, 228, 235, 238, 248, 328, 443, 445
Shahr b. Ḥawshab 138, 308
Shaqrān 385
Sharīk 303
Shawwāl 135
Shayba b. Rabīʿa xix
Shaybān 368, 403
al-Shaybānī 136
Shuʿayb 50, 66, 93, 94, 185, 195, 337
Shuʿayb b. Maymūn 359
Shuʿba 50, 62, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 106, 151, 158, 160, 166, 171, 177, 178, 180, 181, 186, 194, 205, 206, 219, 234, 241, 242, 249, 303, 311, 334, 336, 368, 451
Shuqrān 450
Shuraḥbīl 73
Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥaḍramī 498
Shurayḥ b. al-Nuʿmān 147
Shurayh 138, 168, 183, 508
Shurayk 308, 359, 448
Shurayk b. Abū Nimr 84
Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa 152
Siffin, battle of 477
Simāk 147, 304
Simāk b. Harb 147
Sufyān 51, 92, 94, 138, 153, 162, 168, 190, 202, 205, 206, 218, 220, 221, 225, 241, 243, 326, 374, 392, 402, 403, 404, 452, 454, 462, 493, 510
Sufyān b. Habib 183
Sufyan b. Saʿīd al-Thawri 138, 189, 402
Sufyān al-Thawrī 94, 148, 155, 158, 160, 179, 180, 189, 206, 216, 220, 225, 234, 243, 249, 260, 311, 325, 359, 364, 375, 485
Sufyān b. ʿUyayna 95, 153, 159, 160, 168, 176, 180, 234, 245, 289, 326, 375, 383, 505
Sufyān b. ʿUyayna 499, 513
Suhayl b. ʿAmr 398
al-Suhaylī 380
al-Suhaylī, Abū ʿAmr 68, 69
Sulaymān 83, 93, 191
Sulaymān b. Bilāl 12, 28, 144, 258, 324, 328, 336, 505
Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd 104, 490
Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd al-Hāshimī 138
Sulaymān al-Ghallābī 304
Sulaymān b. Ḥarb 142, 260, 272, 390
Sulaymān b. Mahrān 93, 402
Sulaymān b. Muhammad b. Kaʿb b. ʿUjra 301
Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra 277, 392, 479, 480
Sulaymān b. Qarm 307
Sulayman al-Taymi 179, 192, 451
Surāqa b. Mālik 191, 202, 209, 493, 497
Suwayd b. Hujayr 186
Suwayd b. Saʿīd 203, 307

T
al-Ṭabarī xxi, xxii
al-Ṭabrānī 221, 223, 251–3, 308, 432, 480
Tabūk, battle of 1–2, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 26, 28–30, 35, 47, 101, 117, 512
Ṭāʾif, Prophet's journey to 150, 470, 478
Tahman 445, 446, 451, 453, 454
Talha 170, 309, 505
Ṭalḥa b. Muṣrif 304, 360
Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh 3, 32, 120, 408, 498
Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib 438
al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī al-Ṭawīl 363
Tamīn al-Dārī 119
al-Tanʿīm 196, 197
al-Tawʾama 310
al-Ṭayālisī 8, 253, 411
Thābit 183, 390, 391, 392, 404, 431, 437, 479, 510
Thabit al-Būnāni 103, 183, 510
Thābit b. Qays 55, 66, 483, 484
Thawr 467, 468
al-Thawrī 94, 153, 160, 172, 189, 190, 206, 243, 258, 264–5, 293, 364, 368, 385, 400, 403, 445
Thumāma 65, 66, 155, 318, 469, 470, 508
al-Tirmidhī 51, 94, 116, 147, 225, 226, 231, 235, 237, 243, 244, 249, 305, 307, 320, 336, 341, 342, 347, 370, 380, 391, 480, 483, 484, 485, 502, 511, 512

al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dā'ūd 4, 8, 28, 150, 155, 159, 163, 179, 189, 190, 191, 251, 260, 265–6, 285, 289, 294, 297, 402, 403, 405, 411, 427–8, 447, 448, 450, 465, 468, 505, 507, 508, 509
al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī 81
Tulayḥa b. Khuwaylid 120

U
ʿUbāda 129
ʿUbāda b. Nusī 141
ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit 253
ʿUbayd Allāh 154, 164, 174, 221, 235, 460, 465, 505, 507
ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh 353, 512
ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar 171
ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba 325, 326, 333, 334, 335, 341, 386
ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd 350
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿādh 178, 194
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā 287, 303, 304, 449
ʿUbayd Allah al-Qananī 134
ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar 164, 171
ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūsuf 306
ʿUbayd b. Jurayh 162, 164
ʿUbayd b. Shurayk 336
ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr 288
ʿUbayd b. al-Walīd al-Qaysī 304
ʿUbayda b. Abū al-Safr 143
ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith 318
Ubayy 482
Ubayy b. Kaʿb 451, 456, 481, 482
Ubayy b. Kaʿb b. Mālik 139
Uḥud, battle of 329, 419, 445, 458, 470, 472, 476, 508, 509
Ulayka 463, 464
ʿUkāsha 313
Umar 140, 162, 163, 172, 214, 218, 221, 309, 310, 316, 332, 333, 346, 348, 352, 353, 354, 368, 379, 392, 398, 404, 407, 409, 461, 464, 472, 480, 495, 498, 503, 504, 505, 508
ʿUmar al-Ahmasi 106
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh 159
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 341, 390, 447, 452
ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 179, 180, 191, 200, 201, 204, 219, 224, 228, 239, 241, 302, 308, 309, 310, 313, 320, 321, 332, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 398, 408, 409, 415, 420, 424, 446, 449, 458, 461, 477, 478, 486, 495, 502
ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm 11
ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqā 146
ʿUmāra b. al-Qaʿqā b. Shabrama 146
ʿUmāra b. Zādhān al-Saydalānī 103
al-Umawī 381
Umayma 462
ʿUmayr 248
ʿUmayra b. Saʿd 304
Umm Ayman 392, 445, 460, 461, 462
Umm Ayyāsh 469
Umm al-Faḍl 248
Umm Habība 462
Umm Hānī' bt. Abū Ṭālib 427
Umm Kulthūm see Ruqayya (Umm Kulthūm) bt Muḥammad 417, 436, 439, 451, 452, 453, 454
Umm Kulthūm bt. Suhayl b. ʿAmr 52
Umm Qirfa 314
Umm Salama 342, 345, 387
Umm Salama bt. Abū Umayya 198, 329, 447, 448, 480
Umm al-Zibā 460
ʿUqayl 368
Unqūda 466
ʿUqba 368
ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir 477
ʿUrwa 159, 168, 169, 173, 255, 324, 325, 335, 338, 344, 353, 368, 376, 381, 383, 406, 407
ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr 23, 168, 173, 297, 312, 344, 347, 364
ʿUrwah 366
ʿŪs b. Hunayd 313
Usāma 374, 445
Usāma b. Zayd 141, 206, 211, 252, 257, 277, 295, 311, 315, 319, 336, 337, 372, 443, 460, 507
Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr 81, 484, 500
al-ʿUsayr 311
al-ʿUshayra military expedition 311
ʿUtba 503
ʿUthmān 142, 172, 177, 181, 193, 309, 316, 392, 405, 409, 469, 477, 480, 496, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506
ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī 185
ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba 212, 245, 261, 377, 411
ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān 125, 201, 228, 408, 461, 469, 491, 496, 497
ʿUthman b. Ahmad al-Sammak 106
ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa 486
ʿUthmān b. Zā'ida 368
ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida 353

W
Wabisa b. Maʿbad 120
Wadi al-ʿAqīq 157, 162, 179, 193
Wādil b. Hujr 108
Wahb 159, 461
Wahb b. Jarīr 264, 331, 381, 461
Wahib 471
Wakīʿ 137, 155, 160, 183, 206, 220, 237, 241,

246, 249, 250, 310, 335, 336, 343, 403, 446, 458, 469, 473, 510
Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāh 155, 166, 187
al-Wālibī 34, 120
al-Walīd b. Kathir 513
al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik 388
al-Walīd b. Muslim 354, 375, 459, 477
al-Walīd b. ʿUqba b. Dirār al-Qaysī 304
al-Wāqidī 45, 52, 54, 55, 60, 70, 83, 92, 163, 329, 349, 365, 366, 374, 379, 384, 386, 387, 388, 434–5, 437, 441, 445, 447, 450, 452, 455, 458, 461, 462, 465, 471, 473, 478, 484, 496, 497, 500
Watt, W. M. xxv
al-Wazīr al-Isbahānī 308
Weil, Gustav xxiii
Wuhayb 356, 357

Y.
Yaḥyā 78, 157, 183, 221, 222, 231
Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād 156, 246
Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh 215, 480
Yaḥya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Abū ʿAmra 300
Yaḥya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUmar 145
Yaḥya b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayfī 136
Yahyā b. Abū Ishāq 184
Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr 162, 179, 180, 368, 474, 503
Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr 502
Yaḥyā b. Ādam 185, 306, 307
Yaḥyā b. Bukayr 29, 173, 260, 347, 409, 506
Yahyā b. Habib al-Arabi 186
Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād 301, 511
Yahyā b. Ishāq al-Hadrami 187
Yaḥya b. Jaʿda 305
Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn 182, 193, 362, 363
Yaḥya b. Maʿmal 141
Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad 161
Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 373
Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān 147, 180, 191, 221
Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd 141, 354, 369, 388, 511
Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī 152, 179, 383
Yaḥya b. Saʿīd al-Quattan 106
Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā 168, 184, 188, 218, 221, 406
Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ 268, 335
Yaʿlā b. ʿAtāʾ 462
Yaʿlā b. Umayya 225
al-Yamāma, battle of 484
Yaʿqūb 154, 163, 247, 332, 344, 372, 385
Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm 82, 165, 175, 195, 212, 222, 322, 406, 474
Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Bakr 306
Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān 336, 365, 371, 387
Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba 333, 455
Yarmūk, battle of 398, 481
Yarfaʾ 409
Yazīd 377
Yazid al-Raqāshi 155
Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Madān 135
Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb 139, 198, 514
Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd 311
Yazīd b. Abū Yazīd 303
Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād 227, 377
Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith 219
Yazid b. Harun 13, 197, 253, 402, 451, 457, 474
Yazīd b. al-Muhajjal 134
Yazīd b. Quṭayb 137
Yazīd b. Rumān 2
Yazīd b. Saʿīd b. Dhū ʿAḍwān al-ʿAbsī 354
Yazid b. Sūhān 180
Yazīd b. Talha b. Yazid b. Rukāna 145, 300
Yazīd b. Ziyād 117
Yazīd b. Zurayʿ 155, 183, 370, 504
Yūnus 97, 138, 164, 182, 204, 223, 225, 229, 264, 325, 327, 330, 345, 387, 406, 461, 505, 506
Yūnus b. Bukayr 20, 69, 75, 103, 150, 328, 333, 341, 373, 382, 386, 432, 507
Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith 193
Yunus b. Ubayd 188
Yūnus b. Yazīd 325, 368, 461, 505
al-Yusayr b. Rizām 314
Yūsuf b. Isā 117
Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb 331

Z
Zādhān Abū ʿUmar 302
Zāʾida 106, 353
Zakariyyāʾ b. Adi 159
Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zāʾida 189, 197
Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq 136, 369
Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā 35
Zamʿa b. al-Ṣāliḥ 513
Zamʿa b. al-Aswad 462
Zayd 311, 313, 490, 491, 495
Zayd al-ʿAmī 363
Zayd b. Arqam 147, 151, 301, 302, 303, 305, 310
Zayd b. Aslam 80, 184, 185, 219, 224, 245
Zayd b. Ḥāritha 311, 313, 314, 315, 447, 460, 461
Zayd b. al-Hubāb 189, 190, 304, 311, 465
Zayd b. Rufayʿ 362
Zayd b. Thābit 357, 481, 495
Zayd b. Wahb 303
Zayd b. Yuthayʿ 302, 303
Zirr 353, 403
Ziyād 251, 268, 468, 478
Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa 397

al-Zubayrī 4, 13, 193, 217, 264, 268, 276, 278, 309, 352, 356, 357, 358, 398, 409, 410, 436–7
al-Zubayr b. ʿAdī 368
al-Zubayr b. ʿArabī 221
al-Zubayr b. ʿAwwām 408
al-Zubayr b. Bakkār 77, 78, 481, 486
Zuhayr 116, 151, 157, 188, 197, 233, 505
Zuhayr b. Muʾarriya 402
Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra 259
Zuhayr b. Harb 160, 165
al-Zuhrī 2, 12, 23, 28, 33, 45, 50, 94, 98, 118–40, 159, 161, 164, 168, 169, 173, 174, 196, 226, 287, 312, 325, 326, 327, 328, 333, 334, 337, 338, 344, 347, 353, 355, 359, 364, 366, 367, 368, 373, 375, 377, 406, 407, 410, 416, 418, 420, 423, 427, 432, 437, 439, 444, 461, 478, 497, 506, 508, 509, 512
Zurʿa Dhū Yazan 101, 102
Zurāra b. Abū ʿAwfā 450, 458